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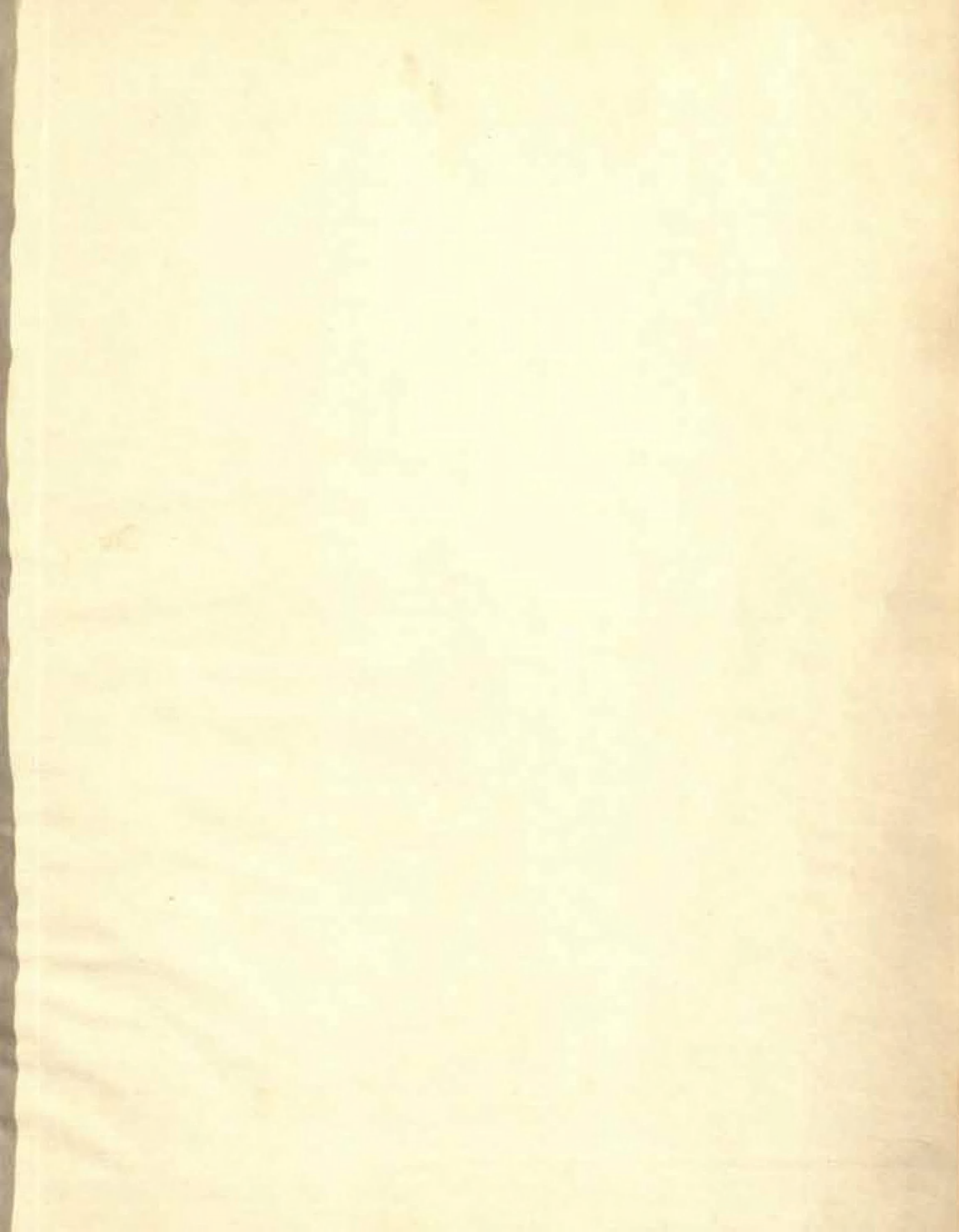
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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

- Page 4, last line,—for a Hechehe read at Hechehe.
- " 17, line 10 from top,—for Phankaprasavana read Phankaprasavana.
- " 32, line 17 from bottom,—for nI read In.
- " 41, line 8 from top,—for Nāḍlai read Nāḍlāl.
- " 48, foot-note 1,—for Badāri read Badāri.
- Page 107, text line 17,—for Dhinḍhaka- read Tthinḍaka.
- " 108, line 14 from bottom " " "
- " 120, No. 10.—The dates in the Burmese inscription at Bōḍh-Gayā are said to fall in January, A.D. 1295, and November, A.D. 1298 : that, however, is not correct : the case is as follows.—(1) The first date answers quite regularly, for the year B.E. 657 expired, to Friday, 16th December, A.D. 1295.—(2) The second date is "irregular" : instead of working out for a Sunday as given in the record, for the year B.E. 660 expired, the given lunar day answers to Monday, 13th October, A.D. 1298 ; and for the year B.E. 660 current it answers to Thursday, 24th October, A.D. 1297.—See my paper in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1913, pp. 378-84, where I have treated these two dates fully, and have shown how easily Burmese dates may be calculated by using the means provided by Sir Alfred Irwin in his *Burmese and Arakanese Calendars* (1909) and his "Elements of the Burmese Calendar from A.D. 638 to 1752" published in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. 39 (1910), pp. 289-315.—J. F. FLEET.
- " 144, text line 31,—for ~~ꠠꠠꠠꠠꠠ~~ read ~~ꠠꠠꠠꠠꠠ~~.
- " 172, below Table XIII,—for 177 read 171.
- " 185, line 36 from top,—cancel the words "who was the King's commander-in-chief."
- " 236, line 3 from bottom,—for Kongunivarman read Kongonivarman.



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EPIGRAPHIA INDICA.

VOLUME XI.

No. 1.—AN INSCRIPTION AT DEVAGERI.

By J. F. FLERT, L.C.S. (RETD.), PH.D., C.I.E.

This inscription has been mentioned by me in vol. 5 above, p. 172: and I have given a brief statement of the purport of it under No. 29 in my *List of Spurious Records in the Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30 (1901), p. 217. I publish it now for the first time, and give a facsimile of it from an ink-impression made for me by Mr. Kalyan Sitaram Chitre in 1890, when (if my memory is correct) he was Māmlatdār of the Sampgaum taluka of the Belgaum District.

The inscription is on a stone which was found in a field, Survey No. 85, at Dēvagēri, a village about six miles west-by-south from Karajgi, the head-quarters of the Karajgi taluka, Dhārwar District. The Indian Atlas sheet No. 42 (1827) shews the place as 'Devgeeree'. The Map of the Dhārwar Collectorate (1874) shews it as 'Deogeree'. The Postal Directory of the Bombay Circle (1879) presents its name as 'Deogiri'. And the Dhārwar volume (1884) of the Bombay Gazetteer treats it as 'Devhiri' (p. 665). In connexion with some early Kadamba copperplate records which were obtained at this village, I originally gave its name as 'Dēvagiri',¹ in accordance with those spellings. Subsequently I was given to understand that the cultivators call it 'Dēvagerē', and that this should be taken as its real name: and I have sometimes used this form.² Since then, however, I have ascertained that a record of A.D. 1075 in the temple of Basavaṇṇa at the village itself distinctly gives its name as Dēvaṃgēri, as also does a record of the period A.D. 1210-47 at the temple of Mārtaṇḍadēva at a neighbouring village, Kōḷūr: also, that the impression of a record of A.D. 1121 in the temple of Basavaṇṇa, while leaving it doubtful whether the original does or does not present the *anusāra*, again distinctly gives the second component of the name as *gēri*, and thus yields either Dēvaṃgēri or Dēvagēri. Further, Mr. K. S. Chitre, while writing the name on the impressions sent by him to me as 'Dēvagiri' in English characters, according to the official spelling, wrote it as 'Dēvagēri', in the same place, in the Mōḍī or current Marāṭhī characters. I therefore entertain no doubt that what the cultivators really call the village is, not 'Dēvagerē' (as reported to me), but Dēvagēri, and that this

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 5, p. 33; and I have used the form 'Dēogiri' in vol. 5 above, p. 172.

² For instance, in my *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts*, in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency vol. 1, part 2, p. 285 ff.

is the form of the name that should be used.¹ At the same time, in justification to a certain extent of the official form of the name, I may state that a record of A.D. 1674 on a pillar in the same temple of Basavanna does distinctly present the name as *Dēvagiri*, and thus carries back the corrupt form for an appreciable time. The inscription now published does not mention the name *Dēvaṅgēri* in any form, but speaks only of a village called *Palarūr*. This name seems to be another form, by transposition,² of the name which we have as *Paralūr* (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 70) in the inscription of the time of Kirtivarman II (A.D. 746-47 and 757) at *Āḍar*, about eight miles south-west-by-west from *Dēvagēri*, and as *Brihat-Paralūr* (*id.*, vol. 7, p. 35, line 9) in the still earlier copperplate grant, of the third year of Mṛigēśavarman, which was discovered at *Dēvagēri* itself. In any case, the purport of our record distinctly implies that the stone which bears it, and which was found in a field in the lands of *Dēvagēri*, was set up in the village *Palarūr*, and thus marks *Palarūr* as being then the name of the place. It may be added that the inscription of A.D. 1075, mentioned above, registers an assignment of tolls, for certain purposes of the god *Kaṭkalēśvara* of *Dēvaṅgēri*, at *Dēvaṅgēri* and *Palavūr* and in the *taḷa*, 'site or tract', composed of *Eleya-Tammuge* and two unnamed villages: here we may possibly have still another form of the name *Paralūr*, *Palarūr*: but it is difficult to account for the *v* in the place of the *r*; and *Palavūr* may be another village which does not now exist. Any such name as *Paralūr*, *Palarūr*, and *Palavūr*, is not now found in maps, etc. And the position seems to be that *Dēvagēri* was originally a *dēvaṅgēri* or *dēvapuri*, a 'god's ward', of *Palarūr*: that the lands of *Palarūr* and some other villages have been absorbed into the lands of *Dēvagēri*, which is a somewhat large village; and that consequently the latter name only has survived. The inscription now published places *Palarūr*, tacitly but plainly, in the *Banavāsi* twelve-thousand province. So, also, the record of A.D. 1075 in the same way places *Dēvaṅgēri*, with the other villages mentioned in it, in that same province, and, further, in a division of it known as the *Bāsavura* one-hundred-and-forty.

At the top of the stone there are sculptures, showing a bull, recumbent to the right (proper left) and apparently intended for the usual *Nandi*, and below it, plainly not as a family or dynastic emblem but in connexion with the topic of the record, an elephant, standing to the right (proper left), with a man standing behind it with uplifted arms. The writing covers an area about 1' 8" broad in lines 9 to 14 by 3' 0" high. The stone on which it is engraved seems to have been even originally of an irregular shape; and it is only at the end of lines 1 to 8, 17, 20, and 21, and at the beginning of lines 18 to 22, that any portions of it have been broken away.

The characters are Kanarese, boldly formed and, generally, well executed. In lines 1 to 15 the size of them ranges from about $\frac{1}{4}$ ", as in the *ya* of *baḷiyan*, line 9, to $\frac{3}{4}$ ", as in the *ba* of *bare*, line 15; in lines 16 ff. it increases up to (for single letters) $1\frac{1}{4}$ " in the *ba* of *āsirbar*, line 19, and it almost seems that this part of the record may have been written by another hand: the *yaṁ* of *ay-nōra*, line 2, is $1\frac{1}{4}$ " high: the *in* of *massyal-niraa*, line 11, is 2" high: and the *chēti* of *mechchiden*, line 16, is $2\frac{1}{2}$ " high. They are of the general standard of the tenth century A.D. and closely thereabouts. They include both the types of the initial short *i*, on which detail see p. 7 ff. below: the earlier type of this vowel occurs in *irppatt*, line 2: the later type is found in *idaṁ*, line 20: also in *idaw* at the beginning of line 18, where, however, it is mostly broken away. The *kh*, *j*, *b*, and *l* are all of the later types; the guttural nasal *ṅ* does not occur. No distinction seems to be made between *ḍ* and *ḡ*. In *chhatra*, for *chchhatra*, line 6, we have the rare full

¹ Regarding the confusion which has arisen in the official spelling of various place-names in consequence of mistakes that have been made between *kere*, *kere*, 'a tank', and *kēri*, 'a street', see my note on the name *Appigere* a vol. 6 above, p. 100, note 3.

² Compare the metathesis in *mural* and *malar*, *oral* and *olar*, and *eral* and *elar*: see *Śabdamanidarpaṇa*, verse 22.

form of *chā*, which necessarily can seldom occur except when, as here, it is used instead of *chāhā*.

The language is Kanarese, of the archaic type, in prose. The record was neatly put together by the use of the *satisaptami* or locative infinitives *ene*, lines 10, 11, 14, *ire*, line 14, *bare*, line 15, and *nile*, line 15, coupled with the subjunctive or conditional *endode*, lines 12, 13, 16. And not unworthy of note, in respect of the nicety of the composition, is the point that, whereas the remainder of the record, appropriately cast in pure Kanarese, naturally presents the words *pul*, *pullu*, for 'grass' (lines 11, 14, 15), and *āne* for 'elephant' (line 15), into the ruling prince's mouth there are put (in accordance with the theory of the Hindū drama, that kings and such people should speak Sanskrit) Sanskrit words, woven however into a Kanarese sentence, which include *tripa* and *hastin*.¹ Line 7 gives us *nēvarade*, the instrumental singular of a word *nēvara* which seems to be a longer form of *nēra*, = *nēr* (3), 'straightness, propriety, pleasantness'. In line 10-11 we have *kuḍugaḷ* as a variant of *kuḍugōl*, *kuḍugōl*, *kuḍugōl*, 'a kind of sickle', for which forms see Kittel's Kannaḍa-English Dictionary under *kuḍu* (3).² In the first component of the term *būdagāl*, 'an offering of boiled rice to ghosts', lines 12, 17, we have *bāda*, instead of the more usual *bāta*, as a *tadbhāva*-corruption of the Sanskrit *bhūta*. In *arasara* and *ada*, line 12, *pulla*, line 14, and *koyvara*, line 15, we have either a careless omission of the final *m* (*n*), or, with equal probability, instances of the accusative in *a* instead of *am* (*an*).³ Line 8 presents the word *baḷi* (3), 'a man who calls or invites' or we may say 'a summoner', in connexion with which the following remarks may be made. In the form *baḷi* (with *ḷ* instead of *ḷ*) we have this same word in an unpublished inscription of A.D. 1052 at Niralgi in the Hāngal tāluka, Dhārwar, in a passage which runs:—*śrīman-mahāmaṇḍalāśvaram Harikēsaridēva* . . . *śrīmad-agrahāram Nirilīya mahājanam mūnōrvvarige baḷiyan-aṭṭi barisi*; "the illustrious *Mahāmaṇḍalāśvara* Harikēsaridēva . . . having sent a summoner to the three-hundred *Mahājanas* of the holy *agrahāra* Nirilī, and having caused them to come," etc.: and similar passages occur in records of A.D. 1074 and 1075 at the same place. And we can now recognize that we have the word *baḷi* itself in line 20 of the *Āḍar* inscription (*Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 70), where, modifying my original rendering, I would translate:—"The *Gurava* Prabhāchandra, the summoner of the Jain temple of Paratūr, obtained this grant." It would seem that, in addition to meaning generally 'any man who calls or invites', the word denoted also a recognized official of some kind, both religious and secular.

In respect of orthography we may note (1) the use of *b* for *v* in *sambatsara* twice in lines 1 to 3; (2) the use of *s* for *ś* throughout; (3) the mistakes of *kā* for *k* in *sakha*, line 1, of *d* for *dh* in *samadigata*, line 4, and of *ri* for *ri* in *tripa*, line 9.⁴

The inscription can only be treated as a spurious record, as which it has been entered under No. 29 in my List of Spurious Records in the *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30 (1901), p. 217; because it

¹ This is the record which I mentioned, from this point of view, in the discussion on "Sanskrit as a spoken language"; see *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1904, 486.

² Reeve and Sanderson's Dictionary adds the form *kuḍugaḷa*. The most familiar term is *kuḍugōl*, in its later form *kuḍugōla*.

³ According, indeed, to Kōṭirāja's *Śābdamaṇḍikāra*, verse 134, and Bhaṭṭakalānka's *Karnāṭakaśābdenaḥśaṅka*, sūtra 231, we might regard some of these as genitives used in the sense of accusatives. But *ada* at any rate is not a genitive. And there can be little doubt that Dr. Kittel's opinion is correct; namely, that the application of a use of the genitive for the accusative is unnecessary, and that the accusative in *a*, frequent enough in the mediæval and modern dialects, existed in also the more ancient colloquial dialect, though it had not been generally accepted by classical writers: see his *Kannaḍa Grammar*, §§ 117, 122, 352. Many instances of the accusative in *a* can be found in my Kanarese ballads: thus, *māta* for *mātama*, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 300, line 3 from the bottom; *siffa* for *siffama* = *siffama*, p. 301, line 1; *karava* for *karavama*, line 6; *yāna* for *yānama*, line 11. It would, in fact, be pedantic to use the accusative termination in ordinary speech; except perhaps with pronouns.

⁴ Except, of course, for Sanskrit words being aimed at here, there would be no objection to *tripa*.

purports to have been framed on a date which is utterly incompatible with the period to which its characters refer it. As, however, it states (apart from the date) nothing that is in any way unnatural, suspicious, or irreconcilable with the local history for its true period, we may accept the information given in it as true. It deals with a thing which it calls *būdagōḷ*. This term is composed of *būda*, a *laukhara*-form of the Sanskrit *bhūta*, 'a spirit, goblin, ghost', and the Kanarese *kūḷ*, *kūḷa*, 'boiled rice'; and it denotes 'an offering of boiled rice to the ghosts'. Other names of the offering are *bhūtabali* and *bhūtagajān*; also the word *bali* by itself, which is explained in Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary as meaning, amongst other things, 'an offering to demons (especially also Durgā or Kālī), etc., performed by putting heaps of boiled rice, or by killing sheep, buffaloes, etc., and also men.' As a regular sacrifice, the offering ranked as one of the *pañcamaḥajajān* or 'five great sacrifices': see, for instance, the *Mānavadharmasāstra*, 3. 70. I have been told, however, that in a more special way the *bhūtabali* is offered in connexion with the *garbhāḍana* or ceremony performed to ensure conception. I further learnt from the late Sir James Campbell that the *bhūtabali* is offered in cases of barrenness, from the point of view that that misfortune is due to the influence of malicious spirits. And we thus obtain a clear explanation as to why the record represents the village-maidens as interested in the matter of the *būdagōḷ*. The inscription mentions a certain *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* or great feudal prince named Śāntivarman, who was governing the Banavāsi twelve-thousand provinces. It describes him as belonging to the Mātūra race, and as having the hereditary title of "supreme lord of the town Trikundapura", with reference to the place of origin of his family, and as possessing the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner.¹ It recites that Śāntivarman came, in the course of a tour, to Palarūr, and demanded a supply of grass for his horses and elephants. For some reason not stated, the right to make the offering of boiled rice to the ghosts was in abeyance; apparently under a sentence of excommunication. Incited by the village-maidens (*koḍagāṅgal*, line 11), who said that, if he could get the restriction removed, he might marry as many of them as he might wish, a man named Allagunda cut a supply of grass so much to the satisfaction of Śāntivarman that the latter offered to grant him a boon. Whereupon Allagunda asked for, and obtained, the restoration of the right to make the offering to the ghosts. As to whether the village-maidens kept their promise to him, the record is silent.

The inscription is dated on a Monday coupled with the second *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mārgaśīra of the Kālayukta *saṃvatsara*; Śaka-saṃvat 522. This date, however, is obviously not authentic: and all else that need be said about it is as follows. By the mean-sign system, which is the one that applies for that time, Kālayukta began on 29 October, A.D. 600, in Śaka-saṃvat 522 expired, and ended on 25 October, A.D. 601. In that period, the given *tithi* ended closely about 22 hours 55 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain) on Sunday, 13 November, A.D. 600, and cannot be connected with the Monday. And from this we see that the case is not one in which the writer of the record obtained a correct date by calculation.

As one means towards determining the real date of the record, we may cite some other notices of the Mātūra family, to which the record refers the *Mahāsāmāntādhipati* Śāntivarman. We have one mention of it in the Śrāvapa-Belgoḷa epitaph of the great Gaṅga prince Noināmbantaka-Mārasiddha (A.D. 963-64 to 974), which describes him as seizing the possessions of the lord of the Vanavāsi country, and causing him or those who belong to the Mātūra race to do obeisance to him (*astu*, vol. 5, p. 179). No personal name, however, is mentioned there. Some other notices of the family, of a specific nature, from other records in Mysore, are as follows:—

- (1) An inscription at Hechehe in the Sorab taluka, Shimoga District: *Epi. Cana.*, vol. 8,

¹ The Udayenduram plate of Pallavamalla-Nandivarman allot a "mirror banner made of (? put together with) a peacock's tail" to the Śahara King Udayana: *South-Ind. Insers.*, vol. 2, p. 372.

Sb. 476. This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa III, and is dated in the Vikāra *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 861 (expired), with details falling in December, A.D. 939. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiga, Māchidēva,—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”; born in the Mātūra race; and having the Nandavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner,—was then ruling at Herdese:¹ the sphere of his government is not stated.

(2) An inscription at Ōṭūra in the same tāluka: *ibid.*, Sb. 70. This record is not dated: but it refers itself to the same reign, and is therefore to be placed between A.D. 939 and 959. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiyarasa was then lord of the Banavāsi twelve-thousand. It describes him just as Māchiga, Māchideva, is described in No. 1 above; and he is plainly the same person.

(3) An inscription at Kakkarasi in the same tāluka: *ibid.*, Sb. 474. This record refers itself to the same reign, and is dated in the Ānanda *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 876 (expired), with details falling in October, A.D. 954. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Māchiyarasa—described in the same terms as in Nos. 1 and 2 above—was then ruling over “the twelve thousand.”²

(4) Another inscription at Hechehe: *ibid.*, Sb. 479. This record refers itself to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kukka II, and consequently, though not dated, may be referred to closely about A.D. 972. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmanta* Śāntivarman—whom it describes as “lord of Trikundapura the best of towns”; born in the Mātūra race; and having the Nandanavana umbrella, the horse crest, and the mirror banner—was then ruling at Herdese.

(5) Another inscription at Hechehe: *ibid.*, Sb. 477. This record refers itself to the reign of the Western Chālukya king Āhavamalla-Taile II, and is dated (without full details) in the Khara *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 913 (expired), = A.D. 991-92. It tells us that the *Mahāsāmantādhipati* Śāntivarman—described otherwise in just the same terms as in No. 4 above—was then ruling the Belguhe 70, the Eḍenāḍ 70, the Tandavūra 12, the Gedeya 12, the Mugunda 12, the Pulivatti 12, the Kalvatti 7, and the Śāntalige 1000.

These other notices of the Mātūra family agree with the palaeographic evidence in placing the real date of the record in the tenth century A.D. And as a means towards determining its exact date we take the given *saṃvatsara*, Kālayukta. In the tenth century, this *saṃvatsara* came only once. By the southern lunisolar system, which is applicable for this time to the locality to which the record belongs, it coincided with Śaka-saṃvat 880 expired. And in this year the given details are correct for Monday, 15 November, A.D. 958, on which day the specified *tithi* ended at about 17 hours 30 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain). This result satisfies the requirements of the case, both palaeographic and historical. And we entertain no doubt that this is the real date on which the record was framed, and that the Śāntivarman mentioned in it is the Śāntivarman of the Hechehe inscriptions Nos. 4 and 5 above. As to why the writer of the record antedated it by practically six of the sixty-years cycles, we can only conjecture that the ban laid upon the village had existed for some long time; that it had been disregarded; and that antedating (made in fact to a preposterous extent) was necessary to legalize acts which had been performed in spite of it.

¹ This name, much damaged here, is completed from No. 4 below.

² An inscription at Kelagina-Kirugunise in the same tāluka, *ibid.*, Sb. 501 which refers itself to the same reign, and is dated (without full details) in the Kālayukta *saṃvatsara*, Śaka-saṃvat 881 (current) = A.D. 958-959, tells us that a certain Māchiga was then governing the Eḍenāḍ seventy. He may have been some junior member of the family, perhaps holding office under Śāntivarman. But there is nothing in the record to mark him as such.

TEXT.¹

- 1 Svasti² Sakha³-nripe-kāl-ātita-sambatsara-[satam]-
- 2 ga[ay-nūra irppatt-eradaneya Kālayukta-[sam]-
- 3 batsara[da*] Mārggasira-suddha-bidiyeyum Sōmavāra[d-and]u[m]
- 4 Svasti samadi(dhi)gatapañchamahāsabda-[ma*]hāsāmantādhīpati
- 5 Trikundapura-paramēvara Brahmakahatriya-Māṭūra-vams-odbhavam Na-
- 6 [nda]navanachhastra-hayalāñcha(ñchha)na-darppapadhva-ja-virājamānam
- 7 [Ss]antivarman⁴ [n]ēvarade meryyādey-āge Banavāsi-pa[n]n[i]-
- 8 rch[ebh]āsiraman-āuttam yathā-kramade Palarūrge ba[nd]-e-
- 9 [padim]borge baliyan-atti emma haya-hasti-samāhakke tri(tri)pa-
- 10 samgraham bālkum-ene o[llit-āgi koyrem-endu pōp-āga]-Allagunda ku-
- 11 ṇḡa[ḡam-maseyal-niran-ereyim-ene koḡagūṇḡa]-ita pullam koyd-a-
- 12 masara mechchisi bādagū[am] biḡisuvon-akkum-endoḡ-ada biḡi-
- 13 sidoḡe nim-enag-e geyvir-endoḡ-inib-am-olage nī mechchidaro[am] ma-
- 14 dave-nila yene pōgi pulla koyutt-ire arasan=[a]neyan-ēr-ildu
- 15 koyvara nōdutta bare Allagundan-āneya pulla sūdoḡe nile-
- 16 y-idey-arasam mechchidem biḡi-ko[ll]-endoḡe
- 17 bādagū[am] biḡim-endu biḡisido[m] [||*]
- 18 [I]dan-a[ldom] Varanēyūm sasira
- 19 [ka]vileym mairbat-pparvoraman-a-
- 20 [lida] pātakan-akkum idam kadon-ini[n]-
- 21 [mam pā]lido[m] [||*] Rāmasiṅga-bhaṭṭara nīrisi[dom]
- 22 [Mamga]la(?)

TRANSLATION.

Hail! On the second tithi, and on Monday, of the bright fortnight of Mārgasira of the Kālayukta samvatsara which was the five hundred and twenty-second (year of) the centuries of years elapsed of the era of the Śaka kings:—

(Line 4.) Hail! The Mahāsāmantādhīpati Śāntivarman,—who has attained the pañcha-mahāsabda, who is a supreme lord of the town Trikundapura, who has been born in the Brahmakahatriya Māṭūra race,⁵ who is decorated with the Nandanavans umbrella and the horse crest and the mirror banner,—while governing the Banavāsi twelve thousand with rectitude and according to established customs, came in due course to Palarūr, and sent a summoner to the seventy (Mahājanas) to say:—“A supply of grass is wanted for Our troop of horses and elephants!”

(L. 10.) Thereupon (the cutters) said:—“Right well will we cut!”, and were going out. Then Allagunda said:—“Pour ye out water to whet (my) sickle!” Thereupon the young maidens said:—“This is the man who will cut grass, and please the king, and cause the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts to be set free.” Thereupon he said:—“If I cause that to be set

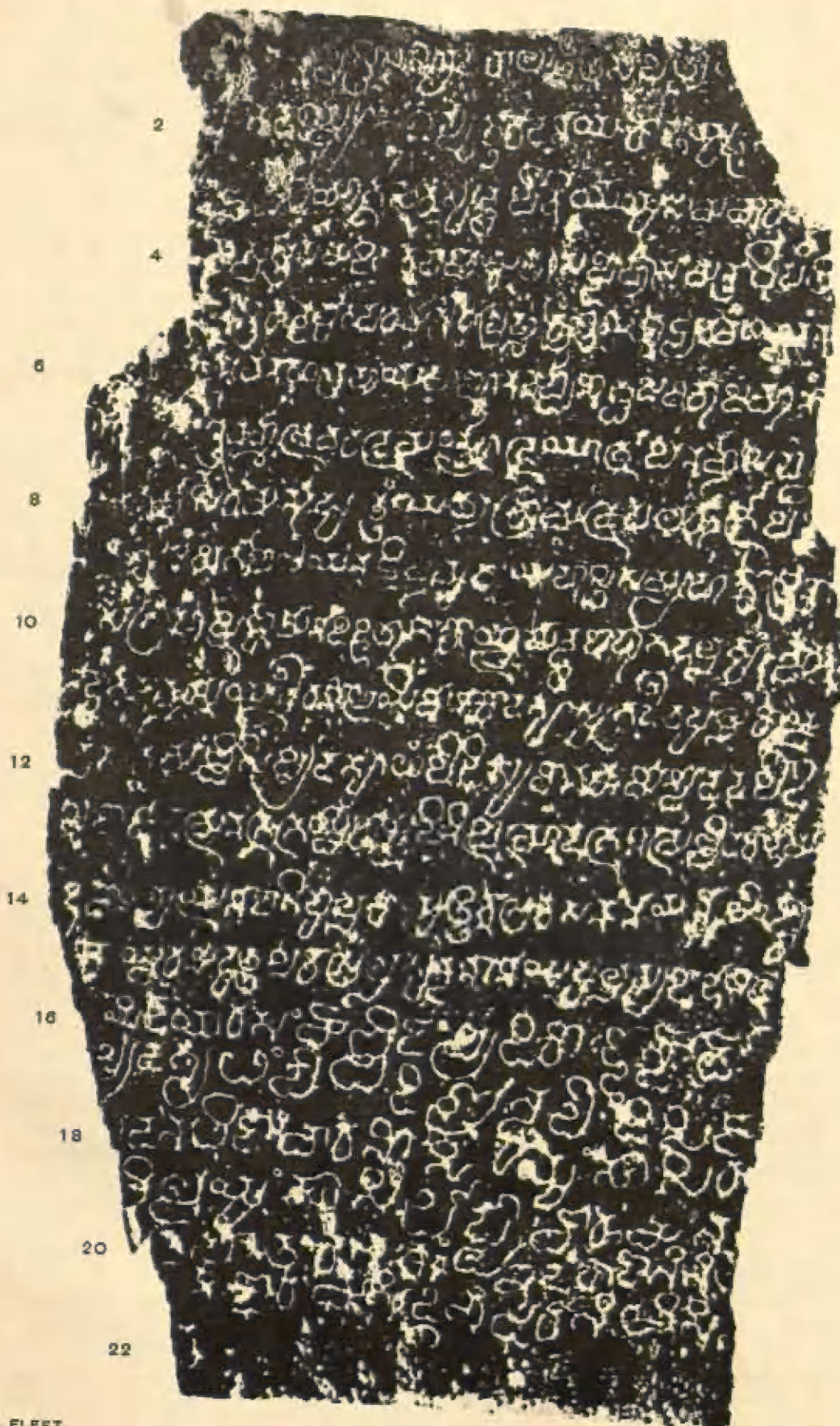
¹ From the ink-impressions. Ordinary brackets are used for such corrections and doubtful points as can be conveniently noted in this manner. Square brackets are used to mark syllables, or parts of them, which in the original are illegible or broken away and lost. An asterisk, attached to letters or marks of punctuation in square brackets, indicates that those letters or marks of punctuation do not stand in the original text.

² There are various marks before this word. But they seem to be due only to injuries to the stone, and not to include any symbol for the word *śas*.

³ Read *saka*, for *śaka*.

⁴ The first syllable of this name is greatly damaged, and cannot be recognized distinctly even on the back of the impressions. There can be no doubt, however, that it was *śā*, for *śā*.

⁵ That is, “in the Māṭūra race which is of mixed Brāhmaṇ and Kshatriya origin.” On the term *Brahma-kshatriya* see some remarks by Mr. D. B. Bhattacharya in *Ind. Ant.*, 1911, p. 35 ff.



free, what will ye do for me?" To which they said:—"Marry just as many of us as thou mayest like!"¹

(L. 14.) Thereupon he went out. And when, while he was cutting grass, the king, mounted on an elephant, came looking on at the cutters, Allagunda stood up on the very bundle of grass which was for the elephant. Then, behold!, the king said:—"We are pleased: ask a boon!" Thereupon he said:—"Set ye free the offering of boiled rice for the ghosts:" and thus he caused it to be set free.

(L. 18.) He who destroys this shall incur the guilt of destroying Vārāṇasī and a thousand brown cows and a thousand Brāhmins! He who protects this is a protector of just so much!

(L. 21.) The worthy Rāmasiṅga set this up. [May it be auspicious (P)]

Note on the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i.

The alphabet exhibited in this Dēvagēri inscription is a specimen, belonging to the tenth century A.D., of that which Professor Bühler in his *Indische Palaeographie*, § 29, termed the Kanarese and Telugu alphabet.² An interesting detail in this particular record is that it presents the two types of the initial short i of this alphabet: we have the earlier type in *irppatt*-, line 2, and the later type in *idan*-, line 20: the latter is found also in *idan*-, at the beginning of line 18, but is much damaged there. And we have to consider the circumstances in which this mixture of the two types could occur. I had hoped to give a sketch, with plates, of the full history of the vowel in question, and at the same time of the initial long i: because, in addition to the interest that attaches to the study itself, the types and forms of these two letters may at any time be found particularly instructive in respect of the proper placing of undated genuine records, and of fixing limits for the fabrication of some of the spurious records. For the present, however, it has been found impracticable to prepare the requisite plates; chiefly in consequence of a want of published facsimiles for the crucial period when the earlier types were being supplanted by the later ones. I must, therefore, confine my treatment of the matter to the history of the initial short i in the Kanarese and Telugu countries during the transitional period, and limit my remarks to such details as can be made clear without more than half a dozen illustrations.

The earlier type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short i has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VII, line 3, cols. XII, XIII, XV to XVIII, and plate VIII, line 3, cols. II to V. I give two other illustrations in the margin: A. is drawn from the i of *iṣṇār-vorūṣ*-, line 20, letter No. 13, in the Sirār inscription of A.D. 866 from the Dhārwar District, Bombay, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 206, plate: B. is from the i of *irugaṣṣe*-, line 5, No. 22, in the Bēgār inscription of the period A.D. 908-38 from the Bangalore District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 48, plate. In this type the character consisted, when fully made, of two parts, with various forms according to certain differences in the details of the two parts. The lower part consisted of two components, which were placed sometimes on the lower line of the writing, sometimes below it. These components, when made with uniformity, were sometimes two small circles, as in B., or two round marks which were not completely closed in as circles, and sometimes two dots, as in A., which might be either round or of irregular shape. But sometimes, whether owing to caprice or carelessness of the writers, or to indifferent work by the engravers, or to the material breaking away (especially in the case of records on stone) in the hands of the engravers, these details are met with interchanged, and we have a circle accompanied by a dot. And occasionally the components of

¹ Literally, "amongst us who are so many as these, marry all whom thou art pleased with!"

² German original in the *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde*, vol. I, part II (1896): English version in *Jed. As.*, vol. 33 (1904), appendix.

the lower part were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were then usually brought down to the lower line of the writing: for a published instance of this, from the eastern parts of Southern India, see *iti*, line 43, No. 17, *irula*, line 66, No. 5, and *idigēri*, the same line, No. 14, in the Kaluchumbarru grant of the period A.D. 945-70, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 186, plate. In a quite exceptional instance of A.D. 982 from Mysore (see p. 13 below) the lower part consists of three circles, instead of two: this can only be regarded as a freak. The upper part sometimes took the form of a plain smooth arch, as in *itodu*, line 2, No. 5, and *ittodān*, line 3, No. 11, in the inscription of the period A.D. 597-608 outside the Vaishnava cave No. 3 at Bādāmi in the Bijāpūr District, Bombay, *Archæol. Surv. West. India*, vol. 1, p. 24, plate; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 59, plate. But usually there was a more or less marked notch or bend down, pointed or curved, in the centre of the top: we have this in its pointed form in the illustrations A. and B. given herewith; and more markedly in *iti*, line 21, No. 12, in one of the early Kadamba copperplate records, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 96, plate: in its curved form, which had the effect of giving a waving shape to the top stroke, we have it in *iti*, the last line, No. 9, in the Haidarābād plates of A.D. 612, *ibid.*, p. 74, plate. And sometimes this notched form was made so flatly that it resembles rather closely the outspread wings of a hovering bird: see, for instance (though these cases do not come from the particular territories with which we are concerned), Professor Bühler's plate VII, 3, IV, VI, VII, IX, and plate VIII, 3, I. The upper part is usually found single, formed by one continuous sweeping movement: but in some cases it has a disjointed appearance, with a break in the middle, as if it was made by two separate strokes, as in *idam*, line 9, No. 17, in the Nerūr plates of the period A.D. 609-42 from the Sāwantwādī State, Bombay, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 8, p. 44, plate, and in *ica*, line 42, No. 9, from the end, *idam*, line 56, No. 9 from the end, and *idigārs*, line 82, No. 10 from the end, in the Kadāba plates from the Tumkūr District, Mysore, which bear a date in A.D. 812 or 813, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 14, plate: *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Gb. 61, plate: as, however, this feature is only noticed in records on copper, it is evidently to be attributed to the process of engraving, not to the writers. The sides of the upper part were not always of equal length. And sometimes the left side is curled in much more than the right side; as, for instance, in the cases mentioned above from the Haidarābād and Kadāba plates, and, in fact, in the Dēvagēri inscription itself. Sometimes both the sides were well curled in, as in the illustrations A. and B. above, and more markedly in *iridu*, line 4, No. 1, and *icu*, line 5, No. 1, in the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of about A.D. 765, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 162, plate: so also in an instance from the eastern parts of Southern India, in *iti*, line 85, No. 7 from the end, in the Rānastipūṇḍī grant of A.D. 1019, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 357, plate. Occasionally, the right side was continued downwards in a slanting direction to, or towards, between the two components of the lower part: one instance of this is found in *idam* (for *inam*=), line 13, No. 40, in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription of A.D. 602, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 19, p. 18, plate: another is Professor Bühler's plate VII, 3, XVIII, which is from the *ity*= in line 13, No. 11, of the Eastern Chalukya record of A.D. 608, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 186, with plate in vol. 8, p. 320. And sometimes the right side was continued down into the right component of the lower part: this was a transitional form, which will be noticed below.

The later type of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *i* has been illustrated by Professor Bühler in his plate VIII, line 3, cols. VI, VIII, IX. I give three other illustrations in the margin: C. from *ittam*, line 22, No. 2 from the end, in the (?) Masulipatam plates or Ākulamannaṇḍu grant of the period A.D. 934-45 (see p. 15 below): D. is drawn from the *i* of *int-iṇitu*, in line 46 of the inscription of A.D. 980 at Saṇḍattī in the Belgaum District, Bombay, *Jour. Bo. Br. R. As. Soc.*, vol. 10, p. 207 (no plate), and it is practically the modern form now used, both in Kanarese and in Telugu: E. is from the *i* of *icu*, line 25, No. 4, in the inscription of A.D. 1064 on the Jattīṅga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 212, plate. In this type the character, when properly and

C	D	E
2	3	3

customarily formed, did not consist of separate parts, but was made in one unbroken whole by a continuous sweeping movement of the reed or *stilus*. But, as with the earlier type, the top is occasionally found in a disjointed shape, as a result of the process of engraving: for instance, in *itaś*, line 79, No. 4, in the Chellār plates of A.D. 1143, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 59, plate. And the top part in the instance figured as C. above was evidently made by the writer by two strokes instead of one continuous movement. The top of the letter in this type is the upper part of the earlier type, in its notched form: but a very exceptional form is occasionally found in records from the eastern side of Southern India, in which the character begins with a curl down towards the left, instead of the curl up to the right: see, for instance, *iti*, line 102, the last *akṣhara* but one, in the Teki plates of A.D. 1086-87, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 343, plate. The remainder of it was made by continuing the right side of the top downwards, and then in a loop upwards to the left and turning to the right to meet the down-stroke; and it was finished off by a projection taken to the right and turned down into a sort of tail: in some cases, however, this projection to the right is very rudimentary, as, indeed, in the illustration E.; and in others, of the transitional class (see below), it does not appear at all.

The method of the transition from the earlier to the later type can be easily recognized though an intervening link or two may be wanting. The first step was a continuation of the right side of the upper part of the earlier type down to touch the right component of the lower part: I give an instance of this, in the illustration F. in the margin, from an Eastern Chalukya record, the Traṇḍapara grant, of the period A.D. 844-88 (see p. 15 below). The next step was to form the right component of the lower part, not by an entirely separate movement after raising the reed or *stilus*, but by an unbroken continuation of the down-stroke: we have an instance of this, with the right lower component formed by a continuation of that movement to the left, in Professor Bühler's plate VIII, 3, II, which is from the *i* of *int-app-āt* in line 13, No. 4 from the end, in the Kanarese record of Gōvinda III of A.D. 804, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 11, p. 137, plate.¹ It must, however, have become customary, in this continuous formation of the right lower component, to make the movement to the right, instead of the left. The next step probably was to make the entire letter by one continuous stroke, without any lifting of the reed or *stilus*, in the manner suggested in illustration G. given in the margin, with the two circles of the lower part running into each other. In the cursive movement thus set up, a subsequent step certainly was to make one large loop serve the purpose of the two circles, as in illustration H.: we have instances of this in *ty-āra* (for *ty-āra*), line 12, No. 7, and *i* (for *i*) *damnavan*, line 16, the last *akṣhara*, in the inscription of A.D. 1047-48 at Mīṇḍigal in the Kōlār District, Mysore, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate. It seems to have been then recognized that a confusion was liable to arise between the initial short *i* and the initial *ai* of the same alphabet:² and it must have been in order to avoid such

F



G



H



¹ In this record the vowel is found in also *īdaś* (for *idaś*), line 12-13: but it does not present the same peculiarity there.

² The Kanarese and Telugu initial *ai* is of somewhat rare occurrence, and has not been illustrated by Professor Bühler, who, in fact, gave only one southern *ai*, plate VII, 6, VII, from *aiśvargya*, line 61, No. 7, in the Alṅā Valabhi plates of A.D. 766, my *Gupta Inscriptions*, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, vol. 3, p. 179, plate. Other instances from that part of Southern India may be seen in *aiḥik*, line 23, No. 37, of plate II, in the Valabhi record of A.D. 760, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 21, plate, and in the same word, line 21, No. 11, in the Rāṣṭrakūṭa record of A.D. 813 from Tōrkḥōḍā, *ante*, vol. 3, p. 55, plate: these two forms are more like those which we have from the Kanarese country.

A Kanarese initial *ai* of the eleventh century may be seen in *ai-goḷagaś*, line 14, No. 4 from the end, in the Mīṇḍigal Chōḷa inscription of A.D. 1047-48 from Mysore, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate. An earlier form may be seen in *ai-goḷa*, line 13, the last *akṣhara* but one, in a Bāga inscription, also from Mysore, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 10, p. 39, plate; *Ep. Carn.* vol. 10 (Kōlār), Sp. 6, with plate (a better one) at translations, p. 272.

A Telugu initial *ai* of about A.D. 900 may be seen in *aiśiśya*, line 32, No. 9, in the Eastern Chalukya grant of the period A.D. 838-918, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 129, plate.

confusion that there was added the projecting tail to the right, which produced the form illustrated in C., D., and E. above.

Professor Bühler's latest instances of the earlier type are as follows. As noted in the preceding paragraph, his plate VIII, 3, II, is an *i* of A.D. 804, and is really a transitional form. His plate VIII, 3, III, is from the record on the Kaḍaba plates from Mysore, bearing a date in A.D. 812 or 813: the vowel is found fourteen times in this record: the instance figured seems to be from *īva*, line 15, No. 23 (side ii a, line 1), *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 14, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12 (Tumkār), Gb. 61, plate. His remaining two illustrations are from the eastern parts of Southern India. The later of them, plate VIII, 3, V, is entered as if it was taken from the copper-plate record which gives the date of the coronation of Amma II in A.D. 945, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 15, plates: but that record does not include any initial *i*; and the illustration seems to have been supplied from *īh-aṣṣatē*, line 40, No. 7 (side iii b, last line), in the 'Pāṇanavaram' plates or Diggubayya grant of the period A.D. 934-45, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 214, plate. On the other side, his earliest instance of the later type is plate VIII, 3, VI: it is from the eastern part of Southern India, from the copperplate record which gives the date of the anointment of Rājaraṇa I in A.D. 1022, and may be of any date from that year up to about A.D. 1063; and it appears to be the *i* of *iti*, line 11, No. 5, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, plate. There is thus a gap in the history of the Kanarese and Telugu initial short *i*, of roughly a century, from A.D. 934-45 to 1022-63, to be extended, in fact, as regards the Kanarese country, to even two centuries, in respect of which we have, so far, no information. We have now to see how this gap can be bridged over. It was chiefly due, as far as Professor Bühler was concerned, to a lack of materials in the shape of published facsimiles. The same want still exists to almost the same extent. But we can now cite various facsimiles which have been published since his time: and I can supplement them by ink-impressions which necessarily were not available to him.

We will consider first such materials as are available from the Kanarese districts of the Bombay Presidency; taking the matter up from the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Bühler's latest instance of the earlier type. Here I use only records which are specifically dated; and, when I cannot refer to a published plate, I cite my details from ink-impressions which were prepared under my direction when I was in the districts in question.¹

From these parts, we still have the earlier type of the initial short *i* running through the records of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. We have it in the Nilgund inscription, dated in A.D. 886, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar; *ante*, vol. 6, p. 102, plate; in *iti*, line 6, No. 17: it occurs also in *īdan-* towards the end of line 28, to which part of the record, however, the plate does not extend. We have it again in the Sirūr inscription of the same date, from the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar; *ante*, vol. 7, p. 206, plate; in *iti*, line 4, No. 6, and *īṣṣarvoraṣa*, line 20, No. 13: the illustration A. on p. 7 above is from the latter instance. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 872 or 874, at Chīṣṣhli in the Gadag tāluka; in *īdopayyaṣa* and *īat-i*, line 4. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 874, at Rōṣ, the head-quarters of the Rōṣ tāluka in the same district; in *īdan-*, line 10: also in the same word in line 4 of a second record, not dated, below that one. And again in the Niḍagundi inscription of A.D. 874-75, or within a year on either side, from the Baṅkāpār tāluka, Dhārwar; *ante*, vol. 7, p. 213, plate; in *īdan*, line 16, No. 13, in *īdan-*, line 17, No. 12, and in *i* (for *ī*) *kallāṣa*, line 19, No. 8: also in *i* (for *ī*) *īṇamaṣa* in line 25 in the supplementary record at the top of the stone, not shown in the plate. And for the next reign, that of Kṛishṇa II, we

¹ I have abstained from quoting a few records which are of doubtful authenticity: and it has of course been useless to quote records which refer themselves to (for instance) the reign of a Kannaradēva or Kannaravallabha, without anything to indicate which king Kṛishṇa is intended. But I have not found in any of them anything that conflicts in any way whatsoever with the facts and results which I bring forward.

have it in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 897-98, at the village Chiñchli mentioned above; in *it*, line 7, and *idan*, lines 14 and 17.

On the other hand, we have the later type in an unpublished fragmentary inscription of the same reign, of Kṛishṇa II, dated in A.D. 901-2, at Yeli-Śirūr in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar; in *irppatta*, line 1: here the precise form is a lop-sided one, very much like that which we have in *ity*-, line 41, No. 12, in the Taki plates of A.D. 1086-87 from the eastern side of Southern India, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 339, plate. And the later type is found again in the Nandwāḍige inscription of the same reign, dated in A.D. 903, from the Hangund tāluka, Bijāpūr; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 221, with plate in vol. 11, p. 127; in *irppatt*-, line 2, No. 1. These two cases are the earliest instances of the later type that I can cite from either the western or the eastern parts of Southern India: but they are run close by an instance of A.D. 909-10 from the Kolār District, Mysore (see p. 12 below).

The next record takes us back to the earlier type: it is the Hattī-Mattūr inscription of the time of Indra III, dated in A.D. 916-17, from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 224 (no plate): here we have the earlier type, in a thoroughly archaic form, in *idan*, line 10, and *i* (for *i*) *stitiyaṇ*-, line 11. Regarding the second inscription on the same stone, see lower down on this page.

The next records take us on again to the later type. One is the unpublished Kalas inscription of the time of Gōvinda IV, dated in A.D. 930, from the Bañkāpūr tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 177: here we have the vowel in the later type in *idan*-, line 73. The others are records of the time of Kṛishṇa III. Here we have the later type in the unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 942, at Rōḡ, Dhārwar District, noticed in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 30, p. 262: in *i[da]*, or some such word, in the last line but one. Again in an unpublished inscription, dated in A.D. 946, at Tappadu-Kurahatti in the Nawalgund tāluka, Dhārwar; in *idarks*, line 16, in *int-i keygaṇ* and *idan*, line 20, and in *idan*-, line 23. And again in the Soratūr inscription of A.D. 951, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 257 (no plate); in *idan*-, line 20.

On the other hand, the earlier type is presented again in the unpublished Chiñchli inscription of the same reign, dated in A.D. 953, from the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 83; in *idarks* or *ivarks*, line 29.

We next have the later type again in the unpublished inscription of A.D. 967, 970, or 971, of the time of Khottiga, at Hirā-Handigol in the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 180; in *int=appavaṇ*, line 20.

But the earlier type appears again in an unpublished inscription of the same reign, dated in A.D. 969, at Nāgāvi in the same tāluka, noticed *ante*, vol. 6, p. 180, and *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 422, note 3; in *ivarks* or *idarks* in the last line but five.

For the time of the last Rashtrakūṭa king, Kakka II, I cannot cite any instance of the use of this initial vowel. The next available record is one in which we find the two types mixed, just as in the Devagēri inscription. It is the inscription of A.D. 975 from Hebbāl, in the Lakshmeśwar subdivision of the Miraj State within the limits of the Dhārwar District; *ante*, vol. 4, p. 351 (no plate): here we have the later type in *irppattu*, line 35; but in *int=ty=ayrar*-, line 38, we have the earlier type, with the sides of the top brought down to the lower line of the writing, and with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part of the letter.¹ And we may note that we have the same mixture of types in the undated inscription which lies below the Hattī-Mattūr record of A.D. 916-17 (mentioned above) from the Karajgi tāluka, Dhārwar; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 224 (no plate): here we have the later type in *int=ivar*-, line 15, and in

¹ For similar instances from the eastern parts of Southern India, see pp. 15, 16, below.

idaṃ, line 17; but in *idaṃ*-, line 19, we have the earlier type, and again with prolongation of the sides of the top down to the lower line of the writing, together with omission of the two circles or dots of the lower part. It thus now seems that, in spite of a somewhat marked difference in the general appearance of the characters, this second record at Hattī-Mattūr cannot be placed as late as I thought when I edited it, but must be referred to not long after A.D. 975.

The two cases mentioned in the preceding paragraph are the latest instances, that I can cite, of the use of the earlier type of the initial *i* in the Kanarese districts of Bombay. The next available records all show the fully developed later type. The first is the unpublished inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Taila II, dated in A.D. 980, at Sogal in the Parasgaḍ tāluka, Belgaum, mentioned in *Dyn. Kan. Distrs.*, p. 428: here we have the vowel in *i* (for *i*) *dharmamān*-, line 2 from the end. The next is the inscription of the same reign, dated six months later in the same year, at Saundatti, the head-quarters of the Parasgaḍ tāluka; *Jour. As. Soc. Ind.*, vol. 10, p. 204 (no plate): here we have the vowel in *int=initu*, line 46, illustrated as D. on p. 8 above. The next is the unpublished inscription of the time of Irivabadaṅga-Satyāśraya, dated in A.D. 1002, at Gadag, the head-quarters of the Gadag tāluka, Dhārwar, mentioned in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 2, p. 297, No. 3 (where the date has been wrongly shown as Śaka-samvat 984, instead of 924): here we have the vowel in *int=icariṣ*, line 6 from the end. It seems unnecessary to pursue the matter beyond this point: in every other instance from the Bombay districts, known to me, only the later type is found.

We now take the matter up for Mysore and Coorg; starting, again, with the earliest instance, known to me, after Professor Bühler's latest instance of the earlier type, and using chiefly records which are specifically dated, but also a few which can be distinctly referred to well-ascertained periods. Here, when I cannot point to published plates, I cite my details from ink-impressions for which I am indebted to Professor Hultzsch and Mr. H. Krishna Sastri.

From these parts, we have the earlier type of the initial short *i* in an inscription dated in A.D. 878-79 at Baragūr in the Tumkūr District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Si. 38 (no plate); in *int=ā*, east face, line 1. Again in the Bīlūr inscription, dated in A.D. 888, from Coorg; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 102, No. 2, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 1, p. 5 (no plate); in *idarkke*, line 10, No. 14, and line 11, No. 13, and in *idaṃ*-, line 11, No. 18. Again in an inscription of about A.D. 891-92 (see *ante*, vol. 6, p. 68) at Kyātanahalli in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Sr. 147, plate; in *idaṃ*-, line 15, No. 1. Again in an inscription dated in A.D. 904 at Bētamāṅgala in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Bp. 1 (no plate); in *ippatt*-, line 3, in *ivage* (?), line 14, and in *idaṃ*-, line 15: here, in the second instance, the right side of the upper part of the letter is continued down to the right component of the lower part, giving a transitional form mentioned on p. 9 above. Again in an inscription dated in A.D. 907 at Tāyalūr in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Md. 14, with plate; in *idaṃ*-, line 12, the last *akshara* but one, in *idarkke*, line 14, No. 18, and in *inibara*, line 15, No. 17: in these three cases the two circles or dots forming the lower part of the letter are absent; but that is probably due to the person who prepared the lithograph (which is not a facsimile), rather than to the writer or the engraver. And again in the Bēgūr inscription of the Gaṅga prince Eṇeyappa, of the period about A.D. 908 to 936, from the Bangalore District; *ante*, vol. 6, p. 48, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 2, frontispiece; in *irugaṅge*, line 5, No. 22, in *iggalēru*, line 8, No. 4, and in *inituma*[*ṇ*], line 15, No. 4: the first of these instances is given as illustration B. on p. 7 above.

In Mysore and Coorg, I find the later type first in an inscription, dated in A.D. 909-10, at Manigattu-Gollaballi in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Mb. 229 (no plate): here we have the vowel in *iv*, line 4, and *inpara*, line 7, in a form resembling illustration D. on p. 8 above, but not shaped in so slanting a fashion, and made with the looped part smaller in proportion; it resembles more closely, in fact, the instance of A.D. 961-62 mentioned farther on.

This is the earliest instance but two, known to me, of the occurrence of the later type: the earlier instances are those of A.D. 901-2 and 903 from the Dhārwar and Bijāpūr Districts, Bombay, mentioned on p. 11 above. If this instance came from the north of Mysore, it would be quite intelligible. But it comes from a part where we do not trace the later type again till A.D. 1029-30, and where we find indications of a transitional position even after that time (see p. 14 below). It is therefore peculiar. And we can only regard it as intrusive, and conjecture that the writer of this record was not a local man, but came from some territory where the later type of the vowel was well established. The explanation is perhaps to be found in the fact that the record, which comes from the Baīrakūr hobli in the north-east quarter of the Mulbāgal tāluka, near the boundary of the North Arcot District, Madras, is a Bāṇa record: we know that the territory of the Bāṇa princes of this period extended at least well into North Arcot.

We are taken back to the earlier type by the next available record, an inscription of the time of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Govinda IV, dated in A.D. 930-31, at Nandigudi in the Chitaldroog District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Dg. 119, plate; here we have the vowel in *idan=*, line 8, No. 9. We have it again in an inscription dated in A.D. 942 at Hēmāvati in the Anantapur District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 12, Si. 28;¹ in *irica*, line 29, and *int-ivar*, line 53. And again in an inscription dated in A.D. 944-45 at Bāṭamaṅgala in the Kōlār District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Bp. 2 (no plate); in *idan=*, line 12: here the components of the lower part of the letter were perhaps omitted.

The next record comes from the northern part of Mysore, and gives us a second instance of the later type; namely, an inscription dated in A.D. 961-62 on the Jattiṅga-Rāmēśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Mk. 27, with plate at texts, p. 142: here we have the vowel in *idara*, line 5, No. 1.

In the south, however, we have the earlier type again in the epitaph of the Gaṅga prince Nōlambāntaka-Mārasimha, framed in A.D. 975, at Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa in the Hassan District; *ante*, vol. 5, p. 178, plate; in *ity=*, line 50, No. 1, and *intu*, line 100, No. 1: here, in both cases, both the sides of the upper part of the letter were continued down to the components of the lower part. We have it again in the Peggu-ūr inscription dated in A.D. 978, from Coorg; *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 6, p. 162, No. 1, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 1, p. 7, plate; in *idan=*, line 18, No. 1. And again in the Śravaṇa-Belgoḷa epitaph of the Rāshtrakūṭa prince Indra IV, dated in A.D. 982, from the Hassan District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 2, p. 53 (no plate); in *iriyalk=*, north face, line 15, and *irade*, south face, line 31: here in the first case, the lower component consists quite exceptionally, of three (instead of two) circles.²

I cannot cite any use of the earlier type in Mysore after that date. From about half-way down the western side of the province, we have the fully developed later type in the Chikmagalur inscription, which belongs to the period A.D. 989-1005, from the Kadūr District; *ante*, vol. 8, p. 58 (no plate); *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 6, Cm. 3 (no plate: I cite the form from the photograph from which I edited the record); in *ippāgu* (for *innāgu*), line 9, in *int-ivar=* and *i* (for *i*) *koḍaṅgeyam*, line 12, and in *indavārada*, line 16. And the next two citable records from the northern parts (beyond which we need not pursue the matter for that locality) present the same type. One is an inscription of the time of the Western Chālukya king Jayasimha II, dated in A.D. 1035, at Belagāmi in the Shimoga District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 7, Śk. 126, plate; see, more clearly, the photograph in *Pāli, Sanskrit, and Old-Canarese Inscriptions*, No. 155: here we have the vowel in *int=i*, line 23, No. 5, and in *int=i*, line 32, No. 4. The other is the inscription

¹ A plate is given *op. cit.*, translations, p. 92; but it shows only the first seventeen lines of the record. In line 14 we have, not *indrō* as given in the published text in Roman characters, but *indrō*, with the long *i* by mistake for the short vowel, as given in the text in Kanarese characters.

² In line 25 of the north face, at the beginning of verse 6, the original seems distinctly to have *dāra*, as given in the text in Kanarese characters. At any rate, the word is not *iru*, as given in the romanized text.

of the time of the Western Chālukya prince Viṣṇuvardhana-Vijayāditya, dated in A.D. 1064, on the Jaṭṭiṅga-Rāmaśvara hill in the Chitaldroog District; *ante*, vol. 4, p. 213, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 11, Mk. 29, with plate at text, p. 130; here we have the vowel in *iva*, line 25, No. 4, and in *i* (for *i*) *dārmamama*, line 25, No. 3, from the end: the illustration E. on p. 8 above is from the first of these two instances.

The northern parts of Mysore, however, the Shimoga and Chitaldroog Districts, were subjected to progressive influences, first under the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings and then under the Western Chālukyas, which did not penetrate much beyond them. In the south, I trace the later type again, for the first time after A.D. 909-10 (p. 12 above), in the Chōla inscription, dated in A.D. 1029-30, at Soladēvanahalli in the Bangalore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 2, Nl. 1, with plate at translations, p. 28; in *idarkke*, line 14, No. 11: here the letter is formed in a very exceptional manner; the end of it is curled over inside the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried on to that stroke or across it into the usual tail. We perhaps have the later type, fully formed, in the Chōla inscription, dated in A.D. 1032 (see *ante*, vol. 4, p. 69), at Suttūr in the Mysore District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 3, Nj. 164 (no plate): here, in the last line, we seem to have either *desey=akkkhaṇḍuga*, corrected into *desē ikkkhaṇḍuga*, or else *desē ikkkhaṇḍuga*, corrected into *desey=akkkhaṇḍuga* for *desey=ikkkhaṇḍuga*. And we certainly have a form of the later type in the Chōla inscription, dated in A.D. 1047-48, at Mīṇḍigal in the Kōlār District; *ante*, vol. 5, p. 207, plate; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 10, Ct. 30 (no plate); in *īy=āra* (for *īy=āra*), line 12, No. 7, and in *i* (for *i*) *dammama*, line 16, the last akṣara: here, in both cases, the form is practically identical with that which I have given as a transitional form in the illustration H. on p. 9 above; the loop of the lower part stops short at the down-stroke on the right, instead of being carried across that stroke and on to form the usual tail. These two instances of A.D. 1029-30 and 1047-48 are suggestive that for an appreciable time after A.D. 982 the letter was still in a transitional stage in the southern and south-eastern parts, and that, when more materials are available, we may find the earlier type still in use there up to about A.D. 1000. Good specimens of the later type in its full form, from the southern part of the province, may be seen in two records, dated in A.D. 1117, from Bēlūr in the Hassan District; *Epi. Carn.*, vol. 5, Bl. 58, plate; in *īy=atō*, line 2, No. 7 from the end, and in *īma*, line 13, No. 57: and *ibid.*, Bl. 71, plate; in *īy=atō*, line 10, No. 6. But it was, of course, well established everywhere long before that time.

Coming now to sum up the inquiry, we find the position to be as follows. In the Kanarese districts of Bombay, we have the earlier type of the initial short *i* still in use up to at least A.D. 975. But the later type figures freely along with it from A.D. 901-2. For this part of the country, then, we may consider that the tenth century was a transitional period of usage, when the later type, though well established, had not yet superseded the earlier one, but both of them were accepted on equal terms. And in these circumstances we feel no surprise at finding the two types occasionally used together in one and the same record; in the Dēvagēri inscription, which we refer to A.D. 958; in the Hebbāḷ inscription, which is dated in A.D. 975; and in the undated inscription at Hatti-Mattūr. As regards Mysore, with Coorg, we must separate the northern parts from the southern. In the north, the case was probably much the same as in the Bombay districts, though we have not, so far, actually traced the later type there before A.D. 961-62. And, as we find the later type half-way down the western side of the province between A.D. 989 and 1005, we may expect to meet with it anywhere from about A.D. 1000. In the south, however, the change was plainly slower. We have not, indeed, actually traced the use of the earlier type there after A.D. 982. But the later type is found there only once before that time; in an instance of A.D. 909-10 which we can only regard as intrusive. And the records of A.D. 1029-30 and 1047-48 suggest that the commencement of the period of transitional usage in the south can hardly be placed

much, if at all, before A.D. 975, and that we may yet meet with instances of the earlier type there running well into the eleventh century.

We turn now to the eastern parts of Southern India, taking the matter up from the records of the Eastern Chalukya kings, in which series, again, we now have available various inscriptions, presenting the vowel in question and covering the period in which we are interested, which were not known to Professor Bühler.¹ There are two records of this series which I have not been able to examine: namely, the Edera plates or Goṣṭṛa grant of Amma I, of the period A.D. 918-25, *South-Ind. Inscri.*, vol. 1, p. 39 (no plate), where we have the vowel twice, in lines 38, 54; and the Nandamapōḍi grant of Rājārāja I, dated in his thirty-second year, A.D. 1053-54, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 303 (no plate): here the vowel occurs twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 80-87. Setting them aside, from an examination, either in the published plates or in ink-impressions, of all the other records of the whole series down to A.D. 1143, I find the position to be as follows:—

The record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Traṇḍapaṇa grant, of Vijayāditya III, of the period A.D. 844-88, *Epi. Ind.*, vol. 5, p. 123, with plate showing lines 1 to 15 and 26 to 30, contains the vowel twice, in *ittham*-, line 18, and *iea*, line 35, and presents it in both cases in the earlier type, but in the transitional form with the right side of the upper part continued down to touch the right component of the lower part. The published facsimile does not include these two passages. I have given this form, from *iea*, line 35, as illustration F. on p. 9 above.

The earliest instance of the later type from this part of Southern India² is found in the record on the (?) Masulipatam plates, the Ākulamannapḍa grant, of Chālukya-Bhīma II, of the period A.D. 834-45, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 135, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8 and 17 to 25: in this record the vowel occurs only once, in *ittham*-, line 22, the last *akṣhara* but one, given as illustration C. on p. 8 above: the upper part of it was plainly formed by two separate strokes instead of one continuous movement. The other records of the same period show the earlier type: the Diggubagga grant on the 'Pāḡauavaram' plates, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 213, with plates, has it three times, in lines 15 and 40 (see note 1 on this page); the Koḍhatalli grant on the Kolavenna plates, *South-Ind. Inscri.*, vol. 1, p. 44 (no plates), also gives it three times, in *indura*-, line 19, *ittham*- (for *ittham*-), line 22, and *iti*, line 23; and in the instance in line 23 the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing.³

The records of the next period, the reign of Vijayāditya-Amma II, A.D. 945-70, shew only the earlier type, as follows:⁴—The Masulipatam plates or Pāmbagga grant, *ante*, vol. 5, p. 140, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, and 17 to 24: once, in *indaaṣ*-, line 25, the last *akṣhara* but two.⁵ The Elavagga grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 12, p. 91, with plates; five times, in lines

¹ His limiting instances of the two types were taken from this same series of records. His latest instance of the earlier type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col. V; and it seems to be the *i* of *iṣ-aiṣaṭ*, line 40, No. 7 (side iii 5, last line), in the 'Pāḡauavaram' plates or Diggubagga grant of Chālukya-Bhīma II, of the period A.D. 834-45, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 213, with plates: this record presents the vowel again in *iea*, line 15, No. 14, and *ie-aiṣipāṭa*, line 49, the last *akṣhara* but four. His earliest instance of the later type is that given in his plate VIII, line 3, col. VI, from the Korumelli grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, with plates, which gives the date of the ascertainment of Rājārāja I in A.D. 1022, and may be of any date from that time up to about A.D. 1063: this record presents the vowel six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103: Professor Bühler's illustration seems to be from *iti*, line 11, No. 5.

² For the slightly earlier instances from Bombay and Mysore, see pp. 11, 12, above.

³ Compare similar instances in the Kaluchumbagga grant: see p. 16 below.

⁴ Two of them do not present the vowel at all: the Paḷaṅkalūra grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 7, p. 15; and the Tāḍeru grant on the Vandram plates, *ante*, vol. 9, p. 123.

⁵ Professor Kailash was in doubt as to the type of the letter here: see *loc. cit.*, p. 139, note 4. But I am able to say, from clearer impressions than those which he had, that it is certainly of the earlier type, with damage of the right component of the lower part.

39, 49, 51, 54, 55. The Gaṇḍugolana grant, on plates now in the British Museum, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 13, p. 249, with plates: twice, in lines 20, 22. The Masulipatam plates, *South-Ind. Insers.*, vol. 1, p. 47 (no plate): once, in line 34. The Kalachumbarga grant, *ante*, vol. 7, p. 185, with a plate showing lines 1 to 8, 33 to 50, and 60 to 69: three times, in *iti*, line 43, No. 17, *irṛula*, line 66, No. 5, and *iḍiyāri*, the same line, No. 14; and here, in each case, the components of the lower part of the letter were omitted, and the ends of the upper part were brought down to the bottom line of the writing.¹ And the Maliyapāṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol. 9, p. 50, with plates: once, in *iva*, line 23, No. 6.

The next known record is the Rapastipāṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, *ante*, vol. 6, p. 331, with plates. This record, which gives the date of the king's anointment in A.D. 1011, and is itself dated in his eighth year, in A.D. 1018, presents the vowel seven times, in lines 55, 66 (twice), 70, 85, 87, 97, and in the earlier type throughout.

This is the latest instance of the use of the earlier type that I can cite from either the eastern or the western parts of Southern India. In the Eastern Chalukya series, the next records are two of the time of Rājārāja I; and the order of them perhaps remains to be determined according to what we may learn from one of them about the use of this vowel. One is the Korumelli grant, *Ind. Ant.*, vol. 14, p. 50, with plates, which gives the date of the king's anointment, in A.D. 1022, and may possibly date from that year itself: it presents the later type of the vowel, six times, in lines 11, 47, 50, 56, 63, 103. The other is the Nandamapāṇḍi grant, *ante*, vol. 4, p. 303 (no plate), which also mentions the date of the anointment, but is itself dated in the thirty-second year of the reign, A.D. 1053-54; it has the vowel twelve times, in lines 10, 55, 72, 75, 81-87; and, as mentioned on p. 15 above, it remains to be examined in respect of the type which it presents.

NO. 2.—PALITANA PLATES OF SIMHADITYA; THE YEAR 255.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

The existence of these plates was made public by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, p. 129, No. 1. They belong to the State of Palitānā in Kāthiāvar and are reported to have been unearthed in the city of Palitānā some forty years ago. When first discovered, they were fastened together with six Maitraka grants by a single Valabhī seal and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank underneath a large stone. I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-impressions, prepared by Dr. Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr. W. C. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the originals.

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to Mr. Venkayya, about 9½ inches in breadth and varying between 7½ and 7¼ inches in height. Each of the two plates bears on its inner side 14 lines of well-preserved writing. The letters show through on the back of the plates, especially of the second one. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate, but no ring or seal is forthcoming.

The alphabet is of an early Southern type and includes the signs of *jīkṛāmaḍitya* (ll. 2, 17) and of *upadhāmaḍitya* (ll. 9, 19, 23, 27) and final forms of *i* (l. 25) and of *a* (l. 4). The date (l. 27) is expressed in numerical symbols.

¹ Compare a similar instance in the Kāthātūli grant on the Kolavennu plates; see p. 15 above. For instances from the west, see pp. 11, 12, 13, above.

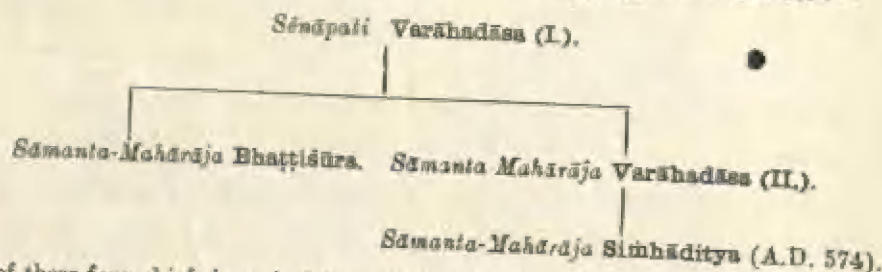
The rules of *sandhi* are very carefully observed, with two exceptions (ll. 3 f. and 20). The *anuvāda* is represented by *ā* before *ś* (l. 3) and *h* (l. 17), and the vowel *ri* is replaced by the syllable *ri* in *krīta* (ll. 13, 26) and *krīṣṇa* (l. 21),¹ while the correct forms *krīta* (l. 2) etc. are used in all other cases. The final *s* of *vakṣas* is elided before *sthala* (l. 17) in accordance with the *Varttika* on Pāṇini, viii, 3, 36, and consonants following *r* are doubled, with the exception of *t* in *kīrti* (l. 2) and of *bh* in *dvibhāta* (l. 3).

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose; two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end (ll. 24-27).

The inscription records a grant of land, made by the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja* *Simhāditya* (l. 17) of the *Gārulaka* family (l. 2). This order was issued from a place named *Phaṅkaprasravana* (l. 1). The donor was a Brāhmaṇa of the *Maitrāyaṇika* school who lived at *Ēlāpadra* (l. 20 f.). The object of the grant was a field with a pond in the village *Darbhaḥāra* (l. 21 f.). I am unable to identify *Phaṅkaprasravana* and *Darbhaḥāra*. *Ēlāpadra*, as Dr. Fleet suggests to me, may be 'Velvad' in the *Gōdhrā tāluka*, *Pañch Mahāla*.

The date of the grant was the 13th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month *Āśvayuja* in the year 255 (l. 27) of an era which is not specified, but which, as suggested by Mr. Jackson, is probably the Gupta-Valabhi era of A.D. 319. The specified month, then, places the record in A.D. 574.

As stated by Mr. Jackson, the *Gārulaka* family is a hitherto unknown dynasty of feudatory chiefs who may be assumed to have been tributaries (*sāmanta*) of the *Maitraka* kings. The *Gārulaka* *Simhāditya* was a contemporary of *Dharasena* II. of *Valabhi*. The name *Gārulaka* seems to stand for *Gārulaka* or *Gārūḍaka* and suggests that this family claimed descent from *Vishṇu's* bird *Garuḍa*. The inscription contains the following pedigree of the donor :—



Each of these four chiefs is praised in purely conventional terms. The only item of information which may be based on a historical fact, is the statement (l. 11 f.) that *Varāhadāsa* II. defeated a ruler of *Dvārakā* (on the west coast of *Kāthiāvar*), whose individual name is not recorded.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति [१*] फलप्रसवणाव्यक्तकर्मोद्भूताभ्युदयाभिभूताशेषदिवामनेक-
समरयत-
2 संपाताव्यन्तविजयिना* प्रभूतयशस्वीर्लङ्कारालङ्कृतान्वयभुवां गारुलकानां
3 वङ्गानुक्रमेणाविर्भूतो* दीनानायाश्रितार्तातिथ्यन्ववर्जनोपजीव्यमानविभयविस्तरः*

¹ The ungrammatical form **pitryōḥ* (l. 19) also presupposes an erroneous base *pitri* instead of *pitṛi*.

² From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Vankar.

Read °न।

* Read °यश°.

* Expressed by a symbol.

* Read °विस्तरः°.

- 4 तद्विवाचीशफलच्छायतयैकान्तपरोपकारी प्रयत्नलक्ष्यलक्षणः चान्तिमान्
 5 चीणशचुरचीणकुशलाशयो युधिष्ठिरवदसाधारणधर्मसेतुः श्रीसेनापति-
 6 वराहदासस्तस्य सत्सुनुर्हृशरथादितृपसदृशचरितो नयविनयदमदया-
 7 दानदचदाचिस्थोत्साहसंपन्नो¹ मन्वादिप्रणीतमृत्यन्तरसलिलावगाहनविश्व-
 8 हधोर्हीरः स्वकरपरिभूतारितिमिरनिकरो निजकुलगगनसकलामलेन्दुरम-
 9 लिनगुणविभूषणस्वामन्तमहाराजमहिशूरस्तदनुज² प्रतिदिनमुपचीय-
 10 मानानेकविधधर्माब्जप्रवाहोपहतकलिप्रतापः सततमितरेतरावि-
 11 रुद्धधर्मात्सुखाधिगमोपायपारीणः शार्ङ्गपाणिरिव निरङ्कुशपराक्रमा-
 12 क्रान्तद्वारकाधिपतिरनेकदेवतायतनसभाप्रपारामावसथविहारका-
 13 रयिता कलादपि³ कृतियुगधर्मावलम्बी परमगुरुवल्लः परमब्रह्मस्व-
 14 शरणः परापरञ्चः सामन्तमहाराजवराहदासस्तत्पुत्रः

Second Plate.

- 15 प्रसभमहाहवसमागमावासदिबुद्धोद्गीयमानानेकयशः
 16 स्फुटमधुरललितोदारधीरगभीरवल्लुप्रसूताभिधानः⁴ श्यामोन्नतविपुल-
 17 वचस्वलस्त्रिरातिशयानुरक्तश्रीः⁵ सामन्तमहाराजसिङ्गादित्यङ्कुशली⁶ सर्वानेव
 18 राजपुत्रराजस्थानीयामाल्यद्राङ्गिकमहत्तरचाटवारभट्टहस्त्यचारोद्वादीन⁷
 19 समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्त्रंविदितं यथा मया मातापित्रो⁸ पुण्याप्यायनायात्म-
 20 नसोभयलोकहितसुखावाप्तये⁹ एलापद्रवास्तव्यब्राह्मणवप्यस्वामिने
 21 मैत्रायणिकसब्रह्मचारिणे क्रिष्णात्रेयसगोत्राय¹⁰ दर्भचारशामे भोष्क-
 22 वधिरकुटुम्बी सह वाप्या भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेन ब्रह्मदेयस्त्रित्याचन्द्रार्कागर्णवचिति-
 23 समकालीन¹¹ पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोज्यतया निसृष्टो यतोस्य मुञ्जतो¹² न केनचि-
 24 दावाधा कार्येति ॥ उ[क्त] च भगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन ॥ षष्टिं
 वर्षसहस्रा-
 25 णि स्वर्गे मोदति भूमिदः [१^६] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्वेव नरके
 वसेत् ॥ [१^७]
 26 यानीह दारिद्र्यभयावरेन्दैर्हानानि धर्मायतनीकृतानि¹³ [१^८] निर्गन्धान्त्वान्त-
 प्रतिमा-
 27 नि तानि को नाम साधु¹⁴ पुनराददोत [॥ २^१] इति ॥ सं २००
 १० ५ अथयुज¹⁵ श १० ३ [॥ २^२]
 28 सहस्रो मम ॥

¹ Read "दास्य" for "दच".² Read "विष्ठादिश".³ Read "शापय".⁴ Read "कृतानि".⁵ Read "जलावपि कृत".⁶ Read "दीप्".⁷ Read "कृष्णा".⁸ Read "आश".⁹ Read "प्रविता".¹⁰ Read "पित्री".¹¹ Read "मुञ्जती".

[illegible]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) *Om*. Hail ! From Phaṅkprasravapa.¹ In the succession of the family of the Gāṛulakas, who subdued all enemies by (*their*) prosperity which was produced by the performance of eminent deeds ; who gained decisive victories in encounters (*with their enemies*) in many hundreds of battles ; (*and*) who sprang from a race adorned with the ornaments of high glory and fame,² —there appeared the glorious *Sānapati Varāhadāsa* (I.), whose great wealth was being lived upon by the distressed, the helpless, refugees, the sick, suppliants, and kinsmen ; who invariably benefited others by granting unceasing rewards and shelter, as a tree by affording unceasing fruits and shade ; who had noble aims and auspicious marks ; who possessed forbearance ; who destroyed his enemies ; (*who was*) a receptacle of unceasing prosperity ; (*and who was*) an unparalleled bridge of justice, as (*king*) Yudhishtira.

(L. 6.) His virtuous son (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja Bhaṭṭiśūra*, whose conduct resembled that of kings like Daśaratha ; who was endowed with prudence, modesty, self-restraint, compassion, liberality, cleverness, politeness, and energy ; whose mind was purified by bathing in the water of the contents of the codes of law composed by Manu and others ; who was brave (*or wise*) ; who, having subdued the multitude of enemies by his own hand (*as if he were*) dispelling the mass of darkness by his rays, (*became*) the spotless full-moon on the firmament of his family ; (*and*) who was adorned with spotless virtues.

(L. 9.) His younger brother (*was*) the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja Varāhadāsa* (II.), who dispelled the heat of the Kali (*age*) by the stream of libations at (*his*) manifold charities which were accumulating every day ; who was constantly expert in means for the acquisition of merit, wealth, and pleasure not conflicting with each other ; who overcame the lord of Dvārakā by unchecked valour, as Śārṅgapāṇi (Krishṇa) possessed unchecked valour and was the lord of Dvārakā ; who caused to be built many temples of the gods, halls, drinking-fountains,³ gardens, rest-houses,⁴ and (*Buddhist*) monasteries (*vihāra*) ; who, even in the Kali (*age*), held fast to the virtues of the Kṛta-yuga ; who was excessively devoted to (*his*) elders ; who assiduously afforded protection to pious men ; (*and*) who knew what is remote and proximate.

(L. 14.) His son, the *Sāmanta-Mahārāja Simhāditya*, who has acquired much⁵ fame, which is being sung in (*all*) the quarters of the horizon, by encountering (*his enemies*) in fierce great battles ; whose epithets ' sweet, charming, noble, firm, deep, handsome, and modest ' are well-known ; (*and*) to whose dark, high, and broad chest the goddess of fortune is firmly and excessively attached, —being in good health, (*thus*) commands all (*people*), (*viz.*) princes (*rājaputras*), palace-officers (*rājasthānīya*),⁶ ministers, city-officers (*drāṅgika*),⁷ headmen (*mahattara*), irregular soldiers,⁸ spies, regular soldiers, riders on elephants or horses, *etc.* :—

(L. 19.) " Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (*My*) mother and father, and in order to attain Myself welfare and happiness in both worlds, I have granted to the Brāhmaṇa Bappasvāmin residing at Ēlāpadra, who is a student of the Maitrāyaṇika school (*and*) belongs to the Kṛishṇātrēya *gōtra*, (*the field of*) Bhōṇḍaka-Badhira-Kuṭumbin⁹ in the village Darbhachāra, together with a pond, according to the maxim of *dhārmicchakṛidra*, under the

¹ The ablative has to be construed with the verb *saṁśāṇapayati*, ' he commands,' in l. 19.

² *I.e.* glory in this life and fame after death. See Bühler, *Z. D. M. G.* Vol. XXXVII. p. 575.

³ Compare *sabbā-prajā-karaka* in the Nāik inscription No. 10, l. 2 f.; above, Vol. VIII. p. 78.

⁴ The words *drāma* and *sevatika* occur in the same inscription, l. 2.

⁵ This use of *anika* is very inelegant.

⁶ Compare Dr. Stein's Translation of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, Vol. I. p. 316, note on verse 601.

⁷ See Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscr.* p. 169, note 6.

⁸ [For a different rendering of the word *chāṇa*, see above, Vol. X. p. 75. — Ed.]

⁹ *Badhira* means ' deaf.' With *dhōṇḍaka* compare Hindi *dhōṇḍā*, ' ugly.'

rules of gifts to Brāhmanas, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist, (and) to be enjoyed by (his) sons, grandsons, and (further) descendants.

(L. 23.) "Therefore nobody shall cause obstruction to him while he enjoys (*this field*)."

(L. 24.) "And the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken."

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 27.) In the year 255, on the 13th (*tiṭhi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Āśvāyuja.

(L. 28.) (*This is*) My own signature.

No. 3. SAHETH-MAHETH PLATE OF GOVINDACHANDRA; [VIKRAMA-]
SAMVAT 1156.

By PANDIT DATA RAM SAHNI, M.A.

Dr. Vogel has already announced the discovery of this copper-plate inscription in two articles. One of these appeared in the *Pioneer* of the 11th May, 1908, under the title of "Śrāvastī and its remains" and contains all the salient points in the history of this ancient city, derivable from the Pāli texts and the writings of modern explorers. It winds up with the statement that the present inscription conclusively settles the identification of Sahēth and Mahēth on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts with the Jētavana and Śrāvastī, respectively, of Buddhist literature. The connection of the copper-plate with Jētavana and Śrāvastī is expressed in the most unmistakable language in the inscription engraved on it, and since the plate has been found carefully deposited in a cell of a large monastery at Sahēth, it was obviously intended for it. Mr. V. A. Smith, however, while referring to the plate in a footnote on page 792 of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July 1908, has expressed the opinion that the plate may have been brought to Sahēth from the real Śrāvastī which he locates somewhere near Balāpur in Nepal Tarai, not far from the place where the Rapti leaves the hills.

The evidence in favour of the identification of Sahēth-Mahēth with Śrāvastī is set forth by Mr. Marshall in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*,¹ and here it is enough to enumerate the main facts. Foremost of these is the remarkable agreement which exists between the topography of the remains at Sahēth-Mahēth and the descriptions of Śrāvastī recorded by the Chinese pilgrims. We next come to the well-known colossal *bodhiśatva* discovered by General Cunningham on this site, which according to the Kushapa inscription on its pedestal was set up at Śrāvastī. A fragment of its umbrella post (*daṇḍa*) with the same inscription as that on the *bodhiśatva* has recently been brought to light by Dr. Vogel. It is now in the Lucknow Museum, but is believed originally to have been unearthed at Sahēth by Dr. Hoey. Then there is the inscribed copper-plate which forms the subject of this paper. And last of all we have the lower half of a life-size statue of a *bodhiśatva* which was discovered by Mr. Marshall at Sahēth-Mahēth in the year 1908-09. The pedestal of this statue bears an early Kushapa inscription which states that it was presented by certain Kshatriya brothers at the Jētavana of Śrāvastī. In the face of all this evidence it would be strange, indeed, if the identification of Sahēth-Mahēth remained doubtful, merely because the statements of the Chinese pilgrims about the location of Śrāvastī are somewhat incorrect.

The plate was discovered by me in a monastery (No. 21, map of Sahēth, Dr. Hoey's Report²) on the site of Sahēth in the spring of 1908 when I was assisting Dr. Vogel in his excavations

¹ For 1902, pp. 1066 seq.

² *Vide J. A. S. B.* for 1892, Part I, extra number.

there. This building was partially excavated by Dr. Hoey, and it was here that, on breaking through the paved courtyard, he found the inscribed slab published in the *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVII, p. 61 ff.¹ Dr. Hoey also opened out seven out of the twenty-four cells which surround the courtyard in the centre and it was in one of these, namely, the one adjoining the entrance chamber on the south, that the copper-plate under reference was found. It was carefully packed in an earthen box, 2 feet square and 3 inches high externally, closed with a lid of the same material, the space between the plate and the receptacle being filled with clay. The box was built against the foundation of the northern wall of the cell referred to, just below the floor, well secured to the wall by means of brickwork on all sides.

The plate measures 18" by 14" and is $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick. In the centre of the upper part there is a ring-hole $\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The ring was not found, nor the seal which must have surmounted it.² The plate is inscribed on one side only and contains 27 lines of writing in a perfect state of preservation. The characters are Nāgarī and the language Sanskrit throughout. In respect of orthography, the following points may be noted. The letter *ḥ* is denoted by the sign for *r* throughout. The doubling of consonants before and after *r* occurs in lines 4 (twice), 5, 16 (twice), 17, 18 (twice), 19 (twice), 22 (twice), 23, 24 (thrice), and 27. The horizontal top stroke (*māṭra*) which elsewhere distinguishes the letters *r* and *l* from *dā* and *ṣ*, respectively, is, in a few cases, also found in the latter. Omissions of letters are supplied by the insertion of *ḥ*; corresponding signs immediately above or below their original places: cf. *ra* in *Turushkādanda* in line 21 and *ḥra* in *bhadrāsana* in line 23. A rough figure of Garuḍa is engraved once at the end of the 11th line and again in the last line before the words *māṅgalāṃ mahā-śrīḥ*.

The inscription begins, like all the other epigraphs of the Gāhādavāla king Govindachandra that have so far come to light, with nine verses in different metres containing his genealogy, and ends with seven benedictive and imprecatory verses and an eighth which supplies the name of the engraver. The formal portion is contained in the rest of the epigraph and is, as usual, in prose. I have given the full text of the inscription, but omitted from the translation the first nine verses, because they are paraphrased in the prose passage following them, and the next seven which contain the usual admonitions to future kings. The taxes specified (line 21) as due to the donees are the *bhāgabhōṣakara*, the *pravāṇikara*, and the *Turushkādanda*.³ The last named tax figures only in the records of three other kings of the Gāhādavāla dynasty, namely, the Chandrāvati plate of Govindachandra's grandfather, Chandradēva;⁴ the inscription issued by Govindachandra himself on behalf of his father Madanapāla;⁵ and a plate of Vijayachandra and the Yuvarāja Jayachandra.⁶

In respect of the localities mentioned in the record, it is gratifying to note that some of them can be identified beyond all possibility of doubt. The other places have, in all probability, gone out of existence. One of these latter is Vihāra, the first of the six villages granted. It is said to have been situated in the district of what appears to be Vādā-chaturasīti.⁷ There is a comparatively large village called Bāja Jōt or the Holy Bāja, about 2 miles west of Sahēth. I am inclined to think that Vādā may possibly be a mistake for Bāja. The next village Paṭṭanā is situated about 3 miles south-west of Sahēth or about 2 miles south of

¹ [It is worthy of note that the slab was found "in a stratum which indicated that it had been placed in a restored building;" see also the following note.—Ed.]

² [The absence of the ring and seal would show that the plate must have had a history of its own before it came to be deposited at the spot where it has now been discovered.—Ed.]

³ For an explanation of *turushkādanda*, see above, Vol. IX, p. 321.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX, p. 305, text line 15.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 17, text line 21.

⁶ [It is not unlikely that all the six villages granted by the king were situated in the district of Vādā-chaturasīti.—Ed.]

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, p. 120, text lines 22-23.

Kaṭṭā on the road leading to Khargapur Bazar and is now called Paṭṇā. There is a mass of ancient remains near the village and the peasants have discovered a few old wells which they use for the irrigation of their fields. The village of Upalaṇḍā I cannot identify. The fourth village is called Vavvahali in the plate. This is presumably now represented by Bēlahā situated near the village of Paṭṇā. The villagers say that it is ancient. The next place is "Ghōsāḍi attached to Mēyi." Ghōsāḍi does not exist; but Mēyi is still an important village near Subhāgpur on the Gonda-Intiathok road. The last village is "Payāsi belonging to Pōṭhivāra." This I identify with a village of the name of Bayāsi which formerly stood 2 *kōs* to north-east of Sabēṭh-Mabēṭh, but was washed away by the Rapti some years ago. Its site is still known by the name of Bayāsi.

[In line 19 f. the Buddhist ascetic Śākyarakshita is said to have been a native of Utkala, i.e. Orissa, and his disciple Vāgīśvararakshita belonged to the Chōḍa country. The date of the inscription, viz. Vikrama-Samvat 1186, corresponds to A.D. 1128-9, which falls into the reign of the Chōḍa king Vikrama-Chōḍa. The Gabaḍavāla kings of Kananj appear to have been on friendly terms with the Chōḍas of Tanjore¹ whose dominions extended into the Northern Circars during the reigns of Kulōttuṅga I. and Vikrama-Chōḍa. It is not certain if Vāgīśvararakshita came from the Tamil country or from the vicinity of Amarāvati which was included in the dominions of the Chōḍa king at the time. We know very little of the history of Buddhism in the Tamil country. But there is no doubt that there were adherents of that creed down to the 13th century A.D. in the country round Amarāvati in the Gunter District. Besides, Kumaradēvi, the Buddhist queen of Govindachandra, was the daughter of a chief of Piṭhī. And Dr. Konow says it is possible to identify Piṭhī with Piṭhāpuram in the modern Godavari District of the Madras Presidency.² If this be the case, it is no matter for surprise that the two Buddhist ascetics who pleased Govindachandra were natives of Orissa and the Chōḍa country. Probably they were introduced to the king by his queen Kumaradēvi, who probably brought about, either directly or indirectly, the gift recorded in the subjoined inscription. The sentence *punar api iṣaṇikṛitya grāmā imā śhaḍ api datta* "these six villages were given again by a charter" implies that these villages had originally been granted to the Buddhist *vihāra* at Jētavana, but, for some reason or other, resumed subsequently. At Sarnāth, queen Kumaradēvi restored the "lord of the turning of the wheel" and erected a *vihāra* for his accommodation. It is not impossible that the same queen also infused fresh life into the Buddhist establishment at Jētavana by sending for the two Buddhist ascetics and inducing the king to restore the six villages which once belonged to the *vihāra*.—Ed.]

TEXT.

1 Om³ svasti |

Akuṭṭhōtkaṭṭha-Vaiṭuṭṭha-kaṭṭhapīṭha-luṭṭhat-karaḥ |

maḍṛamabbhaḥ surat-ārambhaḥ sa Śriyaḥ āryasā-stu vaḥ || [1*]

Āsīd-Aśīṭady[u]ṭi-vamśa-jāta-kahmāpāla-mālā-

2

sa divaṁ gatāsu |

sākeśhād-Vivasān-iva bhūri-dhāmnā nāmnā Yaśōvigraha ity-udāraḥ || [2*]

Tat-antō-bhūn-Mahiccha[m]draś-chandra-dhāma-nibbhaṁ nija[m] || [1*]

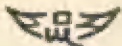
yān-āpāram-akūpara-

¹ [See the *Annual Report of the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent, Southern Circle, for 1907-08*, paragraphs 58 ff. — Ed.]

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 312.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

- 3 pārē vyāpāritam yasaḥ || [3*]
Tasy-ābhūt-tanayoḥ nay-nika-rasika[h] krānta-dvishan-maṇḍalo
vidhvast-oddhata-vairi-yōdha-timiraḥ śrī-Chaṁdradēvo nṛipaḥ |
yān-ōdāratara-pratāpa-sāmit-āsēṣa-pra
- 4 jōpadravam
śrīmad-Gādhīpur-ādhirā[jya]m¹-asamaḥ dōr-vvikramēp-ārjitaḥ || [4*]
Tīrthāni Kāśī-Kuśik-Ōttarakōsal-Ēndra-
sthāniyakāni paripālayat-ādhiḡamya |
hēm-ātmatulyam-a-
- 5 nīśam dadatā dvijēbhyaḥ
yēn-āṅkitā vasumatī śataśas-talābhiḥ || [5*]
Tasy-ātmajō Madanapāla iti kṣhitīndra-
chūdāmapir-vvijayataḥ [n]ija-gōtra-chāṁdraḥ |
ya[sy-ā]bhishēka-kalāś-ō[lla]sitaiḥ payōbhiḥ
prā(pra)-
- 6 kabālitaḥ kali-rajah-patalam dharitryaḥ || [6*]
Yasy-āsīd-vijaya-prayāga-samayo vuhg²-āchal-ōchohais-chalan-
mādyat-kumbhī-pada-kram-āsama-bhara-bhāṣyan-mahima[m]ḍaleḥ |
chūdāratna-vibhinna-tālu-
- 7 galita-śtyān-āṣṇig-oddhāsitaḥ
Śēṣaḥ pēṣha-vaśād-iva khaṇḍam-abhūt-krōḍo nila-ānanah || [7*]
Tasmād-ajāyata nij-āyata-vā(bā)hu-valli-
va(ba)ddh-āvaruddha-nava-rā[jya]-gajō narēndrah |
sāṁdr-ā-
- 8 mṛita-drava-muchām prabhavo gavām yō
Gōvīṁdaśchāṁdra iti chāṁdra iv-ā[m]vu(bu)rāśēḥ || [8*]
Na katham-apy-alabhamānta(bhanta) rapakshamā[m]s-
tiarēṣhu dīkṣu gajān-athā Vajripaḥ |
lakubhī va(ba)bhramur-A[bhra]mu-vallabha-
pati-
- 9 bhaṭā iva yasya ghaṭā-gajāḥ || [9*]
So=yam samasta-rāja-chakra-samśēvita-charapaḥ paramabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-
paramēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-nija-bhoj-ōpārjita-Kanyakuvj(bj)-ādhipa-
- 10 tya-śrīmacb-[Chā]ṁdradēva-pādānudhyāta-paramabhaṭṭāra[ka]-mahārājādhirāja-para-
mēśvara-paramamāhēśvara-śrīma[n*]-Madanapālādēva-pā[dā]nudhyāta-
paramabhaṭṭā-raka-mahārājādhirāja-para-
- 11 mēśvara-paramamāhēśvar-āśvapati-gajapati-narapati-rājatrayādhipati-vividha-vidyā-
vichāra-Vāchaspatiḥ śrīmad-Gō[vi]ṁdaśchāṁdradēvo vijayī ||³



11 11

² Read *tudo*°.

* Read *twice*.*

¹ This sign of punctuation and all the others in lines 12 to 21 are superfluous.

- 12 Vāḍa(jā)-chaturāṣṭi-pattalasyām Vihāra | ¹Paṭṭapaṇḍa | Upalaṇḍa |
Vavvabali | Mēyi-samva(ba)ddha-Ghōṣāḍi Pōṭhivāra-sam[va](ba)ddha-
Payāsi-grāma-nivāsinō
- 13 nikhila-janapadān-upagatān-api² rāja-rājñi-yuvarāja-mantri-purohita-pra[ṭ]hāra-
sānāpati-bhāṣḍāgarik-ākṣhapatalika-bhishag-naimittik-āntahpurika-dūta-
- 14 karituragapattanākarasthānagokulādhikāriṇaś-cha puruṣhān-ājñāpayati vo(bō)-
dhayaty-ādīṣeti cha yathā | Viditam-astu bhavatām yath-ōparilikhita-
grāmāḥ sa-ja-
- 15 la-sthalāḥ sa-lōha-lavaṇ-ākaraḥ sa-maisy-ākaraḥ sa-pallikaraḥ³ sa-gartti-cha[rā]ḥ
sa-madhuk-āmra-vaṇa-vāṭikā-viṭapa-triṇa-yūti-gochara-paryantāḥ s-orddhv-ādhaś-
chatur-āghāta-viśu-
- 16 ddha-sva-simā-paryantāḥ | Samvatsarē śhaḍaṣṭi-adhik-aikādaśa-datē Āśhāḍhē
mā[sj]ē [80]mavārē Pūrvvāśhāḍhā-nakṣatrē pūrvvīmāyām tithau
śukātō-pi samvat 1188 Āśhāḍha
- 17 sudi 15 Sōmē | ady-ēha śrī-Vārāṇasyām Gaṅgāyām [an]ātvā mantra-dēva-
muni-manuṣja-bhūta-piṭri-gaṇāna-tarppayitvā timi[ra]-paṭala-pāṭana-paṇa-mahasam-
⁴Ushparochisham-upasthāy-An-
- 18 śhaḍhipati-śakala-śekharam samabhyarohya tribhuvana-trātor-Vāsudēvasya
pūjām vidhāya prachura-pāyasēna havishā havirbhajaṁ butvā mātāpitrōr-
ātmanas-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhivṛddhaye gō-
- 19 karṇa-kuśalātā-pūta-karatal-ōḍaka-pūrvvam | Uttala-dēśiya-Sangata-parivrājaka-
mahāpaṇḍita-Sākyarakṣhita-tachohhishya-Chōḍa-dēśiya-Sangata-parivrājaka-
mahāpaṇḍi-
- 20 ta-Vāgīśvararakṣhitābhyām paritōṣhitair-asamābhīḥ Śrīmaḥ-Jētavana-mahāvihā-
ra-vāstavya-Vu(Bu)ddhabhaṭṭāśraka-pramukha-param-ārya-[Ś]ākyabhīkṣu-
samghāya vihar-āntara-maryāda-
- 21 yā paribhog-ārtham mahatā chitta-prasāden-āchamdrārkam punar-api śāśni-
kritya grā[m]ā imē śhaḍ-api dattā⁵ matvā yathā-dīyamāna-bhāgabhogakara-
pravaṇikara-Tu[ra]śhkaḍaḍa-pra-
- 22 bhṛiti-sarvvādāyān-ājñā-[śra]vaṇa-vidhāyī-bhūya dāsyath-ēti || Bhavanti ch-ātra
ś[ī]lōkāḥ | [10*] Bhūmim yaḥ pratigrihṇāti yaś-cha bhūmim prayachchhati |
ubhau tau puṇyakarmṇau niyatan(taḥ) svarg[ga]gāmi-
- 23 pau | [10*]
Śamkham [bha]dr-āsanam [ch]chhatram var-āśvā vara-vāraṇāḥ |
bhūmi-dānasya chi[hna]ni phalam-ētat-Paramdara || [11*]
Va(ba)hubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabbīḥ Sagar-ādibhīḥ |
yasya yasya yadā bhūmim-tasya
- 24 tasya tadā [pha]la[m] || [12*]
Sarvvān-ātān bhāvinaḥ pāthiv-śudrān
bhūyo bhūyo yāchātē Rāma[bha]drāḥ |
śāmānyō-yam dharmma-sētar-nnarāṇām
kalē kalē pālaniyō bhavadbhīḥ || [13*]
Shashtī-va-

¹ [Either the reading is Paṭṭapaṇḍa, or there are two vertical strokes after Paṭṭapaṇḍa.—Ed.]

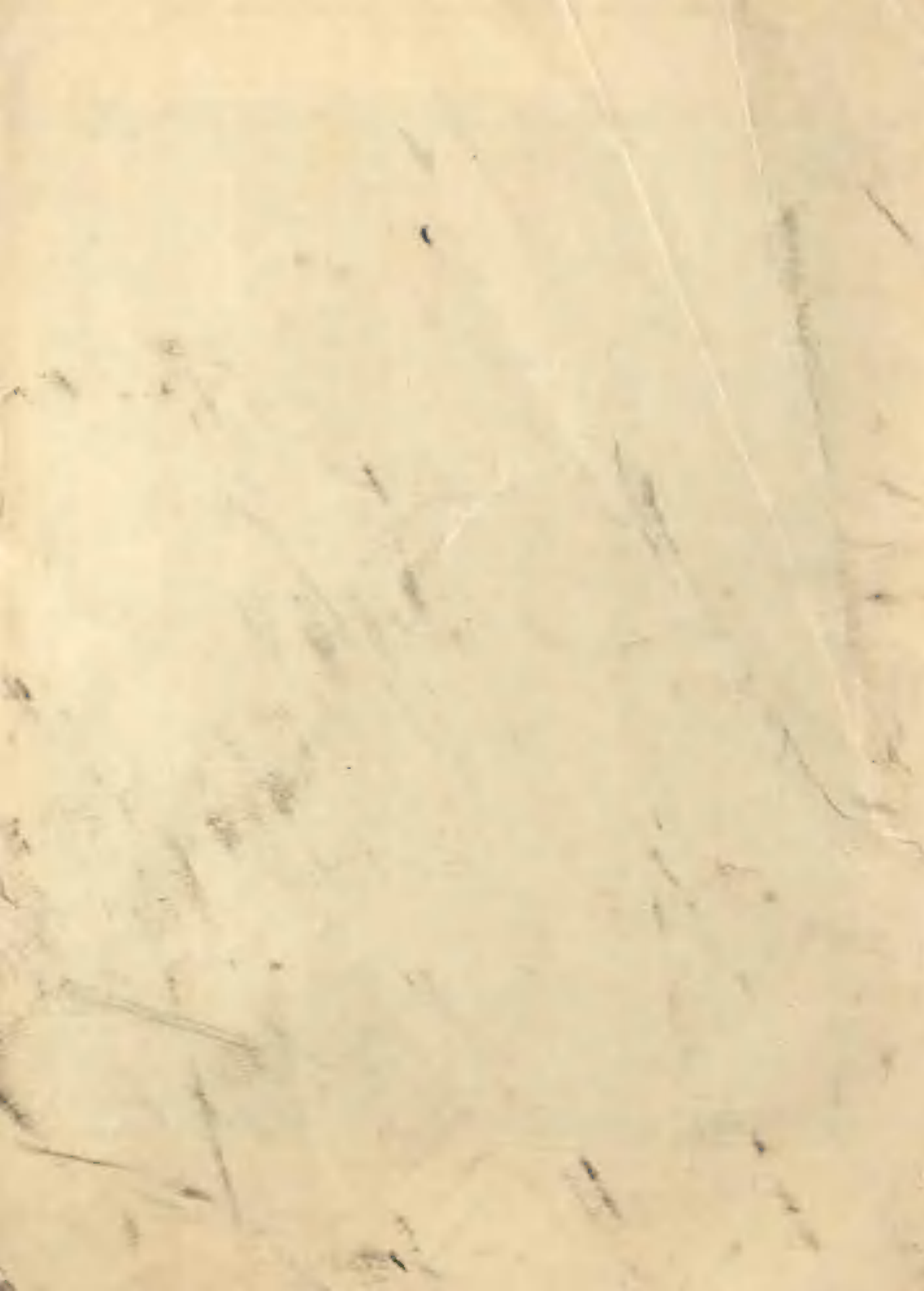
² Read *api* *cha*.

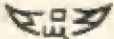
³ [I think the reading is *sa-paryāṇakurāḥ*; see above Vol. IV. p. 101, text-line 17 and plate.—Ed.]

⁴ Read *śāśni*.

⁵ Read *dattā* *iti*.

[illegible][illegible]



- 25 rsha-sahasrāṇi svar[gē] vasati bhūmidāḥ |
 ācchbhāttā ch=ānumantā cha tāny=āva narakā vasēt || [14*]
 Sva-dattān para-dattān vā yō harēta vasumdharam |
 sa viśbhāyām kṛimir-bhūtvā
- 26 pi[tribhi]ḥ saha majjavi(ti) || [15*]
 Vāt-ābhra-vibhramam=idam vasudh-ādhipatyam=
 āpāta-mātra-madhurā [vi]śvay-ōpabhogāḥ |
 pr[ā]ṇā[s]-tṛiṇ-āgra-jala-vimdu-samā narāṇām
 dharmmaḥ sakhā param-aho paraloka-yānē || [16*]
- 27 Śrīmad-Govindachandrasya bhūpātē-ājñay-ālikhat |¹
 tāmram-ētat-Surādityaḥ kāyasthaḥ sarvva-śāstra-vit || [17*]
 2/ 2/ Maṅgalaṁ mahā-śrīḥ || ||

TRANSLATION.

(Lines 9 to 22.)

That victorious and glorious king, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Paramamāhēśvara Gōvīndachandradēva*,—whose feet are honoured by the entire circle of kings; who is (another) *Vāchaspati* in investigating the various sciences; who is the lord of the three kings, *vis. the āsvapati* (lord of horses), the *gajapati* (lord of elephants) and the *narapati* (lord of men); who meditates on the feet of the illustrious *P. M. P. P. Madanapālādēva*, who (in his turn) meditated on the feet of the illustrious *P. M. P. P. Chandradēva*, who acquired the sovereignty over *Kanyakubja* by (the strength of) his own arms,—orders, informs and commands all the people assembled, residing in the villages of *Vihāra* in the district (?) of *Vāḍa-chaturāṣṭi*, of *Paṭṭaṇā*, *Upalaṇḍā*, *Vavvahalī*, *Ghōṣēḍī* attached to *Mēyī* and of *Payāsi* attached to *Pōthivāra*, as well as the kings, queens, heirs-apparent, ministers, priests, door-keepers, generals, treasurers, record-keepers, physicians, astrologers, chamberlains, messengers, and officers charged with the care of elephants, horses, towns, mines (?) *sthāna* and *gōkulas* in the following manner:—

“Be it known to you, that, having been gratified by the *Saugata-parivrajaka*, the *mahāpaṇḍita Śākyaarakṣita*, (a resident) of the *Utkala* country, and his disciple, the *Saugata-parivrajaka*, the *mahāpaṇḍita Vāgīśvararakṣita*, (a resident) of the *Chōḍa* country, I have to-day,—on a Monday, the *pūrnimā tithi* of the month of *Āshāḍha*, (the moon being) in the *Pūrvāshāḍhā nakṣatra* in the year comprising eleven hundred increased by eighty-six, also in figures *Samvat 1186*, *Āshāḍha sudi 15*, Monday,—after bathing in the *Ganges*, at the holy *Vārāṇasi*; propitiating the sacred texts, divinities,³ sages, men, beings and the group of deceased ancestors; adoring the sun, whose lustre can dispel heaps of darkness; worshipping the moon-crested (*Śiva*); worshipping *Vāsudēva*, the protector of the three worlds; and after offering to (the god of) fire an oblation rich in milk-rice, bestowed again⁴ by a charter for the enhancement of the merit and fame of my parents and of myself, by (pouring) from the palm of my hand water sanctified by the *gōkarṇa* and the *kuśa*

¹ [The sign of *avagraha* is inserted in the original between the akṣaras *yā* and *ti*.—Ed.]

² [Each of these vertical strokes is preceded by a symbol which looks like the letter *N* found in this inscription.—Ed.]

³ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 10, note 55.

⁴ I do not understand the force of the word “again” (*punarapi*) here. This would seem to signify that the king was only renewing an older grant of his.

grass,¹ with a great satisfaction of the heart, for enjoyment in the manner of other convents for (as long as) the moon and the sun (endure), the six villages named above, together with water and dry land, mines of iron and salt, repositories (i.e. ponds) of fish, *paṭṭikaras*, pits and deserts up to and including gardens of *madhūka* and mango (trees), parks, bushes, grass and pasture lands up to their proper limits clearly defined by their four boundaries, with the elevations and depressions, upon the most respectable community (*saṅgha*) of Buddhist friars (*Sākyabhikkhu*) of whom *Buddhabhaṭṭāraka* is the chief, residing in the great convent of the Holy Jētavana. Bearing (this) in mind, and being ready to listen to (our) commands you should (*continue to*) give (to the donees) the *bhāgabhōgakara*, the *prasaṅgikara*, the *Turushkadaṇḍa* and all the other sources of income that are due."

[Lines 22—26 contain seven imprecatory and benedictory verses.]

(L. 27.) Under the orders of the glorious king Gōvindaśandra, this grant was written by the Kāyastha *Surāditya*, who is proficient in all *śāstras*. Good luck (and) great prosperity!

✓ No. 4.—THE CHĀHAMĀNAS OF MARWĀR.

By D. R. BHANDARKAR, M.A.; POONA.

In his paper on "The Chāhamānas of Naddūla" the late Professor Kielhorn has edited the Sūndhā hill inscription of Chāchigadēva² which helps to determine the order of succession and the relationship of the various princes, whose inscriptions had been published, but whose connection with one another had long remained unknown. We are now aware that they were all of the Chāhamāna dynasty. But there were several families of the Chāhamānas that reigned in Rājputānā. It was, therefore, necessary to distinguish the line that ruled over Mārwar from other branches ruling elsewhere. And Professor Kielhorn chose to group them together under the title "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla." But some of these Chāhamānas reigned at Naddūla (Nāḍol), and some at Jābālipura (Jālor). Strictly speaking, they should, therefore, have been called "the Chāhamānas of Naddūla and Jābālipura." The descendants of the former are called Nāḍōliās, and of the latter Sōnagarās. Again, at Sānchōr, inscriptions are found of a Chāhamāna prince who seems to be neither a Nāḍōliā nor a Sōnagarā, but rather a Sānchōrā, another subdivision of the Chōhāns. Under such circumstances, it is best to designate these Chōhāns as "the Chāhamānas of Mārwar."

The subjoined inscriptions were discovered during the two tours undertaken by me in 1907-08 and 1908-09 in the southern and south-eastern parts of Mārwar, and this paper is really a supplement to that of Professor Kielhorn, without which it would not have been possible to make my article interesting.

I AND II.—SĀDAḌĪ AND NĀḌŌL INSCRIPTIONS OF JŌJALADĒVA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1147.³

The first of these inscriptions was found at Sādaḍī, and the second at Nāḍōl, both in the Dēsāri District, Gōjvaḍ Division, Jodhpur State. The former is engraved on a pillar in the temple of Jāgēśvara, but as all the materials of this temple are said to have been brought from ruins elsewhere, it is clear that the inscription did not originally belong to Sādaḍī. It contains

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 10, note 57.

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 70.

³ [For short notices of these two records see above, Vol. IX. p. 158 f.—Ed.]

11 lines of writing, which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $6\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The second inscription is incised on a pillar in the temple of *Sōmēśvara*, and bears 13 lines of writing which cover a space of $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $9\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The letters of the first are deeply cut, and, excepting two or three *aksharas* at the beginning of lines 8-10, the record is well preserved. The second is weather-worn and has not yielded satisfactory impressions. The whole of it, however, is intact. The characters are *Nāgarī*. The language is *Sanskrit*, and both the inscriptions are in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to state that the letters *ḷ* and *ṛ* are both denoted by the sign for *v*. Of words unknown or rarely employed, we may note the following: (1) *yātrā*, (2) *saṭka*, (3) *vaḍaharaka*, (4) *śūlapāla*, and (5) *pramadākula*. *Yātrā* is a festival which is held on different days for different gods.¹ The word is frequently met with in the *Bhinmāl* inscriptions. *Saṭka* of course means "belonging to," and, though foreign to classical *Sanskrit* literature, is found in later inscriptions and in *Jaina* literature. *Vaḍaharaka*, I think, is the *Sanskritised* form of the *Mārwarī* word *baḍarā*, meaning "an old man." The word *śūlapāla*, which occurs only in No. II, is given in *Monier-Williams' Dictionary* to mean "the keeper of a brothel or frequenter of brothels," but the sense intended here seems to be that of "associates of courtezans, who accompany them on musical instruments while singing or dancing." *Pramadākula* means obviously a host of courtezans, and is used in this sense also in the *Bhinmāl* inscriptions.

The contents of both the inscriptions are most identical. They are dated on Wednesday, the second of the bright half of *Vaiśākha* in the [Vikrama-] year 1147 and refer themselves to the reign of *Jōjaladēva*, who, in No. I, is styled *Mahārāja* and, in No. II, *Maharājādhirāja*. They lay down the order of the king with regard to the management of festivals in connection with all the gods, such as *Lakshmanasvāmin* and others. The order is that when the festival of any particular god commences, the courtezans attached to the temples of the other gods must also put on their ornaments and best garments and attend with their *śūlapālas* to celebrate it by instrumental music, dancing, singing, and so forth. *Jōjaladēva* goes even to the extent of conjuring his descendants and other princes to keep the festivals of all the gods going in this manner, and warns them by adding that he, who, at the time of a festival, attempts to abolish this practice, be he an ascetic, an old person, or a learned man, should be prevented from doing so by the reigning ruler. The inscription ends with a curse on those princes who will not maintain this practice.

In the temple of *Jāgēśvara* at *Sādaḍī*, where No. I was engraved on a pillar, other inscriptions also are found, but incised on another pillar of exactly the same style. From them it is clear that the temple of *Lakshmanasvāmin* was at *Nādōla*, i.e. *Nādōl*. Again, in order that the festival of one god may be celebrated by courtezans attached to other temples, all the temples must be in one and the same town, i.e. in *Nādōl*. The name of the god *Lakshmanasvāmin* suggests that he was so called after *Lakshmana*, the founder of the *Mārwar* branch of the *Chohāns*.

I.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्रीं संवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुदि २ बुधवासरे^३ महा-
- २ राजश्रीजोजसदेवेन श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृति-
- ३ समस्तदेवानां यात्राकालव्यवहारो लेखितः ॥
- ४ यत्र दिने यत्र देवे यात्रा भवति तत्रापरसमस्तदे-

¹ [This word has become *jātra*, *jātre* or *jāttirai* in the Dravidian languages of the South.—Ed.]

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read बुध^०.

- 5 वानां सत्कप्रमदाकुलैः सर्वैः साकल्यैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्याव-
 6 द्विषागल्य वाद्यनृत्यगानादिविधि[न]। यात्रा कर्त्तव्याऽप्ये
 7 च सर्वकालमस्मदंशजैरन्यैर्वा भाविभूमिपालैरित्यं
 8 [सर्व]देवेषु यात्रा कारयितव्या यात्राकाले तपस्वी वड-
 9 — — —¹विद्यावान्वाऽपरोपि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य
 10 — — —²[नि]यहः करणीयः । य[च] राजाऽनेन³ क्रमेण यात्रा
 11 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥—

II.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 श्रीं संवत् ११४७ वैशाखशुद्धि २ बुधवास-⁵
 2 रे महाराजाधिराजश्रीजीजलदेवः सम-
 3 स्तदेवानां श्रीलक्ष्मणस्वामिप्रभृतीनां यात्राव्य-
 4 वहारं लिखयति यथा ॥ यत्र घस्त्रे यत्र [दि]वे
 5 यात्रा भवति तत्र समस्तदेवानां सत्कप्रमदाकु-
 6 लैराकल्पसंयुतैः सुवस्त्रैर्विद्यावद्विद्य सगूल-
 7 पालैरागल्य नित्यं वाद्यनृत्य[गीत]ादिविधिना यात्रा
 8 करणीया । यद्ये च सर्वकालमस्मदंशजैरन्यैर्वा भा-
 9 विभूमिपालैरि[त्यं] सर्वदेवेषु यात्रा⁶ कारयितव्या ।
 10 यात्राकाले तपस्वी वडहरकी विद्यावान्वाऽपरो-
 11 पि यो भंगोपायं कुरुते तस्य राज्ञा नियह⁷ कर-
 12 णीयः । यद्य राजाऽनेन क्रमेण सर्वदेवेषु यात्रां
 13 न कारयिष्यति तस्य गर्दभोऽन्तरे ॥०॥

III.—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF AŚVARĀJA;
 [VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1167.

This inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of a subsidiary shrine in the front corri-
 dor of the temple of Mahāvira at Sēvādī, a village about 5 miles to the south-east of Bāli, the
 principal town of the district of the same name, Gōḍvād Division. It contains 3 lines, and
 the writing covers a space of 3' 6" broad by 2½' high. The inscription is, on the whole,

¹ Restores वडहरकी.² Supply राज्ञा.³ The akṣhara न is entered below the line and is different from the other n's in the inscription.⁴ From the original stone.⁵ Expressed by a symbol.⁶ Read बुध⁷.⁷ There is a break in the middle of the vertical line which denotes the ā of trā.⁸ Read नियहः.

well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *ḍ* is worthy of note (e.g. in *Padrāḍā*, *Chhēchhadiyā*, and so forth), and occurs in the Nāḍol copper-plate inscription of Kirtipāla. Some of the letters are partially engraved. To take an instance, the left upper stroke of *ma* in *Padrāḍā-grāmē* in l. 2 is missing, and the letter looks like *na*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole record is in prose except the concluding benedictory verse. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that the sign for *v* denotes both *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed: *jagati* and *mahā-sihapiya* in l. 1, and *java* and *hāraka* in l. 2. *Jagati* is found in many inscriptions in the sense of "the grounds." It corresponds, in my opinion, to the Hindi word *jagah* or *jagya* and the Marāṭhī word *jāga*.¹ *Sāhaniya* most probably corresponds to the *deśī* word *sāhani*, meaning "master of stables." The same word occurs as a title of two Paramāra Rājputs in an inscription incised on a jamb of the hall door of the Nilakaṇṭha-Mahādēva temple at Nāḍā. *Java* and *hāraka* are also found in another inscription in the same temple at Sēvāḍī. They occur as *hāraka* and *java* in No. XV below. Both are used in connection with an *arahaṭa* (*araghaṭa*), i.e. a well with a wheel attached thereto for drawing water. From this it appears that *java* or *javā* must be taken in the sense of *yava*, barley-corn. *Hāraka* seems to be the same as the Marāṭhī word *hārā*, a large basket of a particular form and of loose texture, often used in measuring corn. This receives confirmation from No. XV.

The inscription is dated on the first of the bright half of Chaitra of the [Vikrama] year 1167, when Aśvarāja was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and Kaṭukarāja the *yuvarāja* or heir-apparent. It then records a grant by Uppalarāja, son of Uttimarāja and grandson of Pūavi, the Great Master of Stables (*mahā-sāhaniya*), together with his family, the names of some of whose members are specified. The gift was made for the daily worship of Śrī-Dharmanāthadēva in the temple of Samipāṭī, and what was granted was barley-corn equal to one *hāraka* from everyone of the wells (*arahaṭa*) belonging to the villages of *Padrāḍā*, *Medramohā*, *Chhēchhadiyā* and *Maddaḍī*.

Of the localities mentioned, Samipāṭī is doubtless Sēvāḍī, which is also pronounced as Semvāḍī. And Dharmanāthadēva must be unquestionably the divinity installed in the cell, above the door of which the inscription is engraved. Chhēchhadiyā again must be Chhēchhli, about 4 miles to the north of Sēvāḍī. The rest are unidentifiable.

TEXT.²

1 श्री ॥ सं ११६७ वैच सु १ महाराजाधिराजश्रीयश्वराजराज्ये । श्री-
कटुकराजयुवरा[ज्ये^३ ।] समीपाटीयचैत्ये जगतौ^४ श्री[ध]र्मनाथदेवसां^५ नित्य-
पूजार्थं (१) महासाहणियपूषविपौवे[ण] कृत्तिमराजपुत्रेण उप्पलराजेन
(१) मांगट थावल (१)^६

^१ Above, Vol. I. p. 277, note 18.

^२ From the original stone.

^३ Expressed by a symbol.

^४ Read श्रीयश्वराज्ये.

^५ Read जगतां.

^६ [On the impressions which Mr. Bhandarkar has kindly sent me for reference, the reading intended is "देवस्य, though the subscript *y* is not properly formed. Other instances of such careless engraving are noticed by Mr. Bhandarkar himself. There is a dot which may be taken for an *anusvara*, but it is not quite pronounced and may be due to accident.—Ed.]

^७ [The *ṣ* of पुषेण looks like *ṣ*.—Ed.] As most of the inscriptions here published do not aim at giving grammatically correct Sanskrit text, the places, where no attempt at observing the rules of *sandhi* is made, will be passed over, and only violations thereof will be noticed.

^८ [These two strokes look like *र* in the impression.—Ed.]

- 2 वि० मलखणजोगरादि कुटुंबसमं^१ (i) पद्राडाया[मि] (i) तथा मे[इं]चायामे
 (i) तथा डेकडियामडडोयामे (ii) [च]रहटं चरहटं प्रति [द]त्तः जवहारकः
 (ii) एकः १ ॥ यः कोपि लोप[य]च्छति (i) स 'गोखीत्रा[इ]णविनाश-
 पापेनात्मा[न]^२'
- 3 एतत् ये (i) प्रतिपालयि[च्छ]ति (i) तेस्मदीयधर्म[भ]ग्याः सदा भविष्यन्ति ॥ इति
 मत्वा प्रतिपालनीयं ॥ यस्व यस्व यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ।
 'वहुभिर्वसुधा [भु]क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ॥ १ ॥ इ ॥

IV.—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUKARĀJA;
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1172.

The inscription is incised on the lintel of the door of another cell in the front corridor of the temple of Mahāvīra at Sēvādī. It is highly weather-worn and cannot consequently be easily deciphered. It was again bedaubed with redlead, when I was there, I do not know for what purpose. An estampage taken of it with my own hands has, however, enabled me to read almost the whole of it with certainty. It consists of 8 lines, and covers a space of 2' 1½" broad by 4½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *b* occurs in the inscription, e.g. in *vibudha-pati*^१ in l. 1, *bal-ādhipa* in l. 4, and so forth. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the opening *Om* and the date at the end, the whole of the inscription is in verse. The verses are numbered and are 15 in all. One solecism occurs in *śrīy-ādharo* in l. 2. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of the letter *v* both for *v* and *b*, and (2) the substitution of *n* for *s* in conjunct consonants, e.g. in *punya-nimīṭṭha*, l. 3, *vīṭṭṇaṇ*, l. 6, and so forth. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *khattaka* occurring in l. 7. I came across the same word in an inscription in a shrine of the Jaina temple at Pali, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State. This word occurs also in the Ābū inscriptions, e.g. it is used in l. 40 of Inscription No. I. (above, Vol. VIII. p. 213), where the meaning of 'niche' appears to be all but certain.^३ This sense fits here exactly. In line 3 again, is the word *bhukti*, which does not here simply denote a territorial division as elsewhere, but rather a province or a group of villages enjoyed as *jāgīr*. Lastly, the curious expression *Māgha Tryambaka(ba)ka-samprāptau* in l. 6 also deserves to be noticed in this connection. It literally means "in Māgha on the arrival of Tryambaka (Śiva)," and I am all but certain that it denotes what is popularly known as the Śiva-rātri, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha.

The inscription opens with an invocation of Śāntinātha, the sixteenth Tirthankara. Verse 2 gives the name of Anahila, and his son named Jīmḍa is mentioned in the verse following as proficient in polity and as belonging to the Chāhamāna dynasty. His son was Aśvarāja, and the son of the latter was Katukarāja (vv. 4-5). In verse 6 we are told that in his *bhukti*, i.e. the province enjoyed by him, was the town named *Samipāṭi* (Sēvādī), and at this place there was a temple of Viranātha (Mahāvīra), bearing comparison with paradise. From verse 7 onwards we are introduced to a different line of descent. In this verse we are informed that there was one Yaśōdēva, leader of the army (*bal-ādhipa*), of pure soul, and foremost in the

^१ Read कुटुंब.

^२ Supply here some such word as संपदित.

^३ [See also above, Vol. VIII. p. 200, and the note on p. 200 in the 'Additions and corrections' to that volume.

^४ Read 'महादेव'.

^५ Read 'वृद्ध'; the lines are here reversed.

assemblies of kings and *mahajanas* (banias). The next verse says that he, of equable mind, was never flagging in conferring favours on the relatives, friends, and virtuous people of the *Shandēraka gachchha*. His son was *Bāhaḍa*, who was well known amongst the learned like *Viṣṇu-karmā* (verse 9), and the son of *Bāhaḍa* was *Thallaka*, who was devoted to the Jaina religion and was an object of the king's favour (verse 10). To *Thallaka* an annual benefaction of eight *drammas* was made by *Kaṭukarāja* on the *Śiva-rātri* day in the month of *Māgha* (vv. 11-12). Verse 13 expresses a wish for the continuance of the gift so long as the sun and the moon last, made for the worship of *Śāntinātha* in the *khattaka* of *Yaśodēva*. In the next verse we are told that the image of *Śāntinātha* in the temple of *Jina* in *Śamipāṭi* was caused to be made by his grandfather. The last is an imprecatory verse, threatening with punishment those who would resume the grant. The inscription ends with the mere date *Samvat 1172*, corresponding to A.D. 1115.

It will be seen from the above account that the grantor was *Kaṭukarāja*, son of *Aśvarāja*. But he does not appear to have been a ruler at the time. For in none of the verses is he spoken of as king, and in verse 6 we are informed, as we have seen, that *Śamipāṭi* (*Sāvāḍi*) was in his *bhukti*. Here neither the word *rājya* which would have suited the metre, nor any other term synonymous with it is used. This shows that even in A.D. 1115, the date of the inscription, he was a *yuvarāja* enjoying some villages as *jāgīr*.

Shandēraka-sad-gachchha is no doubt the same as the *Shandēraka gachchha* of the *Nāḍol* plates of *Ālhapadēva* dated V.E. 1218, and the *Sandēra* or *Shandēraka gachchha* of the Mount *Abū* inscriptions. *Sandēra* or *Shandēraka* is to be identified with the present *Sandērāv*, 10 miles north-west of *Bali*, the principal town of the district of the same name, *Godvād* Division. The name occurs also in an inscription in the temple of *Mahāvira* at that place (below No. XVI). It is one of the many instances in which the Jaina *gachchhas* are called after the names of places in *Mārwar*.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री^२ ॥ स्वजन्मनि जनताया जाता परतोषकारिणी शान्तिः । विबुधपति-
विनुतचरणः स शान्तिनामा जिनो जयति ॥१ आसीदुद्यमतापाद्यः
श्रीमदण्डिलभूपतिः ।
- 2 येन प्रचंडदोईडपराक्रम[जि]ता मही ॥२ तत्पुत्रः चाहमानानामन्वये
नीतिसहइं(डः) । जिंदराजाभिधो राजा सत्यसौ(शौ)र्यसमाययः ॥३ तत्त[नृ]ज-
स्ततो जातः प्रतापाक्रांतभूतलः [१*] अ[शु]राजः त्रियाधारो^३ [भु]-
- 3 [प]तिर्भूयतां वरः ॥४ ततः कटुकराजति त[त्पु]त्रो धरणीतलि । जज्ञे स त्याग-
सौभाग्यविख्यातः पुन्यविश्रितः^४ ॥५ तद्भुक्तौ^५ पत्तनं र[म्यं] शमीपाटीति-
नाम[कं] । तत्रास्ति वीरनाथस्य चैत्यं स्वर्गसमोपमं ॥६
- 4 इतश्चासीत् बि[शु]हात्मा यशोदेवो बलाधिपः । राज्ञां महाजनस्यापि सभायाम-
ग्रणीस्थितः ॥७ श्रीपंडेरकसहच्छे बंधूनां सुहृदां सतां । नित्योपकुर्वता
येन न शान्तं समचेतसा ॥८

¹ From an estampage.

स्वजन्मनि instead of स्वजन्मनि.—Ed.]

² Read "पुत्रराज".³ Read पुण्य.⁴ Read तद्भुक्तौ.² Expressed also by a symbol. [On the impressions the reading seems to be³ Read त्रियाधारो; but it will not suit the metre.⁴ On the impressions the first akshara of the word विश्रित, looks more like नि than बि.—Ed.]⁵ [On the impression the first akshara of this word seems to be .श.—Ed.]

- 5 तक्षुतो वाहडो जातो नराधिपजन[प्रिय]: । विश्वकर्म्मव सर्व्वत्र प्रसिद्धो
विदुषां मतः ॥८ तत्पुत्रः [प्र]थितो लोके जैनधर्मपरायणः । उत्पन्नः
[य]ज्ञको^१ राज्ञः प्रसादगुणमंदिरं ॥
- 6 १० दयादाचिन्त्यगांभीर्यवुडिचिद्वानसंयुतः^२ । श्रीमत्क[ट्ट]कराजेन तस्य दानं^३
[कृतं] शुभं ॥११ माघे च्यवकसंप्राप्तो^४ वितीर्ण^५ प्रतिवर्षकं । द्रष्टाष्टकं
प्रमाणेन यज्ञका-
- 7 य प्रमोदतः ॥१२ पूजा[र्घ्य] शान्तिनाथस्य यशोदेवस्य ख[त्त]के । प्रवर्धयतु
चंद्रार्कं यावदादानमु[ज्ज]लं^६ ॥१३ पितामहे[न] तस्येदं शमोपायां जिनालयी ।
कारितं शान्तिना-
- 8 यस्य विवं जनमनोहरं ॥१४ धर्म्मण लिप्यते राजा पृथ्वी भुनक्ति यो
यदा । ब्रह्महत्यासहस्रेण^७ पातकेन विलोपय[न्] ॥१५ संवत् ११०२

V.—BĀLĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀŚVĀKA;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1200.

This inscription was found at Bālī. It is engraved on one of the lintels resting on the pillars of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Bālā *alias* Bahuguna-mātā. It contains 6 lines of writing, which cover a space of 7" broad by 2' 2½" high. Excepting the greater portion of line 1 and a few letters in line 5, it is well preserved. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose, excepting one verse in ll. 4-5. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word *grāsa* in l. 2, which corresponds to the modern *girāsa*, signifying the landed possessions of a member of one of the ruling tribes. In lines 3 and 4 occur some abbreviations such as *bho*°, *pu*°, *ca*°, and so forth. I do not know what their full forms are.

The inscription opens with the date, of which all the details are lost, except the [Vikrama-] year 1200. It refers itself to the victorious and blessed reign of the *Mahārāja-dhirāja* Śrī-Jayasīhadēva, of course, of the Chaulukya dynasty and speaks of the *Mahārāja* Śrī-Āśvāka as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet," i.e. as his feudatory. At that time the village of Vālahī was being enjoyed as *girāsa* by the queen Śrī-Tihunaka. It then records a grant of four *drammas* by Bopapava-sthabhana, son of Pālā, in connection with the festival of the goddess Bahugbīpa. Further details of the grant are given but are not quite clear, but it appears to have been laid down that at the time of the horse-fair (lit. selling of horses) one *dramma* was to be given to the goddess, two *drammas* to the *saṅgha-pati* Galapalyādiya, son of Chōhaḍi, and resident at the village of Thāmbhila, one *dramma* to Vālhana and Gāravāta, sons of Mōhana, one *dramma* each to the machine-wells, such as

^१ Read सप्तसहस्रको.

^२ Read "दाचिन्त्य".

^३ [On the impressions the reading is तस्यदानं.—Ed.]

^४ Read च्यवक°.

^५ Read वितीर्ण°.

^६ [The *akṣhara* in brackets looks like ११.—Ed.]

^७ Read ब्रह्म° and "सहस्रेण".

those named S'ika, Bhariyā, Bohadā, Mahiyā, and so forth, one *dramma* to the *bhāṇḍārī* Bātā, and so on. The record was written by one Kulachandra.

The feudatory chieftain Āśvaka referred to herein is doubtless identical with the Āśvarāja of the two previous inscriptions. Vālahi must be the modern Bālī, and the goddess Bahughriṣa the same as Bahugunā or Bolā-mātā, in whose temple the inscription is engraved.

TEXT.¹

- 1 संवत् । [१२]०० [समस्त]राजा-
वलीविराजितमहाराजाधिराज्योज[य]-
- 2 सोहवेदकल्याणविजयराज्ये² तत्पा[द]पद्मोपजोवि[नि मङ्गा]राज्योद्वाका³ । एवं
काले प्रवर्तमाने 'राज्योद्वाक'कथासामुज्यमानवा[ल]होया[म]स्य सत्कथो-
बहु[वृ-]
- 3 ष[द](दे)वी[यावा]निवि(मि)त्तं भो० पाल्हासुत भो० वीपणवस्त्रभनेन वालही प्रति⁴
प्रदत्तं द्रां ४ तथा घोडाविक्रय द्रां १ [त]या च धांभिल[ग्र]ाम-
वास्तव्यसंघपतिचोहडिपुचगलपत्न्यादिया[द]
- 4 प्रति प्रदत्तं द्रां २ [पू० मो]हनसुतवाल्ह[ण]गार[वा]टं प्रति द्रां १ सीत्कभरिया-
वीहडामहियाप्रभृति अरहडप्रति प्रदत्त द्रां १ मां० बूटा प्रति द्रां १
व० उदकपोहया० आ० ते० पलो १ प्रदत्त ॥ यस्य यस्य
- 5 [य*]दा भूमि तस्य⁵ तस्य तदा फलं । यस्तु एतं लोपयंति⁶ तस्य ब्रह्मह-
त्यादय⁷ ॥१⁸ श्रीकुलचंद्रेण लिखितं ॥ सदयणा वा० रा० कातियस
. लाही प्रति द्रां १ अरठपा-
- 6 दणा० उ ॥ भौसै ४ धाटधरणप्रति द्रां १।

VI.—SĒVĀDĪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF KATUDĒVA;

[SIMHA-]SĀMVAṬ 31.

This inscription also was found at Sēvāḍī, near a house in front of the Jaina temple of Mahāvira. It is what is called there a *surabhi* stone, i.e. a stone which is surmounted with

¹ From the original stone. ² Read 'सीहदेव'.

³ [On the estampage which Mr. Bhandarkar has sent me, the reading मंवि instead of राज is also possible.—Ed.]

⁴ [The *sketch* of 'विहडक' is not on the line. There is a letter or symbol above the line which Mr. Bhandarkar takes for क, and this is how he gets विहडक.—Ed.]

Read वालही प्रति; as the text was never intended to be grammatically correct, such inaccuracies will not be corrected unless it is absolutely necessary to do so.

⁵ Read भूमिस्य.

⁶ Read एतलोप⁷.

⁷ Read ब्रह्म; the metre of these lines is violated.

⁸ [On the estampage the reading seems to be ॥ ४ ॥ कुच⁹.—Ed.]

the sculpture of a cow and her calf and with the sun and the moon on each side. The inscription is mutilated in several places, and the letters have become very much worn out. The inscription is of no importance except for what is contained in the first three lines, about the reading of which there remains no doubt. They give the date Sam 31 Bhāda[va]dā [su]di 11, and state that Kaṭudēva was at that time *Mahārājādhirāja* and reigning at Nāḍā (Nāḍol) and that Samipāti was being enjoyed by (his son) Jayasīha, the *Yucarāja*, or heir-apparent. This Kaṭudēva is the same as the Kaṭukarāja of Nos. III. and IV., above, and, as we know that he was the *Yucarāja* from V.E. 1167 to 1172, the only era, to which we can refer the year 31, the date of this inscription, is that started by the Chaulukya sovereign Siddharāja-Jayasīha, commonly known as *Simha-Samvat*. It then becomes equivalent to V.E. 1200 or A.D. 1143. That the province of Goḍvād was included in the dominions of Siddharāja-Jayasīha is proved by the preceding inscription. It is, therefore, not at all improbable that the year 31 of our record belongs to the *Simha* era.

TEXT.¹

- 1 सं ३१ भादपद^२ [सु]दि ११ ऽद्येह श्रीन[ड]ले ।
- 2 ^३— [ह]ाराजाधिराजश्रीकटुदेवविजयोद[यो] त—
- 3 — — ^४[ज]यतसीहयुवराजभुज्यमानसमीपाटया^५ श्रीम-
- 4 — —रपा[ल]: समस्तमुद्राव्यापारान् परिप[द्यन्]^६ ।
- 5 [श्री]से[षा]भटसमस्तमहाजनप्रभृती[न्] । [त]-
- 6 — —[व]ार: सिंधुराज — — । तस्मिन् काले प्रव[र्त]माने
- 7 लि[ष]ति च पूर्वधर्मशासन — — — यतु घाणक प्र-
- 8 [ति]सूय सर्वप्रमाण श्या—हलखेटलनिषे[ध:] एत-
- 9 — —प्रतिपालयंति [स]प्तात्मानं पुण्येन लिप्यते ज
- 10 कोपि लोप[य]स्वति स वल्लहत्यापापेन गृह्यते ॥ मंगलं
- 11 महाश्री ॥

VII.—NĀḌLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1189.

This inscription was found in a Jaina temple at Nāḍlāi, 8 miles to the north-west of Dēnāri, the principal town of the district of the same name, Goḍvād Division. The temple is now dedicated to Ādinātha, but there can be no doubt, as will be seen from other inscriptions, that it was originally dedicated to Mahāvīra. The inscription in question is engraved on a lintel standing on two pillars in the *śaḥā-maṇḍapa*. The lines of the inscription run parallel to one another but not to the edges of the lintel, and the tops of some of the concluding letters in the first line have been cut off, necessarily being outside the upper edge of the lintel. This points to the conclusion that the *śaḥā-maṇḍapa* was rebuilt some time after the date of

¹ From the original stone.² Read भादपद.³ Read नडा°.⁴ Restore शासुत°.⁵ Read °पाटया.⁶ Read परिपद्यन्; further grammatical inaccuracies are better left uncorrected.

the inscription, and that the lintel on which it is incised is no longer preserved in its original form.

The record contains 6 lines of writing which cover a space of 1' 5½" broad by 4½" high. The surface of the stone does not appear to have been dressed before engraving the inscription, and the letters also do not seem to have been carefully incised. The characters are Nāgari. Of these y is written as if it were p, as is often seen in Sanskrit manuscripts. Next, the form of the letter ḍ in *Nadāḍāgikā*, l. 2, is worthy of note and is exactly like that noted in No. III. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting a verse at the end, which, however, offends against the metre. In respect of orthography, it deserves to be noticed first that there is but one ḍ in the inscription and it is denoted by the sign for v, in *vrahama(hma)*°, l. 5, and secondly, that the final consonant is represented by the addition of the suffix *u* as, e.g. *yad* by *yadu* in l. 5. The same orthographic peculiarity I have noticed in the later copper-plate inscriptions of the Gubilot princes, which are found in Goḍvād. As regards lexicography, the words *pala* and *palikā* employed in l. 3 doubtless denote some kind of liquid measure. Details of it have been set forth in Beruni, *Indica*, Vol. I. p. 164. Attention may also be drawn to the abbreviated forms herein employed, *bhaṁ*°, l. 3, and *rā*° and *vi*°, l. 4. *Bhaṁ*°, of course, stands for *bhaṁḍārī*, the name of a well-known subdivision of the Ōṣāla, and *rā*° for *rāuta*, which is supposed to be a corruption of *rājaputra*, and is the same as the modern *rāvat*, one of the designations borne by Rājput jāgirdāra. I do not know the full form of *vi*°. In l. 3 is used the word *ghāṇaka*, which corresponds to *ghāṇī* and signifies an oil-mill. It is frequently met with in inscriptions.

The inscription is dated the 5th of the bright half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1189, and speaks of a grant made by Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla, sons of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Ruyapāla of the Chahamāna dynasty, in conjunction with their queen-mother Mānālādēvī. The gift was of two *palikās* out of those due to the royal family from each oil-machine (*ghāṇaka*) and was made for the (Jaina) saints in and outside *Nadāḍāgikā* (Nāḍlāi). The witnesses to this religious benefaction were the villagers (*grāmīṇaka*) Ttimaṭā, a *rāuta*, Sīriyā a *vi*°, Pōsari a *bania*, and Lakshmaṇa, headed by Nāgaśiva, a *bhaṁḍārī*. They apparently formed the *pañcha* of the village.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री° ॥ संवत् ११८८ माघसुदि पंचम्यां श्रीचाहमानान्वय(१)श्रीमहाराजा-
धिराज[रायपा]ल(१)-
- 2 देव° तस्य पुत्रो° रुद्रपालधस्तपा[लौ] (१) ताभ्यां माता श्रीराज्ञीमा[न]न-
देवी तथा [नट्ट]ल[डा]गिका-
- 3 यां (॥) सतां परवतीनां [रा]जकुलपल[म]ध्यात् पल्लिकाद्वयं(१) घाण[कं] प्रति
धर्माय प्रदत्त° । भं° नागसि-
- 4 वप्रमुखसमस्तग्रामीणक (१) रा° त्तिमटा वि° सिरिया वजिक° पोसरि(१)
लक्षण एते सा ।

¹ From the original stone.

² Read पुत्री.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read प्रदत्त.

⁵ Read °देव.

⁶ Read वजिक.

- 5 चिं¹ क्त्वा दत्तं [i] लोपकस्य यदु पाप² गीहत्वासहस्रेण । 'ब्रह्मसहस्रा-
सतेन च (i) तेन
6 पापेन लिप्यते सः³ ॥ ० ॥ श्री ॥

VIII.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1195.

This inscription also was found at Nādlāi, but in the temple of Nēminātha, locally known as Jādvājī, situated on a small hill to the south-east of the village. It is engraved on a pillar, and is, on the whole, well preserved. It consists of 26 lines of writing, and covers a space of 9½" broad by 1' 11½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the use of *matu* for *mat(d)* in *matudattān*, l. 22. Of unknown or rare words *bhoktārī*, l. 9, *śēka*, l. 11, and *ābhārya*, l. 12, may be noticed. For the first I can suggest no meaning. *Śēka* is perhaps the same as the Sanskrit *śīkya* meaning "a kind of loop or swing made of rope and suspended from either end of a pole or yoke to receive a load (also applied to the load so carried)." The word *ābhārya* has, in my opinion, the sense of "income, proceeds," and occurs in no less than three different compounds in a Māngrol inscription of V.E. 1202.⁴ It is also employed as a component of another compound in Bhinmāl inscriptions Nos. XII and XV.⁵ Perhaps another word may also be noticed, viz. *rāuta*, which occurs in ll. 8 and 21. It is evidently a corruption of *Rājaputra* and is the same as Rājput, but is here used to denote apparently a *jāgirdār*.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the Omniscient, who is here Nēminātha. It then gives the date, viz. Tuesday, the 15th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1195, and refers to the rule of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Rāyapālādēva over Nāḍuladāgika (Nādlāi). It then states that for lamp, incense, offering, flowers, worship and so forth of Śrī-Nēminātha, the *ghaṭṭura* Rājādēva, son of the *rāuta* Ūdharapa of the Gūhila family, granted for his spiritual merit one-twentieth part of the income (*ābhārya*) derived from the loads on bullocks going on their way or coming to Nādlāi. Then a request is made to future rulers for the preservation of the grant; and Pāmsila is given as the name of the individual who wrote the record. Then comes the sign-manual of Rājādēva, who is here called a *rāuta*, which is followed by the name of the witness Gūgi, son of the astrologer Dūdūpa. The last three lines are not intelligible to me.

TEXT.

- 1 श्रीं नमः सर्वज्ञाय ॥ संवत् ११
- 2 ८५ आसउज्जं वदि १५ कुजे ॥
- 3 यदोह योन[डु]लडा[गि]कायां महा-
- 4 राजाधिराजयोराय[पा]लदेवे । विज-

¹ Read एतन्मासिचः.

² Read यपाप.

³ Read ब्रह्म^० and 'सतेन

⁴ This whole verse is corrupt. It also occurs at the end of some of the following inscriptions. Perhaps it may be restored as follows:—गीहत्वासाहस्रेण ब्रह्मसहस्रासतेन च । लोपकस्य यदु यपापं तेन पापेन लिप्यते ॥

⁵ *Bharnagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, pp. 158-9.

⁶ *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, pt. I, pp. 480 and 485.

⁷ From the original stone.

⁸ Expressed by a symbol.

⁹ Read आसोउज्जं.

- 5 यी¹ राज्यं कुर्वतीत्येतस्मिन् काले श्री-
 6 मदुर्जिततीर्थ² श्री[ने]मिनाथदेव-
 7 स्व दीपधूपनैवेद्य³पुष्पपूजाद्यर्थे गू-
 8 हिलान्वयः⁴(1) राउ० ऊधरणस्तु-
 9 ना भोक्तारि(?)ठ० राजदेवेन स्वपु-
 10 स्वार्ये स्त्रीयादानमध्यात्⁵ मार्गे [ग]-
 11 च्छतानामागतानां⁶ वृषभानां शेके[षु]⁷
 12 यदाभाव्यं भवति तन्मध्यात् विं[श]-
 13 तिमो⁸ भागः चंद्रार्क⁹ यावत् देवस्य
 14 प्रदत्तः ॥ अस्मदंशोयेनान्येन वा
 15 केनापि परिपंथना न करणीया ॥
 16 अस्मदत्त¹⁰ न केनापि लोप[नो]यं ॥
 17 स्वहस्ते परहस्ते वा यः कोपि लोप-
 18 यिष्यति¹¹ । तस्याहं करे लग्नो
 19 न लो[प्यं] मम शासनमिदं¹² ।[1*] लि०
 20 [पां]मिलेन ॥० स्वहस्तोयं साभि-
 21 ज्ञानपूर्वकं राउ० रा[ज]देवे-
 22 न मतुदत्तं¹³ ॥ अचाह¹⁴ साक्षि[णा]
 23 ज्योतिषिक[द्वद्व]पास्तुना गूगि-
 24 न[र]ः¹⁵ । तथा पला० [प]ाला० । पृथिं
 25 वा १ मांगु[ल]ा ॥ देपसा । रा
 26 पसा ॥ मंगलं मद्वा[योः] ॥

IX.—NĀḌŌL STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA ;
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1198.

This inscription was discovered at Nāḍōl, about 10 miles north-west of Dēsūri, and is incised on a pillar in the temple of Sōmāśvara. A transcript of the first 3 lines has been given by the late Professor Kielhorn, above Vol. IX. p. 159. The record contains 39 lines of writing, which cover a space of 9" broad by 2' 3" high. The letters are so weather-worn that even a satisfactory estampage is not possible, but with a little care and patience the whole of the

¹ Read विजयि.

² Read "दुर्जिततीर्थ".

³ Read "नैवेद्य".

⁴ The *anvaya* has here been disregarded. Such omissions will not be further noticed.

⁵ Read गच्छतामागतानां.

⁶ The letter पु is engraved between lines 10 and 11.

⁷ Read विंशतितमो.

⁸ Read चंद्रार्क.

⁹ Read अचाह.

¹⁰ Read विष्यति.

¹¹ The word इदं is superfluous and not needed for the metre.

¹² Read मया दत्तः.

¹³ Probably अचाहं was intended.

¹⁴ Read गूगिना.

inscription can be read with certainty on the original stone. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. Some of the solecisms that occur in the record are *nirgamatē*, l. 20, *nirgamamānānām*, l. 15, and *nirgamāpayamānānām*, l. 19. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note (1) that *t* is (correctly) doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *pravarttamāne*, l. 3, (2) that the dental *s* is frequently substituted for the palatal *ś*, (3) that the sign for *e* is used also for *b*, and (4) that there is a curious tendency exhibited here of ending proper names with *a* or *ā*. The *dēśī* words employed are (1) *vāḍā* or *vāḍāṣū*, *vām* and *pīḍī* (ll. 4-8) which still in Mārwar have the sense of wards or localities in a town; (2) *pēṭa*, a belly, (3) *avasara*, l. 24, i.e. *ḍerā* or *ḍerī*, ante-chamber or porch (above, Vol. I. p. 165), and (4) *chaukaḍikā*, l. 13, of uncertain meaning, but apparently signifying a *pañchāyat*. The unusual words used in the inscription are (1) *kārpāṭika*, l. 12, a pilgrim or caravan of pilgrims, (2) *dauvārika*, doorkeepers of kings, known as *ḍūḍidārī* in Rājputānā, and (3) *kāyavrata*, l. 21, which doubtless has the same sense as that of the word *trāḡā* or *chāndī*, i.e. a kind of privation and self-immolation so commonly practised once in Rājputānā and Gujārāt by Brāhmaṇas and Bhāts to force the kings to relent and grant their wishes. Two curious expressions occurring in the record also deserve to be noticed. The first is *pēṭam priṣṭim vā dariyati*, ll. 20-21, and the second *vā(bā)lē-pi grāmthir-n-astī*, l. 23, both of which are *dēśī* idioms unknown to Sanskrit literature. The former consists of two separate expressions: (1) *pēṭam dariyati* — lit. "shows his belly" but really "asks for means of livelihood," and (2) *priṣṭim dariyati* — lit. "shows his back," i.e. "flies away and thus shirks his responsibility." The second exactly corresponds to the Hindi phrase even now in use, in Rājputānā at any rate, viz. *bāl par bhī gāṁṭh nahī*, which is employed for absolving a man from all blame.

The inscription opens with the date, viz. Sunday, the 6th of the dark half of Śrāvaṇa in the [Vikrama] year 1198, and refers itself to the blessed and victorious reign of the *Maḥārāja-dhīrāja Śrī-Rāyapāladēva*. It then makes mention of sixteen Brāhmaṇas of the town of Dhālōpa, residing in eight different wards. Virigu and Prabhākara belonged to Mārīvādā, Āśadēn and Mahādū to Dīpāvādā, Deu and Ghāhaḍī to Dumdānavāsu, Muhaṁkaru and Divākaru to Bhaṁgtravādāṣū, Dēvāichu and Dhāraū to Pipalavādā, Nārāyaṇa and Mahāichu to Anbilavādā, Āsigu and Āsapālu to Khaikhanalāvādā, and Dēvaṁgu and Āmigu to Bhundavādā. Headed by all these Brāhmaṇas, two from each of the eight wards of Dhālōpa and with Dēvāichu as the mediator, the whole people of the town tendered a document written (i.e. signed) with their own hands. It contains a solemn promise on their part to find out, in accordance with the custom of the country, by means of the *chaukaḍikē* or *pañchāyat* system, whatever is lost by, or snatched away from, the *bhāṭa*, *bhāṭaputra*, *dauvārika*, *kārpāṭika*, *Vaṁjīāraka*, and others on their way. If it was, however, lost at their own place, i.e. at any particular ward in Dhālōpa, the responsible individuals thereof already named were to find it out in person. Money, weapons, watchmen, and so forth were supplied by the *Maḥārāja Śrī-Rāyapāla* to them for tracing things lost, and so there was no need of assigning the duties of a watchman to any one amongst them. A declaration was also made to the effect that, if any Brāhmaṇa amongst them, when being asked by chiefs (*vāṇaka*), to find out some lost property, refused to do so, asked for means of subsistence or fled away, or, if apprehended, had recourse to *kāyavrata* or self-immolation, he would die like a cur, donkey, or *chāṇḍāla*, and the chiefs (*vāṇaka*), such as Rāyapāla and others, would in no wise be open to blame. Then is given a list of the names of the individuals who bore witness to the document. They are as follow: (1) Kaṭuka and the Brāhmaṇa Sājanu come from, i.e., representing the *bhāṭāraka* Īlā (residing) in the *avasara* (*ḍerī*) of the temple belonging to Śrī-Jayasimhadēva, (2) the *bhāṭāraka* Varnasiū of (the temple of) Anahilēśvara, (3) the *bhāṭāraka* Mahēśvarasiū of (the temple of) Jāndrarājēśvara, (4) the *bhāṭāraka* Jūānasiū of (the temple of) Aṇupam-

vāsvara, (5) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Iśānū attached (*pratibaddha*) to the *bhaṭṭāraka* Bhōpā of (the temple of) Prithvipālēsvara, (6) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Muktidēū of (the temple of) Jōjalēsvara, (7) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Vinayaka and Sāntisiū of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (8) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Mūladēū of (the temple of) Āsalēsvara, (9) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Tatpurusha of (the temple of) Padmalēsvara, (10) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Kēdāra of (the temple of) [Tripālā]kēsvara, (11) the *bhaṭṭāraka* Brahmarāśi of (the temple of) Āsapālēsvara, (12) the *abōṭi* Sāgāhāri belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Prithvipālēsvara, (13) the *abōṭi* Jagadhārū belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Āsalēsvara, (14) the *abōṭi* Śrī-Vachhū belonging to Dvāravati and of (the temple of) Tripurusha, (15) the whole class of bankers (*vaḥajana*), such as Dēvadhara and others, belonging to Anahillapura, and (16) the whole class of bankers such as Soṭh Jasadhavala Kajakavāla, and so forth. Then in ll. 37-39 we are informed that the record was written, i.e. drawn up, I think, by the *śhakura* Pēthadā, son of Vādiga, a Gauda Kāyastha, with the consent of the people of Dhālōpa. At the end is a line, stating that the record is approved by all the people of Dhālōpa.

Of the places mentioned, Dhālōpa is obviously the village of that name, about 4 miles to the south-south-west of Nāḍol. Anahillapura is, of course, Anhilvādī near the modern Pāṭṣā, in the Kaḍi Division, Baroda State. Dvāravati is doubtless Dvārakā on the western coast of Kathiāvād. Of the caste names mentioned, *bhaṭṭa* is the same as *bhāt* or *bards*. *Bhaṭṭa-putra* is most likely intended for Bārhot, the higher class of professional panegyrist. *Dauṛika* is probably not a caste-name, and signifies here what are known as *ḍaḍidārs* in Rājputānā. *Vanijjāraka* is Vanjāris, whose hereditary calling is that of carrying grains on pack-bullocks. The name occurs under the form of *vaṇajāraka* in No. XI. below and *vanijjāraka* in a copper-plate grant of Tribhuvanapālādēva.¹ *Abōṭis* are an inferior class of Brāhmanas, who are generally temple servants, and are still chiefly found in Dvārakā. Of the names of the *bhaṭṭārakas* of temples, many end in *siū* (Śiva), two in *dēū* (*dēva*), and only one in *rāśi*. I have elsewhere said that of the four well-known sects of the followers of Śiva, those whose names ended in Śiva were Śaivas, and those whose names ended in *rāśi* were Lakulīśa Pāśupatas. But to what sect the ascetics who bore the honorific suffix *dēū* (*dēva*) belonged, is not clear. Again, the gods, to whose temples the *bhaṭṭārakas* were attached, were, it will be seen, named after the kings. The god Jayasīmadēva was doubtless called after the Chaulukya sovereign Jayasīma; Anahillēsvara after Anahilla, great-grandson of Lakshmana, the founder of the Chāhamāna family of Mārwar; Jēndrarājēsvara after Jēndrarāja or Jindurāja, son of Anahilla; Prithvipālēsvara and Jōjalēsvara, after the first and second sons of Jēndrarāja; and Āsalēsvara, who is the same as Āsapālēsvara of l. 32, after Āśvapāla, elder brother of Anahilla. Anupamvēdvara, Padmalēsvara and [Tripālā]kēsvara must similarly have been named, but princes of these names have not yet been traced in inscriptions.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्रीं संवत् ११८८ यावणवदि ८ रवावद्येह म-
- 2 हारा[जाधि]राजश्रीरायपालदेवः कल्याणविजय-³
- 3 राज्ये एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने श्रीधालोप-
- 4 स्थाने 'मेरीवाडा विप्र० वीरिणु प्रभाकर । डी[पा]-
- 5 वाडा भासदेउ महडू । दुंडणवास देउ घाहडि । भां-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 210.² Expressed by a symbol.³ The loop of the letter मे is not entire.² From the original stone.³ Read 'देवकल्याण'.⁴ The reading महडू⁰ is also possible.

- 6 गूरवाडउ मुहंकर दिवाकर । पीपलवाडा देवाइ[उ]
 7 धारउ । आविलवाडा नारायण महाइच । खइखबला-
 8 वाडा आसिगु आसपालु । भुंडवाडा देवंगु आविगु । एवं
 9 पाडि ८ सत्कविप्रजन १६ आदौ कृत्वा समस्तलो-
 10 को मध्यकदेवाइचमहितः स्वहस्ताचरणचं प्र-
 11 यच्छति यथा ॥ मार्गे गच्छमानभाट[मह]पुत्रदौ^१
 12 वारिककार्पटिकवणिज्जारकादिसमस्तलोक-
 13 स्य च सत्कं गतमपहृतं च देशाचारेण चौकडि-
 14 काप्रवाहिणास्त्राभिः निर्गमनीयं^२ । तथा स्वस्थाने
 15 गतं स्वांगेनापि निर्गमनीयं । एतत् निर्गमंतानां^३ म[हा*]-
 16 'राजाश्रीरायपालेनास्त्राकं रचाकारा[स्त्र]ाद्यं द्र[व्य]का-
 17 दिकं सुकं नास्त्राकं मध्ये रचाकारो मोक्तव्यः ॥ एतद्-
 18 स्त्राभिः स्वयमपि लोहमयमंगीकृतं निर्गमनीयं च ॥
 19 अनया^४ विधिना राणकानां निर्गमापयंतानां 'अस्त्राकं मध्या-
 20 त् यः' कोपि ब्राह्मणो^५ [न] निर्गमते^६ पेटं पृष्टिं वा दर्शय-
 21 ति गृह्यमाणस्तु कायव्रतं कृत्वा मृयते^७ च स च सर्वोपि
 22 स्नानगईभवांडालो^८ भूत्वा मृयते^९ । राजाश्रीरायपालादी-^{१०}
 23 नां राणकानां बालेपि^{११} ग्रंथिर्नास्ति न च द्र[व्य]णं किमप्य-
 24 स्तोति । अत्र सात्ति० श्रीजयसिंहदेवीयदेवगृहावसरो-
 25 यभट्टारकईलासत्कसमायातकटुकविप्र० साजणु । त-
 26 था^{१२} श्रीअणहिलेश्वरीभट्टारकवरुणसिउ । श्रीजेन्द्रराजे-
 27 स्वर्रीयभट्टारकमहेश्वरसिउ^{१३} । अणुपस्वेश्वरीयभट्टारक-^{१४}
 28 ज्ञानसिउ ।^{१५} पृथ्वीपाले[स्त्र]रीयभट्टारकभोपाप्रतिवडभट्टार[क]-^{१६}
 29 ईशानू । जोजलेश्वरीयभट्टारकमुक्तिदेउ । त्रिपुरपीयभ-
 30 ट्टारकविनायकसांतिसिउ । आसलेश्वरीयभट्टारकमूलदेउ ।
 31 श्रीपद्मलेश्वरीयभट्टारकतत्पुरुषु । [त्रिप]ालाकेश्वरीय[भ]ट्टार-
 32 ककेदार । आसपाले[स्त्र]रीयभट्टारकव्र[ह्म]रासि^{१७} ॥ पृथ्वीपाले-

^१ Read गच्छाट^०.^२ Read 'राज'.^३ Read भवाद्यः.^४ Read नियते.^५ Read 'राजश्री'.^६ Read 'शरीय' and 'महेश्वर'.^७ Read 'प्रतिपद'.^८ Read 'आभिर्निर्गम'.^९ Read 'अनेन'.^{१०} Read ब्राह्मणी.^{११} Read 'ज्ञान'.^{१२} Read 'बालेपि'.^{१३} Read 'शरीय'.^{१४} Read 'व्रह्म'.^{१५} Read एतज्निर्गमयतां.^{१६} Read निर्गमयतामस्त्राकं.^{१७} Read निर्गमयति.^{१८} Read सिद्धते.^{१९} Read 'शरीय'.^{२०} Read 'शरीय'.

- 33 श्रीयद्धार[व]तीमत्कश्चवोटीमागाद्धारि¹ । 'आसलेश्वरीद्धारव-
 34 तीमत्कश्चवोटीजगधर । विपुस्वीयद्धारवतीमत्कश्चवो-
 35 टीश्वोवृ² ॥ श्रीचणहिल्लपुरीय — — देवधरादिसमस्तमहा-
 36 जन³ । तथा कटकवालये⁴ जमधवनादिसमस्तमहाजन[स्व](ख) ।
 37 श्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य संमतेन लिखितं श्रीगौडा-
 38 न्कायस्थठकरपेयडेन⁵ वा[दि]गसुतेन कनाधि-
 39 कं प्रमाणमिति । समस्तश्रीधालोपीयलोकस्य मते⁶ ॥

X.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLA:
 [VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1200.]

This inscription was found in the temple of Ādinātha at Nādlāi, and is engraved on a lintel just opposite to that on which No. VII is incised. It contains 5 lines⁷ of writing which cover a space of 1' 9" broad by 4½" high. The letters were filled with plaster when I first saw the inscription. The plaster had afterwards to be scraped off for enabling us to read the inscription. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose excepting the verse at the end, the last *pāda* of which sets the metre at naught. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the use of *jaṭu* for *yad* and (2) the use of the dental for the palatal sibilant. In line 3 occur the curious words *vala* and *plā*, of which the first appears to be incorrectly used for *pala* and the second apparently an abbreviated form of *palika*. In line 2 the word *pāḷā* is used, which seems to signify a certain kind of weight. The same word occurs in the same sense in No. XI. In the Śānak grant of the Chaulukya king Karpadēva, we have the following: *pāḷāṃ 12 rukaṃti(ṭi) hāla 4 ṭi hāla-chaturśṭaya-bhāmī*. Here also the word has apparently the same meaning. Local inquiries in Gōdvāḍ have given me the following table:—

4 *pāḷā* = 1 *pāyalī*.
 5 *pāyalī* = 1 *māṇā*.

4 *māṇā* = 1 *śāi*.
 2 *śāi* = 1 *maṇ*.

Another word that may be noted is *vinśōpaka*, which not infrequently occurs in other inscriptions also. It is doubtless a coin, which is equivalent in value to 1/10th of the rupee that was then current.

The inscription opens with the date, *viz.* Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Jyeshtha (Jyāishṭha) in the [Vikrama] year 1200, when the *Maharājādhirāja* Śrī-Rāyapālādēva was reigning. It then records that the *rāṇa* Rājādēva, who had come on the occasion of the *rathayātra*, *i.e.* the car festival, made, for the sake of his mother, in the presence of the bankers (*mahājanas*), villagers and the people of the province, a religious benefaction consisting of one *vinśōpaka* coin from the value of the *pāḷās* accruing to him and two *palikās* from the *palas* of oil due to him from every *ghāṭṭaka* or oil mill.

TEXT.⁸

1 श्री⁹ ॥ संव[त्] । १२०० जेष्ठ¹⁰ [सु]दि ५ गुरौ श्रीमद्धारजाधिराजश्रीरायपाल-
 देवराज्ये — — हास — —

¹ Read 'श्वोटी'.

² Read 'श्वरीय' and 'श्वोटी'.

³ Read 'श्वोटी'.

⁴ Read 'जन'.

⁵ Read 'श्रीधालय'.

⁶ Read 'मते'.

⁷ [The number of lines in the impression is 6.—Ed.]

⁸ From the original stone.

[For a Nāḍol inscription of the same king, dated in the same year, see above,

Vol. IX. p. 159.—Ed.]

⁹ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁰ Read 'जेष्ठ'.

- 2 सम^१ रथयात्राय^२ आगतेन (१) रा० राजदेवेन (१) आत्म(१)पादलामध्यात् । [सर्व-
माउतपुत्र^३] विंशो-
3 पको^४ दत्तः ॥ आत्मीयघाणकतेलव[ल]मध्यात्^५ । मातानिमित्त^६ पलिकादयं (१) श्री २
दत्तः(त्तं) ॥ म(॥)-
4 हाजन(१)प्रमीण^७ । जनपदसमचाय^८ । धर्माय^९ निमित्तं विंशोपको^{१०} १
पलिकादयं (१) दत्तं ॥ गोह(॥)-
5 त्वानां सहस्रेण^{११} ब्रह्म[ह*]त्वामतेन^{१२} च । स्त्रीहत्वाभूणहत्वा च^{१३} जतु^{१४} पापं (१)
तेन पापेन लिप्यते सः^{१५} ।[१]^{१६}

XI.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RĀYAPĀLADĒVA;

[VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAT 1202.

The inscription is engraved on the same lintel as No. X. It contains 5 lines of writing, covering a space of 1' 8½" broad by 4½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and, excepting the usual imprecatory verse at the end, the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are that a consonant following r is doubled, and that in l. 5 *jatu* is used instead of *yat*. Of rare and unusual words herein employed and not previously noticed, *dēśi* occurs in l. 3, and *kirāḍaṣṣ* and *gṣṣa* in l. 4. The last is used in the sense of "cart," and *kirāḍaṣṣ* is, I am told, the same as *kirāḍaṣṣ* or *kirāṣṣ*, employed to denote substances, such as gum, dry ginger, black pepper, coriander, and so forth. The meaning of the word *dēśi* is not quite certain. It seems tempting to take it in the sense of a guild, in which it occurs in the Pāhāvā inscription of the imperial Pratihāra Bhōjadēva I. (above, Vol. I. p. 187, l. 8) and the Harsha inscription of the Chāhamāna Vīgraharāja (above, Vol. II. p. 124, l. 38). And this meaning suits here excellently. The same word occurs in another inscription found in the same temple as this, and apparently in the same sense. Another expression that requires to be noted is *la(lā)ga-māna*, the meaning of which seems to be "the measure or proportion (*māna*) of cess (*lāga*)."

The inscription opens with the date, viz. Friday, the 5th of the dark half of Āśōja (Āśvina) in the [Vikrama] year 1202, when Rāyapālādēva was the *Mahārājādhirāja* and the *rājā* Rājādēva was the *ṭhākura* of Nādūlādāgika (Nādlāi). The object of the inscription is to record that the Vanajārakas (Vanjāris) of Abhinavapurī, Badārī and Nādlāi having assembled together into a guild (*dēśi*), Rājādēva granted, for the sake of the pious and the ascetics in the temple of Mahāvīra, rupees two for each twenty *pailas* loaded on bullocks and rupee one for each cart filled with commodities, coming under the class of *kirāḍaṣṣ*.

Badārī is probably Bārī, 8 miles north of Nādlāi. Abhinavapurī is unknown to me.

^१ Read समदे.

^२ Read "विंशोपको".

^३ Read "सामीण".

^४ Read विंशोपको. [The space between ोको and पलिका is too big for the numeral १ alone.—Ed.]

^५ Read "हत्वाभूणहत्वा".

^६ Read दत्ताप.

^७ [There are two more aksharas in this line and another line below the 5th which may be transcribed as follows:

^८ I am not quite certain of this reading.

^९ Read "तेलवल्".

^{१०} Read "समच".

^{११} Read "प्रतीन".

^{१२} Read "जतु".

^{१३} The letters पापेन and सः are not needed for the metre.

^{१४} Probably "हत्वाभूण" was intended.

^{१५} Read माद.

^{१६} Read धर्मस.

(l. 5 चक्षि-

(l. 6) नृवंसे चरा जीवे(१)यः कोपि दपति[भ]वेत् । दत्ताप च करे [ल]पः (१) प्राचनं न[व्य]विजने[न] । च ॥
—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री² ॥ संवत् १२०२ चासोजवदि ५ शुक्ले (१) श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीराय-
पालदेवराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने] ।
- 2 श्रीनटूलडागिकायां(१) रा० राजदेवठकुरेण प्रवर्त्तमानेन(१) [श्री]महावीरचैत्ये(१)
साधुत-
- 3 पोधननि[छाये] (१) श्रीसमिनवपुरीय(१)बदाय्या(१) अ[चे]षु⁴ स[म]स्तवणजारकेषु(१)
देसी मिलित्वा⁵ वृ-
- 4 [ष]म[भ]रित(१)जतु⁶ पाइलालगमाने⁷(१) ततु⁸ वोसं प्रति(१)रूपा २ किराडउमा(१)
गाडं प्रति रु १ वण-
- 5 जारके⁹ [ध]र्माय प्रदत्तं ॥ लोपकख ज[तु]¹⁰ पापं [गो]हत्यासहसेन ॥ "ब्रह्म-
हत्यासतेन(१) पापेन(१) लिप्यते सः¹² ॥

XII.—KIRĀPŪ STONE INSCRIPTION OF ĀLHANADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1209.

This inscription was found in a Śaiva temple standing amidst the ruins of Kirāpū near Hāthmā, about 16 miles north-north-west of Bāḍmēr, the principal town of the Mālāpi District, Jodhpur State. A transcript and translation of it have already been published in the *Bhatnagar Prakrit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 172 ff. But this, like almost all the inscriptions in this book, is edited in a slovenly manner, and I, therefore, make no excuse for re-editing it here.

The inscription consists of 21 lines, covering a space of 1' 5½" broad by 1' 2" high. The middle portion of the stone as far as line 17 has peeled off. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been destroyed, and the purport of the inscription is clear enough. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note (1) that a consonant following *r* is doubled and (2) that the sign for *v* is employed also for *b*, except once in *labdha* in l. 2. In l. 13 occurs the word *amāri-rāḍhi*, which, though known to Jaina scriptures, is foreign to Sanskrit literature. It means "the edict of the non-slaughter (of animals)."

The record opens with the date, viz. Saturday, the 14th of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1209, when Kuma(mā)rapāla was the paramount sovereign and Mahādēva was doing all the business of the seal, relating to the drawing up of documents, etc. Lines 4-6 speak of his feudatory, the Mahārāja Śrī-Ālaṇadēva, who obtained Kirātakūpa, Lātarhada and Śivā—through his (i.e. Kumārāpāla's) favour. Then we are told that Ālaṇadēva, on the aforesaid date, which was the Śivarātri day, thinking the granting of security to animals to be the highest gift, issued injunctions, for the increase of his spiritual merit and fame, to the mahājanas, tāmbulikas, and other subjects, forbidding the slaughter of living beings on the

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ From here onwards many grammatical inaccuracies occur, which need not all be corrected.⁴ Read अचेषु.⁵ देसी मिलितेषु would have been expected.⁶ Read यत्.⁷ Read "जागमानं.⁸ Read तद्.⁹ Read "जारकेषु.¹⁰ Read यत्.¹¹ Read ब्रह्म and "हतेन.¹² The verse obviously violates the metre.

8th, 11th and 14th days of both the fortnights of every month in the three towns named above and threatening with capital punishment those who killed or caused others to kill living beings. The Brāhmaṇa priests, ministers and others were also ordered to respect this edict of non-slaughter. And amongst these, he who commits the sin of taking life, should, it is stated, be fined five *dramma*s, but if the sinner be one attached to the king, he should be fined one *dramma* only. Then comes the sign-manual of the personage who issued the edict, who is here called *Mahārāja Śrī-Ālhaṇadēva*, followed by the approval of the great princes (*mahā-rājaputra*) *Kālhaṇa* and *Gajasīmha*. The edict was written by the *śakka* *Khēlāditya*, minister for peace and war. Then we are informed, in a postscript, that this gift of safety to animals was caused to be proclaimed, with the permission of the king, by *Pūtiga* and *Sālīga*, sons of *Subhāṃkara*, of the *Pōrvād* caste and residents of *Nadūlapura* (*Nāḍol*). The inscription ends with the information that it was engraved by the *sātradhāra* *Bhāila*. *Pūtiga* and *Sālīga* are no doubt the same individuals that had a similar edict promulgated through *Girijādēvi*, queen of *Pūnapākshadēva*, a feudatory of *Rāyapāla* and ruling over the province of *Ratnapura*, the southernmost district of *Mārwar*.¹

It is worthy of note that the edict in question is to be made applicable to two distinct classes with varying degrees of rigour. The class to which it is to be applied with the greatest rigour is, of course, that of the merchants (*mahājanas*) and betel-sellers (*tambulikas*), who doubtless must have, then as now, been Jains and consequently supposed to be the greatest respecters of animal life. The class, with reference to which the rigour is relaxed, is that of the ministers and priests. Of the first of these we cannot be certain whether they were recruited from the Brāhmaṇa caste. But the priests unquestionably can be no other than Brāhmaṇas, and when they are asked to respect animal life, it is plain that some Brāhmaṇas of *Mārwar* at any rate were then in the habit of eating flesh, which is now looked upon with abhorrence by them—due no doubt to the influence of Jainism which has been predominant in *Rajputānā* for the last six centuries, if not longer.

Next, the edict was to be in force at the three places, *viz.* *Kirātakūpa*, *Lāṭarhada*, and *Śivā*, the towns which *Ālhaṇadēva* secured through the favour of *Kumārāpāla*. *Kirātakūpa* is undoubtedly *Kirādū*, where the present inscription was found. It is mentioned twice in another inscription, in the same temple, dated V.E. 1235, and pertaining to the reign of the *Chaulukya* sovereign, *Bhīmadēva*. *Lāṭarhada* must doubtless be the same as *Lāṭahrada*, occurring in *Bhinmal* inscriptions Nos. XI and XII, and *Rāṭahrada* in the *Sāndhā* hill inscription of *Chachigadēva*. Professor *Kielhorn*, when he edited the last inscription, was unable to identify it. But, as suggested to me by *Munshi Devī Prasad* of *Jodhpur*, it must be identified with *Rāḍḍhādā*, which was the original name of the district round about *Nagar-Guḍhā* in the *Mallāpī* province, *Mārwar*. The third place is *Śivā*.—The full form of the name is unfortunately not preserved, but I have no doubt that it must have been some name corresponding to the modern *Sheo*, a town of antiquity and even now of some importance, and the headquarters of a district of the same name.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री ॥ संव[त्] १२०८ माघवदि १४ शनी चद्येह शो[म] . . .
 हाराजधिराजप-³
- 2 रमेचरउमापतिवरलव्यप्रश(सा)दप्रौढप्रताप
 निर्व्वित[श]काभरी-

¹ *Bāṇanagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 206.

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read "हाराजा".

- ३ भूपालश्रीमत्कुमरपालदेवकल्याणविजय^१
 पद्मीमहादेवे [श्री]-
- ४ श्रीकरणादौ समस्तसुद्राव्यापारान् परि[पं]^२
 [प्र]भुप्रसादावा-
- ५ मन्त्रीकिराटकूपलाटहृदशिवा
 ^३राजश्रीआलण-
- ६ देवः शिवरात्रिचतुर्दश्यां शुचिर्द
 [पु]ण्यशोभि-
- ७ वृद्धये प्राणिनामभयप्रदानं म^४
 [ह्य]जनतावृत्ति^५
- ८ कसमसप्रकृतीन्^६ संवीध्य^७ अभय^८
 [सि]^९ मासे उभ-
- ९ योः पचयोः अष्टमोएकादशीचतुर्द[शी]
 दत्तं अतोऽनंत-
- १० रं एतासु तिथिषु नगरत्रयेपि जी[व]
 [जा?] च व्यतिक्रम्य जी-
- ११ वानां वध^{१०} कारयति करोति वा स व्यापा^{११}
 आचंद्रार्क याव-
- १२ त् केनापि न लोपनीयं । अपरं पुरोहिता [अमा]^{१२}
 सर्वैरपरैश्च ए-
- १३ वा अमारिरुटिः प्रमाणीकार्या । [यः को]
 कालेन चोयते
- १४ फलं । एषस्याभयदानस्य^{१३} चय
 स्य प्रदत्ताऽभ-
- १५ यदक्षिणा न तु विप्रसहस्रेभ्यो
 कोपि पापिष्ठतरो जी-

^१ Supply "राशे" after "विजय".

^४ Supply "महादानं मत्वा".

^७ Read संवीध्य.

^८ Read मासे.

^{१३} Read अमाया.

^२ Restore परिपश्यति.

^५ Read ताम्बु.

^६ Supply "दानप्राप्तनं प्रदानं" after "अभय".

^{१०} Read वध.

^{१२} Read एतस्या.

^३ Restore "महाराज".

^९ Read "सनसप्रकृती".

^{११} Read व्यापादनीय.

- 16 ववचं कुरुते तदा स पंचद्रमोदंड[नोयः]¹
 [द्वयो] महाराजिकस्यैको
- 17 द्रमोस्ति ॥² स्वहस्तोयं महारा[जयोषाहणदेवस्य] ॥ श्री महा-
 राजपुत्रयोकोल्लण-
- 18 देवमतमेतत् ॥+ महाराजपुत्रगजसिंहस्य [म]तं ॥ साधिविग्रहिक ठ०
 खिलादित्येन लि-
- 19 खितमिदं ॥ श्रीनदूलपुरवासिप्राक्वाटवंशप्रभृतसु(शु)भंकराभिधानयावकः
 तत्पुत्रो लि-
- 20 तितलधर्मतया⁴ विख्यातो पूर्व(ति)गशासिगौ [।⁵] ताभ्यामतीवह[प]पराभ्यां
 प्राणिनामभयप्रदानया-
- 21 ग्रनं⁶ विज्ञप्य⁷ कारापितमिति⁸ ॥ ॥⁹ उत्कीर्णं सूच० भाइलेन ॥

XIII.—SĀṆḌĒRĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAṆADĒVA;
 [VIKRAMA-]SĀMVAT 1221.

This inscription was found at Sāṇḍērāv, about 10 miles north-west of Bāli. It is engraved on a lintel in the *sabha-maṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvīra.

The record contains 4 lines of writing, which covers a space of 3' 11" broad by 3½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards lexicography, *kalyāṇika* or *kalyāṇaka* occurs in ll. 1 and 3, and *yugaṇḍhari* and *hāḍla* in ll. 2 and 4, and *talārābhāṇya* in l. 2. *Kalyāṇika* is a term peculiar to Jaina theology. *Kalyāṇikas* are the auspicious days, five in number, on which took place (1) the *ekyāṇa* (conception), (2) *janma* (birth), (3) *dīkṣā* (initiation), (4) *kēvalajñāna* (enlightenment), and (5) *nirvāṇa* (final beatitude) of each of the Tirthaṅkaras. The expression occurs in No. II of the Mount Ābū inscriptions edited by Dr. Lüders;³ and on the door jambs of the subsidiary cells in the temple of Tējapāla at Dēlvāḍa, the *pañcha-kalyāṇikas* are specified of all the Tirthaṅkaras, to whom they are dedicated. The meaning of *yugaṇḍhari* and of *hāḍla* is unknown to me. But I surmise that *hāḍla* here stands for *hala* and that *yugaṇḍhari* is the name of a specific kind of corn known as *juār*. The sense of the remaining word, viz. *talārābhāṇya*, is also not certain. The expression no doubt occurs in a Māngrōl inscription published in the *Bhāṇagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 158, where it is translated by "the revenue of Talārā" which hardly helps us. The same inscription is published in *Bhāṇagar Prākṛita-Śāsthasaṅgraha*, Bhāga I. p. 5 ff. It is translated in Gujarātī on p. 9 by *khasakī jakātant-ṣpaja*, i.e. the income or revenue from tolls. In the English rendering of it in the same volume, it is stated that *talārā* is the same as the modern *talodara*. The same

¹ Read "हृष्टोदंड".

² This is followed by the mark of a spear.

³ Read "शसन".

⁴ [There are some symbols engraved between the two double strokes; but they are not quite clear.—Ed.]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 206.

⁶ Read "प्राग्वाट".

⁷ Read "विज्ञाप्य".

⁸ Read "चितितथे".

⁹ Read "वरित".

word occurs as *talāra* or *talārakha* in the Chirwā inscription edited by M. Geiger in the *Vienna Or. Jour.*, 1907, pp. 143 ff. The authority of Hēmachandra and Trivikrama is quoted there to show that it is equivalent in meaning to *purādhyaśhaḥ* or *nagararakṣakaḥ*. This would correspond to the office of a *koṭwāl* or city magistrate. But *tala* is often used in inscriptions to mean the "suburbs of a town." A *talāra* would thus be to the suburbs what a *koṭwāl* is to a city.

The inscription is dated on Friday, the 2nd of the dark half of Māgha in the [Vikrama] year 1221, and refers itself to the reign of Śrī-Kēlhapadēva. It states that Ānaladēvi, queen-mother of Kēlhapadēva granted one *hāḍla* (i.e. as much land as could be tilled by a single plough in one day) of *yugandhārī* or *juār* corn from the king's personal property (*bhōga*), to the god Mahāvira, *mālanayaka*, the primeval leader, of the Shamḍēraka-gachchha, to celebrate the *kalyāṇika* corresponding to the 13th of the dark half of Chaitra. One *dramma* was also given from the revenue of *talārā* by the Rāshtrakūṭas. Pātū and Kēlhapā and their brother's sons Ūttamasīha, Sūdraga, Kēlhapā, Āhaḍa, Āsala, Aṇatiga and others with reference to the same *kalyāṇika*. Similarly one *hāḍla* of *yugandhārī* was also granted by the *rathakāras* or cart-builders, Dhanapāla, Sūrapāla, Jōpāla, Signḍā, Amiyapāla, Jisahaḍa, Dēlhapā, and so forth, all residing at Shamḍēraka, in connection with the *kalyāṇika* falling on the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra.

Ānaladēvi, mentioned in this inscription as the queen-mother of Kēlhapadēva must undoubtedly be the same as Annaladēvi spoken of in the Naḍol plates as the consort of Ālhapā, father of Kēlhapā.¹ In this last inscription, she is represented to have been the daughter of Sabula of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. Rāshtrakūṭa is obviously the same as Rāshtrakūṭa, and the Rāshtrakūṭas, Pātū, Kēlhapā, and so forth, referred to in our inscription, must, therefore, be taken to be her relatives on her father's side.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्रीं ॥ संवत् १२२१ माघवदि २ शुक्ले चतुर्थे श्रीकेलहणदेवविजयरा[जे] ।
तस्य मातृराष्ट्रीश्रीपान[ल]देव्या⁴ श्रीपंडेरकीयमूलनायकश्रीमहावीरदेवाय
[चै]ववदि १३ कल्याणिकनि[मि]तं राजकीय-
- 2 भोगमध्यात्(।) युगंधर्याः हाएल एक[:*] प्रदत्तः । तथा राष्ट्रकूटपातुकेल्लणत[द्वा]-
तज्जुत्तमसीहसुद्रगकाल्लणसाहड्यासलक्षणतिगादिभिः तलाराभाव्यवस(?)गट-
- 3 सत्तात्(।) अस्मिन्नेव कल्याणके द्र १ प्रदत्तः ॥१ तथा श्रीपंडेरकवास्तव्य-
रथकारधणपालसूरपालजोपालसिगडाअमियपालजिसहडदेल्हादिभिः [चै]व-
सुदि १३ कल्याणके
- 4 युगंधर्याः [हाएल] एक १ प्र- —⁵

XIV.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAPĀ;

[VIKRAMA-]SAMVAT 1228.

The subjoined inscription was found near the temple of Mahādēva, about one mile south-west of Nādlāi. The shrine of it is really a natural cave, and this is the reason why it is also

¹ Above, Vol. IX. p. 68 ff. and *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XL. p. 144.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Supply "दणः".⁴ From the original stone.⁵ The letter *la* of "Āsala" is engraved above the line.

called *bhāmyar-kā-mandir*, i.e. a subterranean temple. It originally had a *sabhlā-maṇḍapa*, which is now well-nigh destroyed. And the stone, on which the inscription is engraved, appears to have been a lintel somewhere in the *sabhlā-maṇḍapa*.

As I received news of this inscription just as I was on the point of leaving Nāḍlāl, I was not able to take any impressions of it nor to take its measurements. It contains 3 lines of writing. The characters are Nāgarī. The record is in prose. The language is partly Sanskrit and partly vernacular. One curious thing in this connection is that *svastī* is twice used like *śrī*, as an honorific prefix to the names of places. Thus the forms Svastī-Sōṇāpā° and Svastī-Nāḍūlā are employed instead of Śrī-Sōṇāpā° and Śrī-Nāḍūlā. As regards orthography, it may be noted that (1) *Kuśāvare*° is used for *Kuśātra*° in l. 1, (2) *ijakā* for *iśhakā*, and (3) the date 1228 in l. 1 is written half in ciphers and half in letters. With reference to rare or unusual words, the following may be noticed : (1) *akṣhasāma*, (2) *lāpanīya*, (3) *ḍamā*, and (4) *chakṣūpā-paṇa*, the meaning of none of which is known to me.

The inscription opens with the date viz. Monday the 13th of Margaśīrsha in the [Vikrama] year 1228, during the victorious reign of the Chaulukya sovereign Kumārapāla, when Kālhaṇa was ruler of Nāḍūlya, and Rāpā Lakṣmaṇa of Vōripadyaka, and Anasīha was the *śāhī* of Sōṇānā. It then states that the *maṇḍapa*, *akṣhasāma*, and *ḍamā* of the temple of Bhivaḍśēśvara were constructed by Pāhīnī, son of the *sūtradhāra* Mahāḍūa and his wife Jasadēvi. They consisted of stones and bricks, and their construction cost 330 *dramma*s. He was helped in this religious work by the *sūtradhāra* Mahidārā and Imdāraka.

Of the localities herein mentioned, Nāḍūlya and Sōṇāpā are, of course, Nāḍōl and Sōṇāpā. Vōripadyaka is probably to be identified with Bōrlī, about 8 miles north of Nāḍlāl.¹

TEXT.²

- 1 शी³ संवत् १२ घटा(।)वोसा वरषे⁴ मागसिर सुदि १३ सोमे शोभिव-
डेश्वरदेवस्य । १ श्रीकुंवरपालदेवविजयरान्ये । शोनाडूखपुरात्(।) शो-
केल्हणःराजे⁵ वोरिपद्यके(।) राणा-
- 2 लखमण(।)राजे⁶ । स्वस्तिसोनाणापामे(।) ठा अणसीइस्य । स्वस्तिसोनाडूले
सूचमडडूष (।) भार्या जसदेवि(।)सुतपाहिणी मंडपः करापनीयः⁷ ।
अचसामलापनीयः डमा
- 3 । कर्तव्या पापाणइटकायां घटितः चट्टापने द्र ३३० लागे । धर्मसखा
इत⁸ सूच महिदरा तथा इंदराको घटितं कार्य । — — —
कापाडोय ।

¹ [On p. 42 above, Bōrlī has been identified with Badāri.—Ed.]

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ As the inscription does not aim at giving a grammatically correct Sanskrit text, it is not desirable to correct all inaccuracies.

⁵ Read °केल्हणःराजे.

⁶ Read °राजे.

⁷ Read कारणीयः

⁸ Probably अच was intended.

XV.—LĀLRĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHANADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233.

This inscription was found amidst the scattered ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāi, 5 miles south-east of Bāli. It contains 18 lines of writing, covering a space of 10½" broad by 1' 2½" high. Up to line 8, the inscription is intact, and of the two lines following only a letter or two are gone. But of ll. 11-18, the whole of the proper right half is destroyed. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *ḍ* is here throughout denoted by the curious sign which has been noted above, and which contains a loop on the left side. The whole of the record up to line 16 appears to have been in prose, and the last two lines, occupied by a well-known imprecatory verse. The language is Sanskrit. As regards orthography, it is worthy of note that a consonant following *r* is doubled, and that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*. As regards lexicography, the word *urahāri* and the expression *Gūjara[tri]-hāra[ka]* occurring in l. 8, and *javā*, in l. 9, may be noticed. *Urahāri* appears to me to be the name of an *araghaṭa* or a well with a wheel to raise water up. In fact, in Gōḍvād I found many such wells given strange names. *Gūjara[tri]*, I think, is the same as *Gurjaratrā*. *Hāraka*, as suggested above in No. III, denotes a certain kind of measure, and *java*, of course, stands for *yava* or barley corn.

The record is dated Thursday, the 13th of the dark half of Jyāishṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Kēlhanadēva*, ruling at Naḍūla. It then tells us that the *rājaputra Lākhanapālha* and the *rājaputra Abhayapāla*, proprietors (*bhoktrī*) of Sināpava, and sons of Kirtipāla, doubtless younger brother of Kēlhapā and donor of the Naḍol plates (above, Vol. IX. p. 68 ff.) made a grant conjointly with the queen Mahibālādēvi in the presence of the village *pañcha* (*pañcha-kula*) for celebrating the festival of the god Sāmtinatha. The grant consisted of barley corn measuring one *hāraka* as used in (the country of) Gūjaratṛi, from the *araghaṭa* or machine-well called *Urahāri*¹ and belonging to the village of Bhaḍiyāuva. The names of those who were witnesses to this benefaction are lost.

As regards the localities mentioned in this record, Sināpava, which is also called Samnāpaka in No. XVI, is doubtless Sōnāpā, mentioned in the last epigraph. Bhaḍiyāuva also occurs in No. XVI, and is to be identified with Bāḍvā (Barwa), 5 miles south-west of Lālrāi. Samipatī, which occurs in l. 13, has been shown to be Sēvādī. Gūjaratṛi is mentioned also in No. XVI, and is the same as *Gurjaratrā* of the Daulatpurā charter of the imperial Pratibhāra Bhōjadēva I., which comprised the modern districts of Parbatsar, Mārōṭ and Ḍiḍwāpā. Naḍūla is, of course, Naḍōl.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्री ° ॥ संवत् १२३३ जे(ज्ये)ष्ठवदि १३ गुरौ [!°]
- 2 चखेह [यि]नडूले महाराजाधिराजयि(॥)-
- 3 केलहनदेवरान्ये वर्त्तमानः⁴ यीकी[त्ति](॥)-
- 4 पालदेवपु[त्रे]⁵ सिनाणवभोक्ताराजपु⁶(॥)-
- 5 [च]लायणपा[ल]राजपुंचमयपाल⁷ रा-

¹ [Perhaps the field or fields irrigated by the machine-well had to supply the barley corn required for the festival.—Ed.]

² From inked impressions.

³ Read वर्त्तमाने.

⁴ Read °भीकु°.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read °पुत्रे.

⁷ Read °पाले.

- 6 श्रीश्रीमहिवलदेविसहितैः श्रीशान्ति-
 7 नाथदेवयानानिमित्तं भडियाउव[च]-
 8 रघटउरहारिमध्यात् गूजर[तृ]हार-
 9 '१ जवा ग्रामपंचकुलसमन्ति' एतत्
 10 . . दानं कृतं पुण्याय [१] साचिं अत्र वास्त-
 11 [इ]ण . . .
 12 सी० देवल[ये]०
 13 समीपाटीय-
 14 पाजून ग्राम-
 15 [स]मचं आदानं
 16 मितस्य २ त . .
 17 इत्यापातकेन लि-
 18 ॥ [११]

XVI.—LĀLRĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF LĀKHANAPĀLA AND ABHA-
 YAPĀLA; [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1233.

This inscription was, like No. XV, found amidst the ruins of a Jaina temple at Lālrāi. It consists of 13 lines of writing, covering a space of $8\frac{1}{2}$ " broad by $11\frac{1}{2}$ " high. The characters are Nāgarī. From the word *satkā* in l. 10 onwards, all the lines appear to have been afterwards added and are engraved in smaller characters. The peculiar form of the letter *g* noticed above also occurs here. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, it may be noted that *sha* is used for *kha* three times (ll. 1, 2 and 6). In respect of lexicography, the following words deserve to be noticed: (1) *sira* in ll. 5-6 and 12, which seems to have been used in the sense of, not 'a plough,' but 'a ploughman or cultivator' and (2) *sē* in l. 7 which stands for *sēt*, a kind of weight mentioned in my remarks on No. X.

The record is dated on the 3rd of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1233, and speaks of the princes (*rājaputra*) Lākhanapāla and Abhayapāla as the proprietors (*bhoktṛ*) of Samnāpaka (*cf.* No. XV). It then states that Bhiṇḍā, Āsadhara, and other cultivators granted for their spiritual merit, four *sē*s of barley-corn from (the field called) *Khaḍḍisira* to the god Śāntinātha in connection with the festival of the Gūjaras. The postscript (ll. 10-13) records that Āsadhara, Sirōiya and other cultivators granted for the spiritual merit of Vilha, one *karōṭhu* (*kāraka*?) of barley-corn from the machine-well of Bhaḍiyāva (*Bāḍva*).

TEXT.⁶

- 1 संवत् १२३३ वैशाखसुदि ३(?)
 2 'संनाणकभोक्ता राजपुत्रलाखण-

¹ Read 'समदेवी'.

² Supply महा° before दानं.

³ Read 'सोकारी'.

⁴ Read 'हारक'.

⁵ Read काची.

⁶ Read 'समच'.

⁷ From inked impressions.

- 3 पालराजपुत्रचमयपाल¹ तस्मि-
 4 न् राज्ये वर्त्तमाने चा० भीवडा प-
 5 डिदेह[व]सी सू० आसधर² सम[स्त]-
 6 सीरसहितै³ खाडिसीरजवमध्या-
 7 त् जवा⁴ से 8 गूजरीजाचानिमित्तं
 8 [त्री]शांतिनाथदेवस्य दत्त⁵ पुण्याय⁶ [1*]
 9 यः कोपि लुप्यते⁷ स पापोन⁸ द्विद्य-
 10 ते ॥ मंगल⁹ भवतु¹⁰ ॥ तथा भडियाउग्र-
 11 अ[र]डडे आसधरसीरोदयसम[स्त]-
 12 सीरण जवा¹¹ ह[री]यु १ गूजरतृयाचहि¹²
 13 वीह[स्व] पुण्याय ॥१

XVII.—SĀṆḌĒRĀV STONE INSCRIPTION OF KĒLHAṆADĒVA;

[VIKRAMA-] SĀMVAT 1236.

This inscription, like No. XIII, was found at Sāṇḍērāv, and is incised on a pillar in the *sābhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Mahāvira. The record contains 10 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 3½" broad by 8" high. The first 4 lines are well preserved and can be easily read, the remainder being too weather-worn to be deciphered with perfect confidence. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only point that requires notice is the doubling of a consonant following an *r*. As regards lexicography, attention may be drawn to the words *drāśā*, l. 8, and *sārā*, l. 9. The latter occurs also in the Mount Ābū inscription No. II (above, Vol. VIII. p. 220, l. 9), where the sense of 'care, supervision' has been assigned to it by Prof. Lüders.¹³

The first line of the inscription is an independent record in itself, and speaks of a column having been presented by Rālhā and Pālhā, sons of Thāmthā, in memory of their mother. The second line contains the date, Wednesday, the 2nd of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1236, and the inscription refers itself to the reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Kēlhaṇadēva of Naḍūla. Then we are told that his own house was placed by Rālhāka, son of Thāmthā, together with his brother Pālhā and his sons Sōḍhā, Śubhāmkara and others at the disposal of Śrī-Parśvanātha, the god of Shāṇḍēraka (Sāṇḍērāv) in the *bhukti* or personal property of the queen Jālhaṇadēvī. Four *drāśā*s were to be given to the god annually by people residing in Rālhā's house: Lines 9-10 are apparently connected with line 1 and inform us that the pillar was restored for the spiritual benefit of Dhāramatī on Saturday, the 12th of the bright half of Jyāistha in the [Vikrama] year 1266. Dhāramatī is called *matrī* and was probably the mother of Rālhā and Pālhā.

¹ Read 'पाली'.² Read अ(य)वाः.³ Read सीरसहितै.⁴ Read जवा.⁵ Read मंगल.⁶ Read 'आसधर'.⁷ Read दत्तः.⁸ Read पापोन.⁹ Read मंगल.¹⁰ Read अ(य)वाः.¹¹ Read 'सहितै'.¹² Read पुण्याय.¹³ Read मंगल.¹⁴ I do not understand for what 'वाचहि' is intended. Does it stand for वाचायै?¹⁵ [See also above, Vol. VIII. p. 205, note 2.—Ed.]

TEXT.¹

- 1 ॥ [धां]यासुतराल्हापाल्हा[म्भां] मातृप[द]श्रीनिमि[त्ते] [स्तं]भको² प्रदत्तः³
 2 [सं]वत् १२३६ कार्ति[त्त]कवदि [२] बुधे श[र]वे⁴ श्रीनडूले महारा[जा⁵]धिराजश्री-
 3 केल्लणदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमाने [राज्ञी] श्रीजाल्लणदेवि-
 4 भुको⁶ श्रीष[डेर]कदेवश्रीपार्श्वनाथप्रतापतः धांयासुतराल्हाके[न] भा[भा]तृ-
 5 पाल्हापुत्रसोढासुभकररा[म]देवधरणि[यवो]हीषवर्द्धमा[न]लक्ष्मी-
 6 धरसहजिगस[ह]देव[सहियग]का(?)[रा]सांधीरणहरिचंद्रवरदेवादि-
 7 भिः युतेन म — — परमश्रेयोर्थे⁸ विदितनिजगृह[ह] प्रदत्तः⁷ ॥ राल्हाग(स)-
 8 [ल]मानुषै⁹ वसद्धिः व[र्ष] प्रति द्राण्त्ता ४ प्रदेया¹⁰ [१*] शेषजनानां वस-
 9 तां साधुभिः गोष्टिके¹⁰ सारा कार्या ॥ संवत् १२६६ वर्षे शे-
 10 ¹¹[ह]सुदि १२ शनौ सो[य]¹² मातृधारमति¹³ पुनः स्तंभको उधृ[त]¹⁴ [१*]

XVIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA;
 [VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1239.

This inscription was found at Jālŏr, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State. It is incised on two lintels, one above the other and standing upon pillars near the north end of the principal cloister of an old mosque, now used as a *lŏphānā*. The mosque is evidently constructed of materials supplied by demolishing old temples, and these two lintels appear to have been brought from an old Jaina shrine, as will be seen from the contents. Portions of these lintels have been cut off on their proper right in order to suit their new surroundings. The inscription on the upper lintel consists of 3 lines, and covers a space of 8' 2½" broad by 4' high, while the lower one is composed of 4 lines, and extends over a space of 8' 5" broad by 5' high. But though the inscriptions are thus engraved on two different stones, they really form one record. The portion extant is in a perfect state of preservation. The letters are here and there filled with mortar, but that does not prevent any one deciphering the record. The characters are Nāgarī. The letter *sh* is incised at least twice instead of *kh*, as in later Rājputānā inscriptions. The sign for *b* occurs, and differs from *v* only by a minute dot in the loop of the latter. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is partly in prose and partly in verse. The verses are numbered, and are seven in all. In respect of orthography, the only point that calls for notice is the doubling of *t* in conjunction with a preceding *r*. As regards

¹ From the original stone.

² Read स्तंभकः.

³ Read प्रदत्तः.

⁴ Read शरवे. The akshara शी may also be read शी. Between the aksharas सु and की there is a small circle.

⁵ [The reading may also be वडेके.—Ed.]

⁶ These six letters are doubtful. [Perhaps पराधनाय is meant.—Ed.]

⁷ Read प्रदत्तः.

⁸ Read सरकमाधुषैः.

⁹ Read प्रदेयाः.

¹⁰ Read गोष्टिके.

¹¹ Read उधैह.

¹² [The reading here may be सीढामातृ.—Ed.]

¹³ Some such word as श्रेयोर्थ has probably to be supplied after "धारमति".

¹⁴ Read स्तंभक उधृतः.

lexicography, attention may be drawn to the word (1) *krama*, l. 1, which is used in the rather rare sense of "a foot," and (2) *taskara*, l. 2, which seems to have been employed in the sense of "banditti" or "unsettled tribes."

The record opens with an invocation (v. 1) to Nābhēya, i.e. Rishabhanatha, the first Tirthamkara. It then refers itself in prose to the reign of the Mahārāja Samarasimhadēva, son of the Mahārāja Kirtipālādēva. The latter, we are told, was a son of the Mahārāja Āhapa, who belonged to the lineage of the Mahārāja Anahila, "the moon in the sky (i.e. the family) of Chābumāna." It further speaks of the Rājput (rājaputra) Jōjala as rājya-chintaka, i.e. apparently a person looking after the administration of the kingdom. By the way we are informed that he held in scorn the multitude of the unsettled tribes (*taskara*) of the whole district of Pilvāhikā. Then follow two verses, the first of which bestows conventional praise on Samarasimha and the second states that Jōjala was his maternal uncle. Pilvāhikā is probably Pilvā in the Parbatsar District of the Jōdhpur State on the frontiers of the Kishangadh State, and the *taskaras* are perhaps the Bāvris, who still abound there. Then follows a prose passage (ll. 4-5) which says that 'this *maṇḍapa*,' referring, of course, to the *maṇḍapa* where the inscription was originally engraved and which had been dedicated to the first Tirthamkara, as appears from the invocatory and also the last verse, was caused to be made by the devout Śrīveka Seth Yaśōvira, son of Seth Yaśōdēva, of the Śrīmāla family. He had been joined in this work by all the members of the *gōshthī* and apparently also by his brothers Yaśōrāja and Jagadhara. Yaśōvira is spoken of as waiting upon Pūrṇabhadrasūri, pupil of Chamdrasūri, the foremost of the Chamdragachohha. The date of the erection of the *maṇḍapa* was Thursday, the 5th of the bright half of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1239. Three verses (4-6) are afterwards incised in praise of the *maṇḍapa*, and verse 7 expresses a wish for its permanence. Then we are told that the inscription was a composition of Pūrṇabhadrasūri, and the record closes with a benediction in favour of the *saṅgha* or Jaina community.

TEXT.¹

- 1 . . . [i] — — "त्रैलोक्यलक्ष्मीविपुलकुलस्य धर्महचालवालं(1) श्रीमन्ना-
मेयनाथक्रमकमलयुगं मंगलं वस्तनोतु । मन्ये मंगल्यमालाप्रणतभवसुतां
सिद्धिसौधप्रवेशे यस्य स्कंधप्रदेशे विलसति गवलश्चामला कुंतलाली ॥१
श्रीचाहुमानकुलावरसृगाकश्रीमहाराजचणहिलान्वयोद्भवश्रीमहाराजआलहणसुत
- 2 यावलीदुर्ललितदलितरिपुवलश्रीमहाराजकीर्ति-
पालदेवहृदयानंदिनंदनमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयराज्ये तत्पादपञ्चोप-
जीविनि निजप्रौढिमातिरेकतिरस्कृतसकलपील्लाहिकामंडलत[स्क]रव्यतिकरे(1)
राज्यचिंतके जोजलराजपुत्रे इत्येवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [1*]
- 3 [f]रपुकुलकमलेंदुः पुष्पलावस्थपात्रं नयविनयनिधानं
धाम सौंदर्यलक्ष्म्याः । धरणितरुणनारीलोचनानंदकारी जयति समरसिंह-
क्षमापतिः सिंहवृत्तिः ॥२ तथा ॥ औत्पत्तिकीप्रमुखबुद्धिचतुष्टयेन निर्णीतभूप-
भवनोचितकार्यवृत्तिः । यस्मात्तुलः समभवत् किल जोजलाह्वी

¹ From the original stone.² Restore साक्षात्त्रैलीक्षं.³ Read पुत्र इत्येवं.

- 4 — — — 'खंडितदुरंतविपक्षलचः' ॥३ श्रीचंद्रगच्छसुखमंडनसुविहितयतिति-
लकसुगुह्योश्रीचंद्रसूरिचरणनलिनयुगलदुर्ललितराजहंसश्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरिचरणकमल-
परिचरणचतुरमधुकरेण समस्तगोष्ठिकसमुदायसमन्वितेन श्रीश्रीमालवंशविभूषणश्री-
ठियश्रीदेवसुतेन सदाज्ञाकारिनिज-
- 5 — 'तृथशोराजजगधरविधोयमाननिखिलमनोरयेन श्रेष्ठियश्रीवीरपरमश्रावकेण सं-
वत् १२३८ वैशाखसुदि ५ गुरौ सकलचिलोकीतलाभोगभ्रमणपरिधां[त]-
कमलाविलासिनोविश्रामविलासमंदिरं श्रयं मंडपो निर्मापितः ॥ तथा हि ॥
नानादेगसमागतैर्नवनवैः स्त्रीपुंसवर्गैर्मु[हु]र्यस्यै-
- 6 — — — वावलोकनपरेर्नो तसिरासाद्यते । स्मरं स्मरमयो यदीयरचना-
वैचित्र्यविस्फूर्जितं तैः स्वस्नानगतैरपि प्रतिदिनं सोत्कण्ठमावर्षते ॥४ वि[श्व]-
भरावरवधूतिलकं किमेतल्लोलारविंदमय किं दुहितुः पयोधेः । दत्तं सुरैरमृत-
कुंडमिदं किमिव यस्यावलोकनविधौ विविधा विकल्पाः ॥५ मर्त्तापूरेण पातालं
- 7 . . . [ण]^१ महीतलं । तुंगत्वेन नभो येन व्यानये भुवनत्रयं ॥६ किं च ॥
स्फूर्जद्गोमसरः समीनमकरं कन्यालिकुंभा[कु]लं नेपाय्यं सकुलीरसिंहमिधुनं प्रो-
द्यद्दुपालंकृतं । ताराकैरवमिंदुधामसलिलं सद्राजहंसास्त्रदं यावत्तावदिहादिना-
यभवने नद्यादसौ मंडपः ॥७ कृतिरियं श्रीपूर्णभद्रसूरीणां ॥ भद्रमस्तु
श्रीसंवाय ॥

XIX.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SAMARASIMHADĒVA;
[VIKRAMA-] SĀMVAT 1242.

The inscription is incised on a lintel in the second storey over the *mūdrā* of the mosque referred to in No. XVIII. It consists of 6 lines of writing, and covers a space of 2' 8½" broad by 3½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to notice (1) that the sign for *v* is used both for *v* and *b*, and (2) that *n* is doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*.

The record contains four different statements, but all pertaining to one and the same temple. The first part speaks of a certain temple as having been built and consigned in the [Vikrama] year 1221 to the care of Dēvāchārya for the dissemination of the true Jaina law (*śāst-vādi*). The temple was known as Kuvāra-vihāra and contained the principal image (*māla-bimbā*) of Pārśvanātha. The temple, we are told, had been constructed by the *Mahārājādhirāja* Chaulakya Kumārspāla, the devout worshipper of the Arhats (*param-ārhatā*), the lord of the Gārjara country, after being enlightened by *prabhu* Hōmasūri, upon the fort of Kāśchana-giri belonging to Jāsalipura, i.e. Jālōr. It will thus be seen that it was called Kuvāra-vihāra after the Sōlāhki king Kumārapāla who built it. The second part says that it was rebuilt in V.E. 1242 by the *bhāmāgārī* Yaśōvira, son of the *bhāmāgārī* Pāsā, in accordance with the orders of the *Mahārāja* Samarasimhadēva, the ornament of the Chāhamāna family and lord of "this

¹ Some such word as दीर्घ" might be supplied here.

² Read दुहितुः.

³ Restore "भातु".

⁴ Restore विशारिण.

country," i.e. apparently southern Mārwar. The third part informs us that on the 11th of the bright half of Jyais̥ṭha in the [Vikrama] year 1256, the work of installation was done, according to the behests of the royal family, by Pūrṇadēvāchārya, pupil of Dēvāchārya, in the case of the *īṣṭa*, etc. of (the image of) the god Pārśvanātha and also of the hoisting of the flag on the golden flag-staff on the original spire. The fourth or last part states that in V.E. 1268, on the day of the lamps festival (*dīp-utsava*), the ceremony of placing a golden enṭola on the newly made central hall, intended for dramatic performances was carried out by Rāma-chāndrāchārya, pupil of Pūrṇadēvasūri.

TEXT.¹

- 1 'श्री ॥ संवत् १२२१ श्रीजावालिपुरीयकांचर्न [ग]रिगढस्योपरि' प्रभुश्रीहेमसूरिप्र-
बोधितगूर्जरधराधीश्वरपरमार्हतचौल्लक्ष(॥)⁴
- 2 महारा[ज]धिराजश्री[कु]मारपालदेवकारिते श्रीपा[र्ष्व]नाथसत्कम्[ल]विंमसहितश्रीकु-
वरविहाराभिधाने⁵ जैनचेल्ये(॥) सहिधिप्रव[र्त्त]नाय 'हृहृहृच्छीयवा-
- 3 दीद्विदीवाचार्याणां पक्षे 'आचंद्रार्क समर्प्यते ॥ सं० १२४२ वर्ष एतद्देसा(शा)धिप-
चाहमानकुलतिलकमहाराजश्रीसमरसिंहदेवादेशेन भा० पासुपुत्र भा० यशो-
- 4 वीरेण स[मु]हृते । श्रीमद्राजकुलादेशेन श्रीदेचार्यशिश्वैः⁶ श्रीपूर्णदेवाचार्यैः(॥)
सं० १२४६ वर्ष ज्येष्ठसु० ११ श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवे तोरणादीनां प्रतिष्ठा-
कार्यं कृते । मूलशिश्व-
- 5 रे व⁷ वानकमयध्वजादंडस्य ध्वजारोपणप्रतिष्ठायां कृतायां ॥ सं० १२६८ वर्षे
दीपोत्सवदिने अभिनवनिश्वसप्रेक्षामध्यमंडपे⁸ श्रीपूर्णदेवसूरिशिश्वैः श्रीराम⁹
- 6 चंद्राचार्यैः सुवर्णमयकलसारोपणप्रतिष्ठा¹⁰ कृता ॥ सुभ¹¹ भवतु ॥ क ॥

XX.—BHINMĀL STONE INSCRIPTION OF UDAYASIMHĀDĒVA ;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1306.

This inscription was found in the walled enclosure of the temple of Nilakanṭha-Simhādēva, about a mile from the city of Bhinmāl, in the Jawantpurā District of the Jodhpur State. It seems to have escaped the notice of the late Sir James Campbell when he visited the place, and has not, so far as I know, yet been published. It contains 25 lines of writing, which covers a space of 1' 4½" broad by 1' 9½" high. The inscription is somewhat weather-worn, and its proper right side is a little mutilated. Nothing of importance, however, seems to have been lost, and, with the help of the other Bhinmāl inscriptions which have been published, nearly the whole of the record can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. It is worthy of note that in lines 12 and 19 occurs the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$, and in l. 18 the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$, which are both denoted, according to the *rekṣā* system, the first by two and the second by one identical stroke. Of these, the fraction $\frac{1}{4}$ occurs along with an integer, whereas the fraction $\frac{1}{2}$ stands by itself, and hence the two strokes denoting $\frac{1}{2}$ are preceded by a zero, represented by a small circle. Excepting the

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read 'जावालि'.⁴ Read 'बोधित'.⁵ Read 'विह'.⁶ Read 'हृहृहृ'.⁷ The *śaddhi* is omitted here; such omissions need not be further noticed.⁸ Read 'देवाचार्य'.⁹ Read च.¹⁰ Read 'निष्पन्न'.¹¹ Read 'राम'.¹² Read 'वर्षे' ; सुवर्णमयकलशा'.¹³ Read सुभ.

verse in lines 1-3, the record is in prose. The language is Sanskrit, interspersed with solecisms and provincialisms. With regard to orthography, it is sufficient to say that a consonant is but occasionally doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r* and that in l. 17 *dīvasa* is used instead of *dīvasa*. As regards lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *godhāma pakva*, l. 11, which seems, I think, to mean a crop of wheat ready for being reaped; (2) *muga* in ll. 11 and 19, obviously the well-known *māṣ* pulse; (3) *chāṣā*, i.e. *chāṣkā*, ll. 11 and 19, a *dāṣ* word meaning 'rice'; (4) *vyāsa*, ll. 12 and 22, a Brāhmaṇa, who recites the Purāṇas in public; (5) *nīrvāpa*, ll. 12 and 19, a dole; and (6) *aṅga-bhōga*, unguents to be applied to the body immediately after bathing. Again, abbreviated forms of some words are used. Thus, *dra* stands for *dramma*, *ka* for *kalāśa*, *mā* for *māṣ*, *pā* for *pāyala* or *pāyālī*, and *sē* for *sēlī*. For the table of weights still observed in Goḍvād, see my remarks on No. X. *Kalāśa* is of course a measure of capacity.

The inscription opens with obeisance to Sūrya, and then follows a verse in praise of the same deity. The date is afterwards given, which is the 14th of the dark half of Āśvina in the [Vikrama] year 1306. The *Mahārājādhirāja* Śrī-Udayasimhadēva was the king and the *pośha* consisting of the *mahānta* Gajasimha and others appointed by him was exercising local authority at Śrīmālā (Bhinmāl). The object of the inscription is to record two benefactions. One was made by two brothers, the name of the first of whom is gone but that of the second is Mahāpaśiha. They were both sons of the *śākura* Udayasiha, and were Māthura Kāyasthas by caste. Forty *dramma* coins were deposited in the treasury of the god Jagatśvāmin, which was the name of the Sūrya divinity of Bhinmāl, as is proved by other inscriptions and the *Śrīmālapurāṇa*. Out of it were to be defrayed the expenses of the *dīvasa-bali* and so forth on the 14th of the dark half during the *yātrā* festival of Āśvina. As regards the fixed allowance or offering to the god, *māṣ* pulse 1 *māṣ*, rice (*chāṣkā*) 2 *pāyālī*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalāśa* were to be taken. The *vyāsa* and the *abōṣṭi* were to be given each a dole of 1 *dramma*. For the *aṅgabhōga* or application of unguents, aloe-wood, camphor and saffron were to be used each worth 2 *drammas*. Flowers were to be bought worth 2 *drammas*, and betel-leaves and betel-nut each worth 1 *dramma*. As regards the bevy of courtesans, each was to be paid 1 *dramma*. All this arrangement was to be carried out every year.

The second benefaction was made on the same day for his spiritual merit by one Tathāka, who deposited 15 *drammas* in the treasury of the god Jagatśvāmin. Out of it, the expenses of the *bali* on the 5th of the dark half of Māgha were to be borne. The allowance fixed for the *bali* was: wheat $1\frac{1}{2}$ *sēlī* and boiled ghee (?) *kalāśa*. The *naivēdya* was to consist of *māṣ* pulse 3 *pāyālī*, rice 2 *pāyālī*, and ghee $\frac{1}{2}$ *kalāśa*. The dole for the *abōṣṭi* was 1 *dramma*. As to the *aṅgabhōga* or unguents, the ingredients were to be each worth 1 *dramma*. The *vyāsas*, *abōṣṭis*, *seṭhas*, and members of the *gōṣaṭhā* are then conjured to look after this arrangement. The *prastāśi* was written by Dhruva Nāgula, son of Bāhaḍa. This Nāgula is no doubt the same as Nāgula, father of Dēdāka, who wrote some of the other published Bhinmāl inscriptions.

TEXT.¹

- 1 . . . नः [सु]र्या[य] ॥ यस्योदयास्तसमये सुरसुकु[ट][नि-
- 2 घृष्टचर*]णवसुलो[हि] । कुरुतेऽजलिं चिनेत्रः स जयति[त]
- 3 [धाम्नां ति*][विः] सूर्यः² ॥ संवत्(त्) १३०६(१)वर्षे अश्विन³वदि १४ अश्वे-
- 4 [ह श्रीश्री*]माले महाराजाधिराजश्री[उद]यसिंहदेवकस्या-

¹ From the original stone.

² Read चादिन.

³ The *Logha Jātaka* of Varāhauihira commences with this verse.

- 5 [णविज*]यराज्ये तन्नियुक्तमहं०[गजसीहप्र]भृतिपं[चकु]लप्र०
 6 [तिपत्तौ*] माधुरान्वय[क]ायस्वजातीयठकु[रउद]यसीहपु[त्र]
 7 — — — सीह [तथा] भा(भ्रा)तृ० महणसीहाभ्यां [श्री]भान[वे] योह
 8 — — [ज*][ग]त्स्वामिदेवीयभांडागारे [चेपित] द्र४० चत्वारिं[श].
 9 — — [1] अश्विने¹ या[त्र]यां² 'अश्विनवदि १४ दिने दिवसव-
 10 [लि*]— —मालयो देवेन स्वकीयभांडागारात् कारापनी(कारणी)या [1*] व-
 11 [लिनि*]बंधे गोधूम शेर पक्के घृत क८ नैवेद्ये सुग मा१ [च]ी-
 12 [पां*] पार घृत क०॥ तथा व्यासनिर्वाप १ अश्वोटीनिर्वाप १ तथा [चंग-
 13 भोगे अगर्कपर्पर[कुं]कुमप्रत्वं द्र२ तथा पुफप्रत्वं द्र १ तथा पत्र-
 14 पुगप्रत्वं द्र १ तथा प्रमदाकुलप्रत्वं द्र १ एतत् सर्व[र्व] प्रतिवर्ष [दि]-
 15 वेन कारापनीयं³ । तथा दिने तथाकेन श्रीजगत्स्वामिदेवीय-
 16 भांडागारे आत्मन⁴ [ये]यार्थ⁵ चेपित⁶ द्र १५ पंचादश द्रमा⁷ । [म]-
 17 [हा]मासे माघवदि ५ दिने दिव्सवली⁸ देवेन स्वकीयभा[ंडा*]-
 18 गारात् कारापनीया¹⁰ । बलिनिबंधे गोधूम से १। पक्के घृत क.
 19 [नै]वद्ये¹¹ सुग पा ३ चोषां पार घृत क० ॥ तथा अश्वोटीनिर्वाप १ [त*]
 20 [घा] अंगभोगप्रत्वं द्र१ एतत् सर्व द्वौ बली [पाल ए]कासक्त-
 21 — भांडागारात् देवेन वर्ष वर्ष प्रति आचंद्रार्ककालं याव[त्का]-
 22 [रा]पनीयं¹² । व्यासअश्वोटीश्रेष्ठिगोष्टिकतथासमस्तप्रमदा[कु*]-¹³
 23 [लि]न वर्त्तापनीयं¹⁴ । परिपंथा केनापि न करणीया । लिखि[तं*]
 24 ¹⁵— ०वाहडसुत० ध्रुव० नागुलेन हीनाक्षरमधिकाक्ष[र*]
 25 ¹⁶[प्र*]म्वाणमिति ॥

XXI.—SANCHÔR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHA ;

[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1345.

The stone on which the subjoined inscription is engraved was found at Sanchôr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the Jodhpur State. It was lying loose in the prison-room attached to the local *kachêri*.

The inscription contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1', 2¼" high. Though a few letters are weather-worn, and some are here and there mutilated,

¹ Read अश्विने.² Read प्रप्य².³ Read कारणीयं.⁴ Read आत्मनः.⁵ Read श्रेष्ठि.⁶ Read चेपिताः.⁷ Read द्रमाः.⁸ [What is preserved of the first letter of this line looks like घ. — Ed.]⁹ Read दिव्सवलिः. [I think the reading is दिवस⁹. — Ed.]¹⁰ Read कारणीयः.¹¹ Read नैवेद्ये.¹² Read कारणीयं.¹³ Read श्रेष्ठिगोष्टिकं.¹⁴ Read वर्त्तनीयं. [The reading may also be च दापनीयं. — Ed.]¹⁵ Supply ध्रुव.¹⁶ Read प्रमाद्यं.

nearly the whole of the inscription can be read with certainty. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the record is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the doubling of a consonant following an *r*, and (2) the use of the form *sāmeata*¹ for *sāmanta*². As to lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *sthāitaka* in ll. 5, 7, 8 and 11, and (2) *śēlahathā* or *śēlahasta* together with their abbreviated forms in ll. 10, 12, 13 and 15. The first word seems to have been used in the sense of "a grant in perpetuity," and occurs in other inscriptions also, e.g. the Cintra *prastāsi* of Śāradgadēva,³ verses 53, 60, 61 and 66. The meaning of *śēlahasta* is not certain. And I know of only two records, viz. the Bhinmāl inscriptions Nos. XII and XV⁴ where the word occurs. In the first of these, line 12 has *Śrīkarapriya-pañchakula-śēlahatha-Dābhīnarapālāi cha*. Here it is worthy of note that *śēlahatha* occupies a position between *pañchakula*, i.e. the modern *pañcha* and *Dābhīnarapāla*, i.e. a king of the Dābhī race. And it seems tempting, therefore, to suppose that *śēlahasta* was an officer of high rank, higher at any rate than the village *śrīkarapa*, which was held by one of the *pañchakula*. Again, the expression *śēlahath-ābhārya* occurs in both the Bhinmāl inscriptions just referred to. It must be taken to mean "the income collected by a *śēlahatha*." Probably he was connected with the revenue department. Some of the abbreviations are worth noticing. Thus in l. 8 we have *Viśa*⁵ *dva*, which, I think, stands for *Viśalapriya-dramma*, a kind of coin, mentioned in Bhinmāl Inscription No. XVI, ll. 23-24. Again, in l. 12 *ka* is used in connection with *muga*, i.e. *Phaseolus mungo*. Here *ka* cannot be taken to denote *karsha*, as $1\frac{1}{2}$ *karshas* of *muga* would be a ridiculously small quantity, but *kalāśa* which had till lately been employed for measuring corn.

The inscription commences by specifying the date, viz. Monday, the 14th of the bright half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1345. The *Mahārājakula* *Sāmvasatīmadēva* was the king, and at the holy place (*mahāsthāna*) of Satyapura (Sānchōr), the *pañcha*, consisting of the *mahānātha* Hīrā and others appointed by him, was exercising local authority. The epigraph then records a grant in perpetuity of 8 *Viśalapriya* *drammas* by the Mēharas⁶ Prabhā, Padama and Āsapāla. All the Mēharas are requested to see to the continuance of this grant. According to this endowment, $1\frac{1}{2}$ *kalāśas* of *muga* were to be given annually, and the *śēlahasta* was requested to look after this matter. The *śēlahasta* is also desired to supervise personally the *yātrā* festival of the god Vāśēvara. Then follow, in token of approval, the sign-manuals of at least four Mēharas, of whom three were the donors named above and the fourth was the *śēlahasta* Pātala.

TEXT.⁴

- 1 श्री संवत् १३४५ वर्षे कार्तिकशुदि १४ सोमे
- 2 अद्योह श्रीसत्यपुरमहास्व[नि] महा[रा]जकुल-
- 3 श्रीसाम्बतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयरान्ये तत्रि-
- 4 युक्त [म]हं. श्रीराप्रभृतिपंचकुलप्रतिपत्तौ [।*] एवं
- 5 काले प्रवर्त्तमाने [स्व]तकषचराणि प्रयच्छति [य*]-
- 6 या । मे० प्र[भ]रा मे० पदम मे० [आ]सपाले[न] (॥).
- 7 यांगुधारहाहुलकस्य¹ वर्षे प्रति खितले छ-

¹ Above. Vol. I. p. 280 ff.

² *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. pt. I, pp. 430 and 435.

³ For the tribe Mēhara or Mār, see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV. p. 360.

⁴ From the original stone.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ The meaning of this is not apparent to me.

- 8 [त] वीस० द्र ८ अष्ट [द्रव्या][*] स्थितके कृता¹ । एतत् [स्थि]-
 9 तं वर्षानुवर्षे² मेहरै³ पालनीयं । केनापि न
 10 लोपनीयं ॥ अन्यत⁴ यः [कोपि से]ल[हाया]⁵ अस्व
 11 'या[न]के भवि [*] सांप्रतं सैल० सीधुराकेन स्थित[के]
 12 कृत⁶ वर्ष प्रति मुग क १॥ सैलह[स्ते]न पालनीयः ।
 13 सैलहस्तेन उपविश्य देवश्रीवाणस्त्र(श)रे याचा का[रा]-
 14 पनीया⁷ ॥ अस्व विधि⁸ मे० प्र[भ]ाम[तं] । मे० पदमम[तं] ।
 15 मे० आसपालमतं ॥ सैल० पातलमतं
 16 जामतं । मे० आम्बडमतं ।

XXII.—JUNĀ STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA;
 [VIKRAMA-] SĀMVAT 1352.

This inscription was found at Junā or Junā Bādmēr, as the full name goes, in the Mallāpi District, Jōdhpur State, about 12 miles south-west of Bādmēr, the principal town. It is engraved on a pillar in the porch of a dilapidated Jaina temple and contains 10 lines of writing which cover a space of 11½" broad by 7½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose, excepting the benedictory verse at the end. In respect of orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the employment of the sign of v for both v and b, and (2) the use of the number 2 after Śri in l. 3 to mark the repetition. As regards rare or unusual words, those that deserve to be noted are *pāṭa* and *Bhīmapriya vi(m)śōpaka* in l. 7. *Pāṭa* and *vi(m)śōpaka* have been already explained. *Bhīmapriya* appears to have been the name of a kind of *vi(m)śōpaka* coin. Attention may also be drawn to the word *lāga* in l. 8, which means a cess, as previously explained (No. XI above.)

The record opens with the date, the 4th of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the [Vikrama] year 1352. On the aforesaid day, during the victorious reign of the *Maharājakula* Śri-Sāmanta-simhadēva, the *mahānta* Chiraśāla, Velaṭa, the *bhaṇḍārī* Migala, and others appointed by the king to draw up documents, made a religious grant at Bāhaḍamēru to the gods Vighna-mardana-Kṣētrapāla and Chaudharaḥ, in the temple of Ādinātha. The grant consisted of a *pāṭa* from every incoming or outgoing caravan exceeding ten camels and twenty bullocks. In default of this payment in kind, ten *Bhīmapriya vi(m)śōpakas* were to be charged. The grant was to be distributed equally between the two gods. In l. 8 is recorded the approval of this cess (*lāga*) by the *maḥājānas* or local bankers.

Bāhaḍamēru is, of course, Bādmēr, not the place now known by that name which is comparatively a modern city, but Junā Bādmēr, the old Bādmēr where the inscription was found.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 श्री¹¹ ॥ संवत् १३५२ वैशाखसुदि ४ श्रीवाहडमेरौ¹² महारा-
 2 [ज]कुलश्रीसामंतसिंहदेवकल्याणविजयरान्ये तबियु-

¹ Read कृता:

² Read अन्यतो.

³ Read कृती.

¹⁰ From the original stone.

⁴ Read वर्षानुवर्षे.

⁵ Read सैलहायास.

⁶ Read कारवीया.

¹¹ Expressed apparently by two symbols.

⁷ Read मेहरै.

⁸ Read स्थानके भविष्यति.

⁹ Read विधि.

¹² Read 'वाहड'.

- 3 [न]श्रीरकरणे [मं०] श्रीरासेलवेलाउल भां० ि[म]ग[लप्रभृत]यो
 4 ध[मा]चराणि प्रयच्छति¹ यथा । श्रीआदिना[ध]मध्ये संति-
 5 छमानश्रीवि[ध]मर्दननेत्रपालश्रीचउंडराजदेवयो[ः]
 6 'उभयमाश्रीयसमायातसार्थउट्ट १० वृष २० उभयादपि ऊर्ध्व'
 7 सार्थ प्रति द्वयोर्देवयोः पाइला [।*] पचे [भीम]प्रिय दशविगोपक [१०]
 8 अर्धोर्ध्व² अहीतव्याः । असी³ लागो महाजनेन मनित⁴ ॥ यद्योक्तं [।*]
 9 'वहुभि[र्व]सुधा युक्ता⁵ राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भू०
 10 मी तस्य⁶ तस्य तदा फलं ॥१॥ छ ॥

XXIII.—JĀLŌR STONE INSCRIPTION OF SĀMANTASIMHADĒVA;
 [VIKRAMA.] SĀMVAT 1353.

The inscription is engraved on a pillar in the *tōphāwā* at Jālōr in the main or western cloister near the south end. It consists of 27 lines of writing, and covers a space of 4½" broad by 1' 8" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The sign for *sh* is used to denote *kh*. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. As regards orthography, the only points that call for notice are (1) the occasional use of *r* for *b* and (2) the doubling of *a* in conjunction with a preceding *r* in *Suvarṇa-gīra*, l. 3. In respect of lexicography, attention may be drawn to the expression *nīrā-nīkshēpa-haffa*, in ll. 22-23, the meaning of which is uncertain, and to the word *bhāṣaka*, in l. 24, which seems to have been used in the sense of *bhāṣā* or rent. The following sense of the phrase *nīrā-nīkshēpa-haffa* may, however, be suggested as probable. *Haffa* is, of course, a bazar. *Nīrā* is probably the same as *nīśār*, which, in Mārwar at any rate, seems to mean an export in contradistinction with *pasār* which signifies an import. The expression might, therefore, mean a place in, or a portion of, the bazar for storing goods to be exported.

The record opens with the date, viz. Monday, the 5th of the dark half of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1353. It then speaks of the *Mahārājakula Sāma(n)tasīmha* as reigning at *Suvarṇagiri* and *Kāṇhaḍadēva* as "subsisting on his lotus-like feet and bearing the burden of administration (*rājya-dhūrā*)."¹⁰ *Suvarṇagiri* is the same as *Kāñchanagiri* of No. XIX., and is the name of the hill on which the fort of Jālōr stands. *Kāṇhaḍadēva*, as we shall see further on, was a son of *Sāmantasīmha*. The object of the inscription is to state that a certain *Narapati* made, for the spiritual welfare of his wife *Nayakadēvi*, the grant of a bazar building or warehouse for storing goods to be exported. Out of the rent accruing therefrom was to be offered the *pañcamaṁ-bali* every year in the temple of the god *Parāvanātha* by the members of the *gōshālhi*. *Narapati*, in making this donation, had been joined by the members of his family and

¹ Read प्रयच्छति.

² Read 'मार्गोर्व'.

³ Read अर्ध.

⁴ Read अहीत.

⁵ [On the impression the reading seems to be श्रीसी.—Ed.]

⁶ Read मानितः.

⁷ Read वहु.

⁸ Read सुकल.

⁹ Read भूमिनाम्.

¹⁰ This shows that *Kāṇhaḍadēva* was the *gaurāṇja* or heir-apparent and had been given an actual share in the administration of the kingdom. This is quite clear from a short inscription found at Chōṭṭap, 30 miles south-west of Bādmēr, the transcript of which is as follows:—

- 1 श्री सं १२३४ वर्षे काशुष
- 2 [व]दि ११ [व]शेह महाराज-
- 3 कुल[श्री]साम्बतसिंहदेव-
- 4 राजवीकान्धउदेराज्ये

by a certain Gunadhara, who is called a *saṃghapati* and was a resident of Suvarṇagiri itself. A list of the members of his family is also given, as well as a genealogy of them. The father of Narapati was the *soni* Mahānasiha, who was a son of the *ṭhakura* Jāma, who again was a son of the *ṭhakura* Āmbada. Mahānasiha had two wives, named Mālhaṇi and Tihupā. From the first he had the sons Ratanasiha, Nākhl, Mālhaṇa and Gajasiha, who are called *sonis* and from the second, Narapati, Jayatā and Vijayapāla, who are also called *sonis*. Narapati had two wives named Nāyakadēvi and Jālhapadēvi. His sons from the former only are mentioned, viz. Lakhamidhara, Bhauvaṇapāla, and Saṇḍapāla. This and the mention of the spiritual benefit (*śrēyas*) of Nāyakadēvi as the object of the record perhaps show that, at the time of the donation, the latter was dead and the second wife had but recently been married and that he had no children from her. Of the members of his family, Narapati thus appears to have been joined, in making the gift, by his second wife and his sons from the first wife.

It is worthy of note that Narapati himself, his brothers and his father are called *sonis*. *Sōni* cannot possibly mean a goldsmith here, as both the grandfather and the great-grandfather of Narapati are styled *ṭhakura*. Now, *Sōni* is a well-known clan amongst the three Bania classes of Mārwar, viz. Ōsvāl, Sarāvgī, and Mahēsari. The last may be left out of account, because they are not Jains. Sarāvgīs, though they are Jains, are, however, not found in the southern parts of Mārwar. Narapati and others were consequently, in all likelihood, Ōsvāl *Sōnis*. Of the Mahēsari *Sōnis* it is stated that their *nakk* or original tribe was *Sonigarā*. What is true of the Mahēsari *Sōnis* is, in all probability, true of other *Sōnis* also. It is a well-known fact that many Rājput tribes, for avoiding Muhammadan oppression and so forth, became Jains, and merged themselves into the Bania classes. *Sonigarā* appears to be the name of one of such tribes. It is the name of a celebrated clan of the Chōhāns, and is commonly but correctly derived from *Sōngar*, i.e. Suvarṇagiri, the hill of the Jālōr fort itself. Narapati's inscription was doubtless engraved in some temple on this fort, though the pillar, on which it is incised, seems to have been taken away to serve as material for the construction of the mosque, now called *ṭopkhānā*, in the city of Jālōr. When Narapati, his father, and brothers are called *Sōnis*, what is meant is that they were Ōsvāl *Sōnis*, but that they were perhaps originally *Sonigarās*, and that amongst them Mahānasiha first became a Jain, as he is called a *Sōni* and his father and grandfather, *ṭhakuras*.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री० ॥ [सं]वत् १३५३ [वर्षे]
- 2 वै[शाख]वदि ५ [सोमे] श्री-
- 3 सुवर्णगिरौ ३०६६ महा-
- 4 राजकुलश्रीसामंतसिंह-
- 5 कल्याणविजयराजः १ त-
- 6 त्यादपद्मोपजीविनि (॥)
- 7 [रा]जश्रीकान्हडदेवरा-
- 8 न्यधुरा[सु]हृदमाने इहै-
- 9 व वास्तव्यसंघपतिगुणध-
- 10 रठकुरावडपुत्रवकुर-

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ The *saṃdāi* is here omitted; such omissions need not be further noticed.⁴ Read "सामंत".⁵ Read "विजय".⁶ Read "ठकुर".

- 11 जसपु[च]सोनीमहणसीइ-
- 12 भार्यामाल्हणपुच[सोनी]रत-
- 13 न[सि]हणाखोमाल्हणगजसीइ-
- 14 तिहुणापुच[सो]नीनरपतिज-
- 15 यताविजयपाल[न]रपतिभा-
- 16 र्यानायकदेवि¹पुचलखमीध-
- 17 रभुवणपाल[सु]इडपालदि-
- 18 तीय[भ]र्यामाल्हणदेवि(वी)इ-
- 19 त्यादिकुटवंसहिते[न]² भा-
- 20 र्यानायकदेवि[चे]योघे³
- 21 देवयोपाश्वनाथचैत्ये पंच-
- 22 मोवलनिमित्त⁴ निश्चा[नि]ले-
- 23 प[ह]इमेकं नरपतिना दत्त⁵
- 24 तत् भाटकेन⁶ देवयोपा[श्व]-
- 25 नाथगोष्टि[के] प्रतिव[र्ष]⁷
- 26 आचांद्रार्क⁸ पंचमोवलिः⁹
- 27 कार्या¹⁰ ॥ [गुभं] भव[त्] ॥ इ[॥]

XXIV.—KŪṬ-SŌLAṆKIYĀ INSCRIPTION OF VAṆAVĪRA;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1394.

This inscription was found at Kūṭ-Sōlaṅkiyā, about 15 miles north-east of Dēstūrī. It is engraved on a pillar of a Jaina temple now in ruins. I edit the inscription from two excellent estampages, kindly supplied to me by Munshi Devī Prasad, Munsiff of Jodhpur.

The record contains 8 lines of writing, which cover a space of 11" broad by 5½" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the record is in prose except one verse in ll. 7-8 at the end. In respect of orthography, the only point that deserves to be noted is the doubling of a consonant in conjunction with a preceding *r*, in *ā-chaṇḍārkaṁ*, l. 6.

The inscription is dated Friday, the 13th of the bright half of Chaitra in the [Vikrama] year 1394 elapsed, and refers itself to the reign of the *Mahārājādhirāja Śrī-Vaṇavīradēva*. It then states that at Āsalapura, the *rāuta* Mūlarāja, of the family of the *rāuta* Mālhaṇa, grandson of the *rāuta* Sōma and son of the *rāuta* Bāmbī and his wife Jākhaladevi, granted, for the spiritual merit of his parents, Dhikuyā together with a *vāḍī* or orchard, on the occasion, of hoisting the flag of the temple of Pārśvanāthadēva, in the presence of the *rāuta* Bālā, Lumbhā and Nimbā.

¹ Read "देवी".

² Read "निमित्त".

³ Read "मोष्टिके" and "वर्ष".

¹⁰ Read "कार्य".

⁴ Read "कुटुंब".

⁵ Read "दत्त".

⁶ Read "आचन्द्रार्क".

⁷ Read "देवी".

⁸ Read "भाटकेन".

⁹ Read "वलि".

Dhikuyāū seems to be the name of a machine-well. Āsalapura occurs also in another inscription at Kot-Solaskiyā, and appears to have been the old name of that place.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री² स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमकालातोत्सवत³ १[३]८४ व[र्ष] चै⁴वशदि १३
शुक्र
2 श्रीवासलपुरे(१) महाराजाधिराजश्रीवर्णवीरदेवराज्ये [१⁵] राउत-
3 माल्लणान्वये राउतसोमपुत्रराउतवांवीभार्याजाखलदेवि-
4 पुत्रेण राउतमूलराजेन [श्री]पार्श्वनाथदेवस्य ध्वजारोपणसमये
5 राउतबालाराउतहा[या]कुमरलूभानीवासमचं मातृपित्रोः⁶ पु-
6 ष्पार्थं ठिकुयड वा[ड]ीसहितः प्रदत्तः । आचंद्रार्क⁷ यावदियं व्य-
7 वसा प्रमाणा⁸ ॥ बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः समरादिभिः । य-
8 स्व यस्य यदा भूमी(१) तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥१ शुभं भवतु ॥ श्रीः ॥

XXV.—NĀDLĀI STONE INSCRIPTION OF RAṆAVĪRADĒVA;

[VIKRAMA-] SĀMVAT 1443.

This inscription was found at Nādlāi, and is, like No. VIII., engraved on a pillar in the temple of Nēminātha called Jadvāji, situated on a hillock to the south-east of the village. It contains 16 lines of writing, which cover a space of 8" broad by 1' 2" high. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit, and the whole of the inscription is in prose. It is worthy of note that each line begins with two vertical strokes. In respect of orthography, it is sufficient to note that consonants following r are, as a rule, doubled, and that the final d is twice represented as if it were da, *Śrīmadā*, l. 7, for *Śrīmad* and *jagadā*, l. 15, for *jagad*.⁹

The record commences by specifying the date, which is Friday, the 14th of the dark half of Kārttika in the [Vikrama] year 1443 elapsed. It speaks of the Rāja Raṇavīradēva, son of the Mahārājadhīrāja Vaṇavīra of the Chahamāna lineage as then reigning. It then records the rebuilding of the structure (*prāsāda*) of Śrī-Nēmiśvara, the ornament of the Yadu race, by Vinayachandrasūri, the occupant of the *paṭṭa* or pontifical seat (i.e. the successor) of Dharmachandrasūri. The latter, we are told, belonged to the line of Maṇatuṅgesūri, the sun in the sky of the Bṛihadgachchha.

TEXT.¹⁰

- 1 श्री¹¹ ॥ स्वस्ति श्रीनृपविक्रमसम-
2 यातीत सं [१]४४३ वर्षे कार्त्तिक-
3 कवदि १४ शुक्रे श्रीनडूलाई-

¹ From estampages kindly supplied by Maunshi Devi Prasad of Jōdhpur.

² Above the commencement of this line, the first eight syllables thereof are engraved.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read 'संवत्.

⁵ Read मातापित्रोः.

⁶ Read 'चंद्रार्क'.

⁷ Read प्रमाणा.

⁸ Read भूमिसाल.

⁹ [In both of these cases as well as in the case of the त of नंदतात (l. 16) the impression seems to show a stroke at the bottom of the letter which may be meant for the *virāma*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ From the original stone.

¹¹ Expressed by two symbols.

- 4 नगरे चाहुमानान्वयमहा-
- 5 राजाधिराजश्रीवर्णवीरदे-
- 6 वसुतराजश्री[र]णवीरदेववि-
- 7 जयरान्ये ¹अ[वस्थ]स्वच्छश्रीमद-
- 8 वृहद्[च्छ]नभस्तलदिनकरो-
- 9 पमश्रीमानतुंगसूरिवंशोद्भव]-²
- 10 श्रीधर्मचंद्रसूरिपट्टलक्ष्मीश-
- 11 वणोत्पलायमानैः³ श्रीविन-
- 12 यचंद्रसूरिभिरत्पयुणमानि⁴-
- 13 क्वरत्नाकरस्य यदुवंशयुगा-
- 14 रहारस्य श्रीनेमोत्तरस्य निरा-
- 15 कृतजगदविषादः⁵ प्रासाद⁶ स-
- 16 मुह्ये⁷ आचंद्राकं नंदनात⁸ श्री॥⁹

XXVI. AND XXVII.—SANCHÖR STONE INSCRIPTIONS OF PRATĀPASIMHA;
[VIKRAMA-] SAMVAT 1444.

These inscriptions are engraved on two pillars, which now form part of the stables attached to the *kachēri* at Sanchōr. Doubtless they originally belonged, as will be seen in the sequel, to an ancient temple, not a trace of which now remains. The first record contains 30 lines of writing which cover a space of 10½" broad by 1' 9¼" high, and the second 17 lines of writing which cover a space of 10" broad by 1' ¾" high. The latter is in good preservation, but the former has about the middle of it a few letters here and there mutilated. The two together really form one record. This is evident from the fact that the last verse which occurs at the end of the first part is numbered 3, and the verse with which the second part opens is marked 4, instead of 1 as it would have been if the latter had really been intended to be a separate record. We shall, therefore, speak of the whole as one inscription. The characters are Nāgarī. The language is Sanskrit. Excepting the initial words *Om namaḥ Śivāya*, the inscription is in verse up to l. 32, and the rest in prose. As regards orthography, it is sufficient to note that a consonant is but twice doubled in conjunction with a preceding *r*, and that *y* is substituted for *j* once in *Yyāshṭa*(tha)^o, l. 33. In respect of lexicography, the following words may be noticed: (1) *grāsa*, l. 10, and (2) *pāṭis*, l. 11. *Grāsa* here seems to be used in the sense of "gift," and not in its usual sense noted above in my remarks on No. V. *Pāṭis* has already been explained (above No. X).

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Śiva, and then, curiously enough, is cited a verse which forms the well-known benedictory stanza of Kālidāsa's *Śākuntala*. This is followed by a verse (2) which invokes the protection of Nilakaṇṭha for the then reigning Chāhamāna prince Pratāpasimha, and of Pārvatī for his queen Kāmalladēvī, daughter of Subhāṣa. In the

¹ Read "वर्ण" and "वीरदे".

² Read "श्रीमनुंग". [The necessity for this correction is not apparent.—Ed.]

³ Read "वर्णोत्पलाय".

⁴ Read "रत्नय".

⁵ Read "जगदविषादः".

⁶ Read "प्रासाद".

⁷ Read "समुह्ये".

⁸ Read "नंदनात".

⁹ [There seem to be two more indistinct *akṣaras* at the end of the line.—Ed.]

next verse we are told that in the family of Lakshmanasimha, the best of Chahamānas and king of Naḍūla, which had many branches, there was one Sālha, son of Sōbhita. Verse 4 informs us that he liberated the people of Śrīmāla (Bhinmāl) from the Turushkas (Muḥammadans). The verse following states that his son was Vikramasimha. The eldest son of the latter was Saṅgrāmasimha, who had at least one elder brother, viz. Bhīma (v. 6). The son of Saṅgrāmasimha was Pratāpasimha, reigning at Satyapura (Sānchōr). We are then introduced to a different family, the family to which Pratāpasimha's queen belonged. And the verses descriptive of her family are separately numbered. Of these, verse 1 says that there was one Vīrasīha of Karpūradhārā, that his son was a king named Mākaḍa, and that the son of the latter was Vairisālya. The son of Vairisālya was Suhaḍasālya and his daughter was Kāmaladēvi, who was the wife of Pratāpasimha; and it was she who renovated the temple of Vāśēvara together with the *līnga* inside (vv. 2-3). The second part begins with a verse, which says that the fruit accruing from restoring is eight-fold that of merely building a temple, well or tank. This is followed by the date, viz. Friday, the 8th of the dark fortnight of Jyāishṭha of the [Vikrama] year 1444. On this date we are again told in prose that Bāi Kāmaladēvi, the crowned queen of Pātā (i.e. Pratāpasimha), the ornament of the Chāhṭāpa dynasty, and daughter of Suhaḍasāla (Subhāṭa or Suhaḍasālya), the ornament of the Ūmaṭa family, rebuilt the dilapidated temple of the god Vāyēśvara. We are further informed that, for the daily offering to the god, a gift was made of (1) a field, and (2) two *pālās* on every maund of each commodity from the customs house. The grant was approved of by *śē*° (i.e. *sēlahasta*) Vadrāḍā, a Paramāra, Mam° Charāḍā, and *śē*° Sāmala, a Pratihāra. The *āchārya* in connection with this matter was Rāma, a *vyāsa* of the Satyapura *jāṭī*. The composer of the *prastāvi* was *vyā*° Nārāyaṇadēva. The person who wrote it out was *vyā*° Kābhāka, and the person who engraved it was the *sūtradhāra* Mādhava.

It is worthy of note that Suhaḍasālya, father of Kāmaladēvi, is called an ornament of the Ūmaṭa family. Ūmaṭ is still the name of a *śākhā* or subdivision of the Paramāras, and we have still two tracts of land named after them, one Ūmaṭawāḍā in Mālwa and the other Ūmṭāṭi round about Bhinmāl. As Bhinmāl is not far from Sānchōr where Pratāpasimha was reigning, it is more reasonable to suppose that his father-in-law was a chief of Ūmṭāṭi than of Ūmaṭawāḍā. Karpūradhārā, which had been held by the great-grandfather of Suhaḍasālya, must be located somewhere near this Ūmṭāṭi. Next, Sāmala, one of the persons who approved of the grant to the god Vāyēśvara, is in the inscription called a Pratihāra. Pratihāra must here be taken, I think, to be not a Paḍihār but a Paḍihāriyā, as only Paḍihāriyās are found in the southernmost parts of Mārwar, i.e. round about Bhinmāl and Sānchōr. Satyapura *jāṭī*, to which the *āchārya* Rāma belonged, is obviously what is now known as Sānchōrā, a caste of Brāhmaṇas, who abound in the districts of Mallāpi and Sānchōr.

TEXT.¹

XXVI.

- 1 ॥ श्री नमः शिवाय ॥ या सृष्टिः सद्गुराद्या पि[ह]-
- 2 ८ विविद्धतं या इविर्या च होची ये हे कालं विध-
- 3 —[ः]° श्रुतिविषयगुणां या स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वं । याम[ः]-
- 4 इः सर्वबीजप्रकृतिरिति यया प्राणिनः प्राणव-
- 5 तः प्रत्यक्षाभिः प्रसन्नस्तनुभिरवतु वस्ताभिर-

¹ From the original stone.² Read विषयः.³ Read वदति.⁴ Read युति°.

- 6 टाभिरीशः ।[१*]१ श्रीनीलकण्ठीऽवतु चाहमानप्रता-
 7 पसिंहं रिपुदंतिसिंहं । गिरीद्रपुत्री सुभटस्य पु-
 8 त्रीं कामरूपदेवीं ससुतां [पु]नातु ।[१*][२] नडूलभूमोप-
 9 तिचाहमानशिखामणेलं [अ]णसिंहनाम्नः ॥१॥
 10 अनेकधाविस्तृ[त]वंश[वृद्धे] कुले बभौ सोमि-
 11 तसूनुसालः ।[१*]३ यो जात[वांत]द्विषसावदाने^१ (१)
 12 दाना[ह]सूनां यशसो — — । तुरष्कबंदीक-
 13 तवि[श्र]लोकान् श्रीमाल[त]ी मोक्षयति अ धीरः
 14 ॥४ — — [अजी]^२ विक्रमसिंह आसीवाम यु[ति]-
 15 — — — — भोगी । यः श्रीवशीविक्रम[रागभो]-
 16 गैरस्मारय[द्रूपतिवि]क्रमार्कं ।[१*]५ तदंग[जः शूरवरो]-
 17 तिदानि^३ भी[मा]यजन्मा कुल[कैरवेन्दुः] । सं-
 18 ग्रामसिंहो[भव]दुयवैरि[सं]ग्राम[निराजकु]^४-
 19 [लै]कर्नता ।[१*]६ [त]वंदनो नंदति सुप्रता[प]: प्र-
 20 तापसिंहः[प]रचक्रमर्दी । यस्मिन्नुपे सत्यपुरी-
 21 [य]लोका लोकाय न स्तः स्पृहयंत्यशोकाः । [७]
 22 कर्पूरधाराधरवीर[भीह](१)सूनुस्तुरंगोद्वकहे-
 23 [म]वर्षी । आसीनृपो माकडनामधेयस्तद्वंद-
 24 नोऽभूद्भुवि वैरिशत्रुः ।[१]१ तस्यात्म[ज]: सुहृद-
 25 शत्रु इति प्रसिद्धः शुद्धः समर्द्धितजनोऽधिक-
 26 देशभोक्ता । देवद्विजातिबहुभक्तिपरः परो-
 27 पतापी सधे नृपतिनीतिविचक्षणोऽस्ति ॥२ त-
 28 स्यात्तजा सचरिता प्रतापसिंहप्रिया कामल-
 29 देविनाम्नी । प्रासादमेनं विधिव[त्स]लिंगं वाए-
 30 श्वरं जीर्णकमुद्धार ॥३

XXVII.

- 31 ॥ प्रासादकूपसरसां यत्फलं नवनिर्मि-
 32 तौ । ततोऽगुणमाप्नोति जीर्णोद्धारे पुनः
 33 कृते ।[१*]४ स्रस्ति संवत् १४४४ [व]र्षे खेष्ट^५वदि-
 34 भृगौ चाह्वाणकुलतिलकराजयोपाता-

^१ Read जातवांसिहसा^१.^२ I am not certain of this reading.^३ Restore तस्यात्मजी.^४ Read उद्ग^२.^५ Read 'दानी.

- 35 पट्टराज्ञी 'जमटवंशभूषणराज्यीमुहड-
 36 सलसुता बार्दकामलदेविनाम्नी भगवती
 37 वायेश्वरस्य प्रसादस्य जीर्णोद्धारं करो-
 38 ति अ । अयं प्रसादः कामलदेवीसंतानेन स-
 39 ह्वाचंद्रार्के मंदतु ॥ तस्य देवस्य नित्यं पु[जा]-
 40 नैवेद्याद्यं कृतो यासः(1) एकचेचं ॥०॥
 41 मंडपिकायां वस्तु(2)मणं प्रति पाइलार घडा स-
 42 र्वैः पालनीयं । से० परमारवद्रडामतं । मं०
 43 चरडामतं । से० प्रतीहारसामलम[तं] । श्रीसत्य-
 44 पुरजातीय व्या श्रीरामोऽवाचार्यः । [व्य]।
 45 नारायणदेवः प्रशस्तिकर्त्ता । व्या० कान्हा-
 46 को लेखकः । सूत्रधारमाधवस्य कतिः [1*]
 47 चेमं कल्याणं भवतु । शुभं भवतु ॥श्रीः॥

HISTORY OF THE MĀRWĀR CHĀHAMĀNAS.

All records—epigraphic and bardic—agree in looking upon Lakshmaṇa as the founder of the Marwār branch of the Chāhamānas. The Nāḍol plates of Kirtipāla³ inform us that in the town of Śākambhari, i.e. Sāmbhar in the Jodhpur State, there was formerly, in the Chāhamāna lineage, king Vākpatirāja, and his son was Lakshmaṇa, who was king at Naddūla (Nāḍol). This Vākpatirāja was, in all likelihood, the Chāhamāna king of that name mentioned as the grandfather of Vīgraharāja, for whom we have an inscription dated V.E. 1030 in a temple on the Haraha hill in the Śekhāvāṭi province of the Jaipur State.⁴ No record of Lakshmaṇa has as yet come to light. But on the Sūraj-pōl at Nāḍol is an inscription of the time of Kēlhapa, dated V.E. 1223, which incidentally mentions the name Lakhaṇa and the date V.E. 1039 for him.⁵ The latter thus appears to have made some conquests for himself in Goḍvād and established himself at Nāḍol where his memory is still preserved. The Sūraj-pōl just alluded to is said to have been erected by him. The fort of Nāḍol also bears his name, and he is supposed to have constructed it. In his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*,⁶ Colonel Tod says: "I presented to the Royal Asiatic Society two inscriptions from Nadole, one dated S. 1024, the other 1039. They are of Prince Lakha, and state as instances of his power, that he collected the transit duties at the further barrier of Patun, and levied tribute from the prince of Cheetore." But it is by no means clear how far Tod's statement as to the contents of these inscriptions is to be trusted.

Lakshmaṇa's son was Śōbhita, also called Sōbhita and Sōhiya. He is represented in the Sūndhā hill inscription to have taken away the glory of the lord of Himādrībhava, i.e. Ābū.⁷ From him sprang Balirāja, who is represented in the same inscription to have defeated an army of Muñjarāja. The latter must be the same as the Paramāra Vākpatirāja II. Amōgha-

¹ From here the rules of *saṁdhi* have been neglected.

² Read 'कर्त्ता'.

³ Above, Vol. IX. p. 63.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. II. p. 119 E.

⁵ *Director General's Annual for 1907-8*, Part II. p. 228.

⁶ Vol. I. p. 233, note (S. K. Lakshmi & Co.'s edition, 1894).

⁷ Above, Vol. IX. p. 71.

varsha of Mālava, for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 974 to 993. The invasion of Muñjarāja here referred to is in all probability the same as that mentioned in the Hāthnūḍi inscription of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes.¹ Therein Dhavala is said to have checked the further progress of Muñjarāja when he attacked Mēdapāṭa (Mewār) and destroyed its capital called Āghaṭa.² Balirāja was succeeded by Mahēndra also called Mahindu, son of Vighrahpāla, who was the paternal uncle of Balirāja. As was first pointed out by Prof. Kielhorn, this Mahēndra is no doubt the same as his namesake, referred to in v. 11 of the Hāthnūḍi inscription. It speaks of Dhavala as having protected Mahēndra when he was being harassed by the army of Durlabharāja. This Durlabharāja can be no other than the Chaulukya king Durlabharāja, the brother and successor of Vighraharāja of the Haraha inscription.³ Mahēndra's son was Aśvapāla.⁴ His son was Ahila, who, according to the Sūndhā hill inscription, defeated the Chaulukya king Bhimadēva I. He was succeeded by his paternal uncle, Apahilla,⁵ who was a son of Mahēndra. He, too, is spoken of as having vanquished Bhimadēva I, seized Śākambhari, slain Sāḍha, a general (*daṇḍ-ādhipā*) of the Mālava king Bhōja, and defeated a Turushka, i.e. a Muḥammadan king.⁶ After him came to the throne his son Bālaprasāda. He compelled Bhimadēva I. to liberate from prison a king named Kṛishṇadēva. As shown by Professor Kielhorn, the last king is the Paramāra Kṛishṇarāja, son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Dēvarāja, for whom we have two inscriptions at Bhinmāl dated in A.D. 1060 and 1067. It can hardly be doubted that he must have been a brother of the Paramāra prince, Pūrṇapāla, who was a son of Dhandhuka and grandson of Mahipāla, and for whom we have the dates A.D. 1042 and 1045.⁷ Both the dates and the names of the father agree with one another. Kṛishṇarāja must, therefore, be taken to be a younger brother and successor of Pūrṇapāla. The discrepancy in the names of their grandfathers—that of Kṛishṇarāja's being Dēvarāja and that of Pūrṇapāla's being Mahipāla—is not of any serious importance, as we have several instances of one and the same prince bearing more than one name, not only of identical, but also of different import.

Bālaprasāda was succeeded by his brother Jindurāja also known as Jindarāja or Jēndrarāja.⁸ He gained a victory at Saṇḍēra, which, as I have already said, is Sāṇḍērāv in the Bālī District, Gōḍvād division, Jōḍhpur State (No. IV above). There is an inscription in the temple of Kāmēśvara-Mahādēva at Āuṇā in the Sōjat District. It is dated Saturday, the 15th of the dark fortnight (*amāvāsyā*) of Aśvayuja (i.e. Āśvina) in [Vikrama-] Samvat 1132, and refers itself to the reign of Jindrapāla,⁹ son of Apahilla. Jindrapāla is the same as our Jindurāja,

¹ *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.*, Vol. LXII. pt. I. p. 211 ff.; also see above, Vol. X. p. 18.

² Āghaṭa is the same as Āḍ or Āhaḍ now represented by the present Udaipur station. A well-known sept of the Gōhīlās called Āhaḍiyā is named after it. The place is described by Tod in the *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 745.

³ The author of the *Dvayātrayakōṭa* says that, along with his brother Nāgarāja, he attended the *svayamvara* of Durlabhadēvi, sister of Mahēndra, king of Nāḍōl in Mārṇar. The princess chose Durlabha, and Mahēndra gave his younger sister Lakshmi to Durlabha's brother, Nāgarāja (*Ind. As.* Vol. IV. p. 118). The hostilities between Durlabha and Mahēndra thus ended in matrimonial alliance, as was often the case in Rājputānā in later times. [See also above, Vol. X. p. 18. The Durlabharāja and Vighraharāja of the Haraha inscription were Chāḥamānas—not Chaulukyas.—Ed.]

⁴ The Śiva temple of Āmalēśvara or Āpapālēśvara at Nāḍōl (No. IX above) was apparently called after him.

⁵ The Śiva temple of Apahilēśvara at Nāḍōl (No. IX above) seems to have been built during his reign and called after him.

⁶ This must refer to the invasion of Mahmūd of Ghazni. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh*, according to Tod, refers to his fight with the king of Nāḍōl (*Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 636 and note).

⁷ [For this date of Pūrṇapāla see the *Director-General's Annual* for 1907-8, Part II. p. 226.—Ed.]

⁸ In No. IX a Śiva temple called Jēndrarājēśvara is mentioned. It was built apparently during the reign of Jēndrarāja and called after him.

⁹ The name engraved appears, however, to be Khindrapāla and not Jindrapāla. It is again curious that no titles whatever are added to the names of Jindrapāla and Apahilla. The probabilities, however, are that these names are of the Chāḥamāna kings referred to in the text.

and V.E. 1132 (A.D. 1075) is the earliest hitherto known date for a Mārwar Chāhamāna king derived from a contemporary record.

His son and successor was Prithvipāla, who defeated an army of the Gūrjara king Karṇa, i.e. the Chaulukya king Karṇa-Trailōkyamalla, son of Bhīmadēva I, a contemporary of Aḥila, Aṇahilla and Bālaprasāda. Like many of his predecessors, he too seems to have erected a temple to Śiva at Nāḍol and called the deity Prithvipālēśvara after himself. He was succeeded by his brother Yōjaka, also known as Jōjala, or Jōjalla. He is mentioned as having by force occupied Aṇahillapura (Aṇbīlvāḍā). Nos. I and II give for him the date V.E. 1147, i.e. A.D. 1090, which contain his mandate for the observance of festivals in connection with the gods Lakṣmaṇasvāmin and others at Nāḍol. Jōjala seems to have dedicated a temple to Śiva at Nāḍol, and named the latter Jōjalēśvara after himself. After him came to the throne his brother Āśvarāja, also called Āśvarāja and Āśvāka. Three inscriptions of his time (Nos. III-V) have so far been discovered, with dates ranging from A.D. 1110 to 1143. Of these, two were found at Sēvāḍi in the temple of Mahāvira and the third at Bālī in the temple of Bolā or Bahuguna mātā. The last speaks of him as subsisting on the lotus-like feet of the Mahārājādhirāja Jayasīha. We have already seen that up to the time of Jōjala, brother of Āśvarāja, the Mārwar Chāhamānas were constantly at war with the Chaulukyas. They were consequently till then not subordinate to the Chaulukyas, but owed fealty to some other supreme power. And it was Jayasīha, son of Karṇa, who appears for the first time to have subjugated Gōḍvād and made the Mārwar Chāhamānas his tributaries. Of the two Sēvāḍi inscriptions the earlier is dated in A.D. 1110 and the later in A.D. 1115. The former refers itself to the reign of Āśvarāja and speaks of his son Kaṭukarāja as yuvarāja or heir-apparent. The latter records a grant made by Kaṭukarāja, but as he is not mentioned as king and as Śamipāṭi (Sēvāḍi) is stated to have been in his bhukti, i.e. the district assigned to him for maintenance, it seems that even in A.D. 1115 he was not reigning as a ruler, but was merely, as yuvarāja, holding the province round about Sēvāḍi. But, from No. VI, it is evident that he did reign as king at Nāḍla. He is there called mahārājādhirāja Kaṭudēva, and his son, Jayatasīha, is mentioned as yuvarāja. The date of this inscription is Śamvat 31, which, as stated above, must be taken to be Śinḥa Śamvat. It thus becomes equivalent to V.E. 1200, i.e. A.D. 1143,—exactly the year in which the Bālī inscription of his father Āśvarāja is dated. Āśvarāja must, therefore, be supposed to have died and his son Kaṭukarāja succeeded him in one and the same year, viz. A.D. 1143. But here arises a difficulty in the chronological adjustments of this family. For no less than seven inscriptions have been found at Nāḍlāi and Nāḍol with dates ranging from A.D. 1132 to 1145, which refer themselves to the reign of one Rāyapāla. These overlap the period which other inscriptions give for the reigns of both the father and the son. In point of rank and dignity as determined by his titles, Rāyapāla appears to be in no way inferior to either Āśvarāja or Kaṭukarāja, and in No. VII. he is spoken of as belonging to the Chāhamāna lineage.¹ It is thus inexplicable how he reigned at the same place and synchronously with the father and son. Perhaps the following explanation may be offered for what it is worth. Instances are not wanting of friction taking place between a feudatory chieftain and his overlord, and consequently of the former being ousted by the latter, for some time at least, from the province held by him. Such a thing might perhaps have taken place here. Āśvarāja or Kaṭukarāja might have for some time lost the favour of their paramount sovereign and for

¹ During the excavations at Maṇḍōr, 6 miles north of Jōḍhpur, a few fragments of an inscription stone were found, which show that Prithvipāla, the eldest brother of Āśvarāja, had a son named Ratnapāla. Ratnapāla's son was Rāyapāla, and Rāyapāla's son was Sahajapāla, who apparently was reigning at Maṇḍōr and to whose reign the inscription referred itself. There can hardly be a doubt as to the Rāyapāla of Nos. VII—XI. being this Rāyapāla, grandson of Prithvipāla.

that reason been replaced by Rāyapāla, one of their relatives. From No. VII. it seems that this Rāyapāla had a queen named Mānaladēvi, and at least two sons, named Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla by her. Under him was the *rānta* Rājadēva, son of the *rānta* Ūdharapa of the Guhila family. He was a *śhakur* of Nāḍūlaḍāgikā, which, as stated above, was the Sanskritised form of Nāḍlāi. In an inscription found at Nāḍol, a certain *rānta* Bhūnana is mentioned as belonging to the Karpāta country and as a contemporary of Rāyapāla. This prince cannot be identified, but appears to have come to Nāḍol to pay a friendly visit to the Chāhamāna king.

From V.E. 1203 (A.D. 1146) to 1218 (A.D. 1161) not a single inscription has been traced in Goḍvād of the Chāhamāna princes of Nāḍol, but we have found instead no less than four records of a person who is variously called Vaijaka, Vaija, Vaijalladēva and Vayajaladēva. He is spoken of as a *daṇḍanāyaka* or general of Kumārapāla and as reigning at Nāḍol, i.e. exactly in the capital town of the Chāhamānas described above. This change of rule over Goḍvād may perhaps be explained as follows. We know from Gujarāt accounts that Kumārapāla invaded the Sambhar territory and defeated Arjorāja.¹ This event is alluded to in a Chitōrghaḍ inscription of Kumārapāla dated V.E. 1207,² and is spoken of as having taken place shortly before this date. Rāyapāla perhaps aided with Arjorāja and brought about Kumārapāla's indignation. And Kumārapāla might have deprived him of his territory. At Pali in the temple of Somāśvara there is a much abraded inscription of the reign of this Chaulukya sovereign with the date V.E. 1209. An epigraph in a dilapidated temple at Bhāṭupḍ in the Bālī District is dated V. E. 1210, refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and mentions his *daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijaka as being in charge of the district of Nāḍūla (Nāḍol). The temple of Mahāvīra at Sēvādī contains a record dated in Saṃvat 1213, which speaks of *daṇḍa*³ (i.e. *daṇḍanāyaka*) Vaijā as ruling at Nāḍūla. Another Jaina temple at Ghāṇerāv in the Dēsūri District has an inscription dated the same year as the last and referring itself to the reign of the *daṇḍanāyaka* Vaijalladēva. On a lintel of the *subhāmaṇḍapa* of the temple of Bōlā or Bahugana *mātī* at Bālī is engraved an epigraph which specifies the date Saṃvat 1216, makes mention of the paramount sovereign Kumārapāla and speaks of *daṇḍa*⁴ Vayajaladēva as exercising local authority at Naddrūla (Nāḍol). It will thus be seen that from about V.E. 1209 to 1216 Kumārapāla deprived Rāyapāla, or some other Chāhamāna prince of his ancestral dominions, and stationed Vaijalladēva as *daṇḍanāyaka* over that province. But, though Kumārapāla wrested Goḍvād from the Chāhamāna ruler of Nāḍol, he was well-disposed towards Ālapadēva or Ālhapadēva, son of Aśvarāja and younger brother of Kaṭukarāja. For, an inscription in a Śiva temple at Kirādī-Mallāḍ (No. XII above) tells us that Ālhapadēva was then in possession of Kirādākūpa (Kirādī), Lāṭarhada (Rāddhādā) and Śiva (Sheo) and that he obtained these places through the favour of his overlord (*prabhu*) Kumārapāla.⁵

When exactly Ālhapadēva came into possession of his paternal dominions is not known, but certain it is that the Nāḍol province came under his sway some year between V.E. 1216 (A.D. 1159) the last date of Vaijalladēva in Goḍvād that we know of⁶ and V.E. 1218 (A.D. 1161) the date of Ālhapā's Nāḍol copper-plate grant which is the earliest of his inscriptions in Goḍvād. Ālhapā is called Āhlādana in the Sūndhā hill inscription. He is there spoken of as having assisted the Gūrjara king every now and then. The Gūrjara king at this time was Kumārapāla; and as help was constantly given to him, it explains why Ālhapadēva stood high in his favour and was restored to his ancestral territory. Ālhapadēva is also mentioned in the Sūndhā hill inscription as having built a temple of Śiva at Naddūla and as having put down disturbances

¹ Above, Vol. I. p. 295.

² *Ibid.* Vol. II. p. 423.

³ No. 133 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol. V., above.

⁴ [The *maḍmasaḍalāśvara* Vaijalladēva of the Chāhuyāḍa family is mentioned with the date Vikrama-Saṃvat 1231, corresponding to A.D. 1175, in a copper-plate grant of the Chaulukya king Ajayapāla (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 81).—Ed.]

in the mountainous part of Surāshtra. The latter event is alluded to in the Nāḍol copper-plate inscription of Kirtipāla noted above. The *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* speaks of Kumārapāla as having sent his general Udayana against Sausara, king of Surāshtra, with whom he was at war. In this fight Kumārapāla's army was defeated, and Udayana was mortally wounded. In the end, however, Samara (Sausara), as the *Kumārapālacharita* says, was defeated and his son placed on the throne. It was probably Ālhaṇa who proved instrumental in securing this victory for Kumārapāla. Ālhaṇa seems to have suffered for his allegiance to the Chaulukya dynasty at the hands of Vighraharāja, son of Arṇōrāja of the imperial Chāhamāna family. For the latter, as the Bijolia inscription¹ informs us, made Naddōla (Nāḍol) a *naḍvaia*, i.e. a bed of reeds and Jābālipura (Jālōr) *jeālāpura*, i.e. a city of flames. Ālhaṇa is there said to have married Annalladēvi, daughter of Sahula of the Rāshtrauḍa² family. Ālhaṇa had three sons by her, viz. Kēlhaṇa, Gajasimha and Kirtipāla. Ālhaṇa appears to have given a share in the administration of his kingdom to his first two sons. For, in No. XII, the sign-manual of Ālhaṇadēva is followed up by the approval of both his sons, Kēlhaṇadēva and Gajasimha. Even the villages round about Nāḍlāi, made over to Kirtipāla for his maintenance in the Nāḍol plate, were granted to him not by his father Ālhaṇa alone, but also by Kēlhaṇa, his brother. It is curious that Gajasimha is not mentioned in this connection. He must doubtless have been alive at this time; otherwise his name would not have been specified in this inscription in l. 14.³ Probably Kēlhaṇa's name alone is here mentioned because he was the *yavarāja* or heir-apparent, as is quite clear from l. 16 of the record.

Of Kēlhaṇa no less than six inscriptions were found by me with dates ranging from V.E. 1221 to 1236. Ālhaṇadēva thus died in some year between V.E. 1218 and 1221. Kēlhaṇa appears to have remained tributary to Kumārapāla, for No. XIV refers itself to the reign of Kumārapāla, and speaks of Kēlhaṇa as ruler of Naḍūlya (Nāḍol). This record is dated in Samvat 1228, which is, in fact, the latest authentic date we have for the Chaulukya sovereign, who, according to Gujarāt chronicles, died a year later. The Sūndhā hill inscription represents Kēlhaṇa to have routed a Turushka king and erected a golden *tōraṇa*, "like a diadem for the abode of the holy Śaiva." His brother Kirtipāla also is spoken of in the same inscription as having vanquished a Turushka army at Kāsahrada. Both these descriptions must refer to one and the same event, for about this time only one

¹ No. 154 of Professor Kielhorn's Appendix to Vol. V., above.

² Rāshtrauḍa, it can scarcely be seriously doubted, is the same as Rāshtrakūṭa. There were two Rāshtrakūṭa families reigning in Rājputānā. Munshi Devī Prasad, in his Hindi work entitled "Antiquarian Discoveries in Rājputānā" tells us that at Dhanḍa, 16 miles north of Shāhpurā, two inscription stones had been found as early as A.D. 1873, which gave an account of a Rāshtrakūṭa family ruling there. Four names had therein been traced, viz. those of Bhallila, his son Dantivarmā, and his sons Buddharāja and Gōvinda. One of the inscriptions was dated *Samvat 1063 Vesāga sudi 5 Saurī* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XL. p. 175). Another inscription was found at Hāthupḍī near Bijāpur in the Bālī District which describes a new Rāshtrakūṭa family. This has been referred to above. A part of this inscription was published by Professor Kielhorn in the *Jour. Reng. As. Soc.* Vol. LXVII, part 1, pp. 309-314, and the complete text has recently been edited by Pandit Ram Karra of Jodhpur (above, Vol. X. pp. 17 ff.). This contains three dates, the last of which is V.E. 1053 (A.D. 991), and pertains to the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa Dhavala of Hastikupḍī (Hāthupḍī). It is reasonable to suppose that the Rāshtrakūṭa family, to which Annalladēvi belonged, was the one reigning at Hāthupḍī in Gōvraḍ, and not the other one reigning so far north as Shāhpurā. We have already seen that it was a king of this Hāthupḍī Rāshtrakūṭa family, viz. Dhavala, who helped no less than two princes of the Mārwar Chāhamāna dynasty. The two families were thus reigning close to, and were also allied to, each other. But this matter is placed beyond all doubt by No. XIII, which records a grant of Ānaladēvi, unquestionably the same as Annalladēvi, who is called mother-queen (*mātri-rājāi*) of Kēlhaṇa. This inscription also records a benefaction by certain Rāshtrakūṭa princes. The mention of Rāshtrakūṭa in the same epigraph with that of Ānaladēvi or Annalladēvi, who was of the Rāshtrauḍa dynasty shows that Rāshtrauḍa is the same as Rāshtrakūṭa and that these Rāshtrakūṭas were not far from Sāndūrā where No. XIII was found. It is, therefore, perfectly reasonable to suppose that these Rāshtrauḍas or Rāshtrakūṭas, of whom Sahula, father of Ānaladēvi, was one, reigned at Hāthupḍī, or Hastikupḍī as it is called in inscriptions.

³ Above, Vol. IX. p. 69.

Muhammadan invasion took place. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* tells us that in A.H. 574, i.e. A.D. 1178, Muhammad Ghōrī "marched to Oocha and Multan, and from thence continued his route through the sandy desert to Guzerat. The prince Bhimadēva (a lineal descendant from Brahma Dew of Guzerat, who opposed Mahmood Ghiznevī), advanced with an army to resist the Mahomedans, and defeated them with great slaughter."¹ Now, at Kirāḍū there is, in the temple of Sōmēśvara, a mutilated inscription, which is dated in Samvat 1235 and refers itself to the reign of the Chaulukya king Bhimadēva II. It makes mention also of his feudatory chieftain Madanabrahmadēva and his subordinate Tējapāla. We are further told that the image of Sōmēśvara, which was in the temple, had been broken to pieces by the Turushkas, but a new one was caused to be made and installed by Tējapāla's wife, whose name is unfortunately lost. It will be seen that the image must have been broken by Muhammad Ghōrī. For, the date of his expedition is A.D. 1178 or V.E. 1234-35, and the date of the Kirāḍū inscription, as we have observed, is Samvat 1235. There is thus a correspondence of dates. Secondly, as stated in the *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh*, the route of Muhammad Ghōrī lay through the sandy desert. This means that on his way to Gujarāt he passed through the Mallāṇī District of the Jodhpur State, which is nothing but a *ṭhāl* or desert. And, as Kirāṭakūpa or Kirāḍū was in ancient days a place of great importance in that region, it is natural to suppose that the Muhammadan emperor captured the town and destroyed the image in the principal temple there. The *Tawārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* further says that Bhimadēva II. defeated the Muhammadan army with great slaughter. Kālhaṇa, being a feudatory of the Chaulukya family, must have gone to the help of Bhimadēva and must have been accompanied also by his brother Kirtipāla. And, as is very often the case with tributary princes, who take the credit of winning a battle fought by their overlord whom they have but assisted, both Kālhaṇa and Kirtipāla are represented to have vanquished the Turushkas at Kāsahrada. Now three Kāsahradas are mentioned in inscriptions, and there are at least three places which may be modern equivalents of them. Thus there is a place called Kasindra-Pāḍī near Ahmedābād, and this may represent the Kāsahrada of the Kapadvanj grant of the Rāshṭrakūṭa prince Krishṇa II. and the Kāsahrada of the Baroda grant of Dhruva II. There is again in the Sirohi State a village, at the foot of Mount Ābū, of the name of Kāyadrām, which is also known as Kāsadrām. With this must be identified the Kāsahrada of the inscriptions in Tējapāla's temple at Dilwāḍā on Mount Ābū. There is yet a third place named Kāsandrā on the road from Dhōlkā to Pāliṭhānā. This must be the Kāsahrada of Arisimha's *Sukṛitasamhṛtana*. Which one of these is the Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill inscription depends upon the route taken by Muhammad Ghōrī after leaving Kirāḍū. In the *Tajū-l-Ma-Asir* it is stated that when Quṭub-ud-Din left Ajmēr to direct an attack on Aphilvādā, the Hindūs 'had collected under their leaders Rāi Karan and Dārābars in greater numbers "at the foot of Mount Ābū and at the mouth of a pass stood ready for fight and slaughter." The Musalmāns did not dare to attack them in that strong position, especially as in that very place Sultān Muhammad Sam Ghōrī had been wounded, and it was considered a bad omen to bring on another action there, lest a similar accident might occur to the commander.'² From this it is evident that Muhammad Ghōrī sustained a reverse at the foot of Mount Ābū, and Karan and Dārābars mentioned here can be no other than Kālhaṇa and Dhārāvarsha. The Kāsahrada of the Sūndhā hill inscription 'where Kālhaṇa and Kirtipāla defeated a Turushka army' must, therefore, be identified with Kāyadrām (Kāsadrām). The Sūndhā hill inscription describes Kālhaṇa as having also defeated the southern king Bhilima, who, as recognised by Professor Kielhorn, is the Dēvagiri-Yādava Bhillama. There are at least two inscriptions, which belong to the reign of this last king and which bear the date A.D. 1189. This date, it is expressly stated,

¹ Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol. I. p. 170.

² Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 230.

was the third year of his reign. From this it is concluded that Bhillama came to the throne in A.D. 1187. The last date we have for Kēlhapa is V.E. 1249 = A.D. 1192, supplied by an inscription found at Pāḍaḍi in the Sirohi State. Kēlhapa and Bhillama were thus contemporaries, and the Bhilima of the Sūndhā hill inscription can only be this Bhillama. One of Kēlhapa's queens is named Mahibhaladēvi (No. XV). The name of another, viz. Jāḥanadēvi, is given in No. XVII.

Kēlhapa was succeeded by his son Jayatasīha, for whom two inscriptions have been found, —one at Bhinnāl and the other at Sādaḍi. The first is dated V.E. 1239 and calls him *maha-rājaputra*, indicative of his position as heir-apparent.¹ The second gives the date V.E. 1251 and styles him *maharājādhirāja*.² This shows that he became king after the death of Kēlhapa. About three years after this date, i.e. in A.D. 1197, we hear of the invasion of Quṭub-ud-Dīn Ī-bak in Mārwar. The *Tawārikh-i-Firishṭāh* has the following: "Kootb-ood-Deen having recovered from his wounds pursued the besieging army to Nehrwalā, taking in his way the forts of Baly and Nadole."³ Baly, of course, refers to Pālī, the principal town of the district of the same name, Jodhpur State, and Nadole is obviously Nāḍol. The *Taj-ul-Ma-Āsir* says that "when he reached the lofty forts of Pālī and Nandul, he found them abandoned and the abode of the owls, for the people had fled at the approach of the Musulmans."⁴ This means that Nāḍol and the surrounding district were for some time at least lost to the Chāhamāna family called Nāḍoliya. An inscription found at Achalēśvara on Mount Ābū says that Jaitrasīmha of the Gubila dynasty destroyed Nāḍūla and defeated a Turushka army.⁵ From epigraphic and other records it appears that Jaitrasīmha reigned from about V.E. 1270 to 1309. He thus comes quite close to the date when Quṭub-ud-Dīn conquered eastern Mārwar. Jaitrasīmha, therefore, seems to have destroyed Nāḍol when it was in the possession of the Muḥammadans, and the Turushka army defeated by him must have been headed, if not actually by Quṭub-ud-Dīn, at any rate by his governor at Nāḍol.⁶ From V.E. 1265 to 1283 Gōḍvād was held by a prince named Dhāmdhaladēva, son of Visadhavaladēva.⁷ He was no doubt, as an inscription at Nāpā tells us, a Chāhamāna, i.e. I think, a Chāhamāna, but probably not of Kēlhapa's lineage. From the same inscription it seems that in V.E. 1283 he was tributary to Bhyiva(Bhima)dēva, son of Ajayā(ya)pala, i.e. the Chaulukya sovereign Bhīmadēva II. Kēlhapa had, as we have seen above, a brother named Kirtipāla, who was the originator of the Sonigarā branch of the Chāhamānas. From his Nāḍol copper-plate inscription we learn that twelve villages, such as Nāḍlāl and others in Gōḍvād had been assigned to him for maintenance by his father Āḥanadēva, and he must have continued to enjoy the revenues of those villages during his brother's régime also. His defeat of the Turushka army at Kāsahrada has already been alluded to. In addition to it he is represented in the Sūndhā hill inscription to have conquered a Kirāṭakūpa chief named Āsala. Kirāṭakūpa is undoubtedly Kirāḍū, and Āsala was perhaps the successor of Madanabrahma mentioned above. It is also

¹ *History of Gujarāt in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 474.

² This inscription is in the temple of Jāgēśvara, Dēsūri District, Jodhpur State. It is engraved on one of its pillars, which, no doubt, originally belonged to some temple at Nāḍol.

³ Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol. I. p. 196.

⁴ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II, pp. 229-30.

⁵ *Bhāvnagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 93; *Jour. Beng. As. Soc.* Vol. IV. Pt. I. p. 48.

⁶ From verse 16 of the Chitrā inscription (*Wiener Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXI. p. 143 ff.) it appears that Nāḍahrada or Nāḍā, the ancient capital of the Gubilots, was destroyed by a Muḥammadan army, when Pamarāja, son of Yūgēśvara, who was appointed a *talāra* of Nāḍā by king Padmasīmha, fell in the battle. This event must have happened in the reign of Jaitrasīmha, for we are distinctly told in the *Hamīra-mada-mardana* that the Turushka army burnt the whole of Mēwār, which was then held by Jayatala, alias Jaitrasīmha (Professor S. R. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, pp. 29 and 23). The subsequent defeat of the Turushka army by Jaitrasīmha is also mentioned. It was at this time perhaps that Nāḍol was seized by him.

⁷ Two inscriptions of this prince have been found, one at Nāpā and the other at Bālār, both in the Bālī District, Jodhpur state (*Prog. Rep. Archaeol. Surv. Ind., West. Circle*, for 1906, pp. 49-50).

said about him that, although he was the lord of the Naddūla (Naḍol) kingdom, he established himself at Jābālipura, i.e. Jālōr, the principal town of the district of the same name in the southern part of Mārwar. According to Mūta Nēnsi, he wrested it from the Paramāras. Certain it is that Jālōr was in the possession of the Paramāras till A.D. 1117, as an unpublished inscription found there shows.¹ One of the inscription slabs of Kumbhakara originally found at the temple of Māmādēva at Kuvalgadhi² informs us that the Guhilōt prince Kumārasimha expelled Kitū, who had occupied his country. In all the Sōnigarā chronicles Kirtipāla is called Kitū, and Kumārasimha was only two generations prior to the Guhilōt chief Jaitrasimha for whom we have dates ranging from A.D. 1213-1252. Kumārasimha can thus very well be a contemporary of the Chāhamāna Kirtipāla, who must, therefore, be supposed to have carried an expedition of conquest in the Guhilōt territory.

Kirtipāla had at least three sons and one daughter. Of the three sons, one was Samarasimha who succeeded him, and the other two were Lākhanapāla (or -pāla) and Abhayapāla mentioned in No. XV as the *jāgirdārs* of Sīnāpava or Samnāpaka, which, I think, has to be identified with Sōnāpā. Sōnāpā, it will be remembered, was one of the villages granted to Kirtipāla by Ālhanādēva, and Kirtipāla further seems to have made it over during his brother's régime to two of his sons. The name of his daughter was Rādāladēvī, who, according to the Sāndhā hill inscription, built two temples to Śiva at Jābālipura (Jālōr).

After Kirtipāla, his son Samarasimha, as stated above, became king. Two inscriptions of this prince have been found at Jālōr (Nos. XVIII and XIX). One of these is dated in V.E. 1239 and the other V.E. 1242. The Sāndhā hill inscription says that he built extensive ramparts on the Kanakāchala. In the second of the Jālōr epigraphs just alluded to, the following words occur : *śri-Jābālipuriya-Kānchanagiri-gaḍhasy-ōpari*, etc. From this it is plain that Kānchanagiri or Kanakāchala was the name of the hill, on which the fort of Jālōr is situated. When Kirtipāla carved out a kingdom for himself, he established his capital at Jālōr, whose fortifications were commenced by him. But as he did not live long after it, this work had to be carried out by his son Samarasimha. The Sāndhā hill inscription also speaks of him as having weighed himself against gold and having afterwards founded the city of Samarsapura, which has not yet been identified. A copper-plate charter of the Chaulukya sovereign Bhimādēva II., dated V.E. 1263, makes mention of his queen Lilādēvī, who is spoken of as *Chāhu³ rānā Samarasīhasutā*,⁴ i.e. the daughter of the Chōhān *rājā* Samarasīha. Professor Kielhorn was the first to identify him with the Mārwar Chāhamāna king of that name.

The Sāndhā hill inscription represents his son Udayasimha to have succeeded Samarasimha. But Udayasimha was not his eldest son, because a Mount Ābā inscription speaks of Mānavasimha, who is called a son of Samarasimha and the elder brother of Udayasimha.⁵ Up to the time of Samarasimha, the power of the Sōnigarā family had been confined to the Jālōr District and the territory intervening between it and Kirādū. And it was Udayasimha who greatly extended these dominions, which now included the districts originally held by the Nāḍoliyā branch. For, in the Sāndhā hill inscription, amongst the places held by him, Naddūla (Naḍol) is distinctly mentioned. The other places named are Jāvālipura, Maṇḍavyapura, Vāgbhaṭamēra, Sūrachandā, Rāṭabradā, Khēḍa, Rāmasainya, Śrīmāla, Ratnapura and Satyapura. Almost all these places have been identified by Professor Kielhorn. Jāvālipura is Jālōr, Maṇḍavyapura Maṇḍōr, 8 miles north of Jodhpur ; Vāgbhaṭamēra is Bādmēr, not

¹ This inscription stone is in the *tōpēkhānā* at Jālōr and is put up upside down. This inscription will shortly be published by me.

² These slabs have now been deposited in the Victoria Hall, Udaipur.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 195, pl. II., l. 1.

⁴ Above, Vol. IX. p. 80.

however the place which at present goes by the name, but Junā Bādmār or simply Junā, as it is also called, about 12 miles south-west of the modern Bādmār.¹ Sūrachand is, of course, Surāchand in the Sānchor District. Bāṭahraḍa has its name still surviving in Rāḍḍhaḍā, by which the district round about Nagar-Guḍhā in Mallāṇī is still popularly known.² Khēḍa is obviously the place of the same name in Mallāṇī, the ancient capital of that province. Rāmāsainya is Rāmsen, Śrīmālā Bhīmāl, and Ratnapura Ratanpur, all in the Jaswantpura District. And, lastly, Satyapura is Sānchor. The Sūndhā hill inscription also speaks of Udayasimha as having put an end to Sindhurāja and as not having been conquered by the Gurjara kings. Sindhurāja may either be a ruler of Sindh, as Professor Kielhorn takes it, or an individual prince of that name. In the case of the latter supposition, he may be identified with the prince of that name, whose son Śaṅkha was defeated near Cambay by Vastupāla during the Vāghēlā king Lavaprasāda's reign. Udayasimha is also described in a general way as having curbed the pride of the Turushka. This must simply be taken to mean that he had come into hostilities with the Muḥammadans, and not necessarily that he obtained any decisive victories over them. The *Tuḥf-i-Firishṭāh* refers to it as follows: "Soon after this event, Oodye-Sa, the tributary raja of Jalwar, having refused to make the usual payments, the king was induced to march and reduce him to obedience."³ The king here alluded to is Shams-ud-Din Altamash, and Oodye-Sa of Jalwar is unquestionably Udayasimha of Jālōr. The same event is described in greater detail in the *Taj-i-Mu-ā'ir* as follows: "After some time, they represented to his Majesty that the inhabitants of the fort of Jālewar (Jālōr) had determined to revenge the blood which had been shed, "and once or twice mention of the evil deeds and improprieties of that people was made before the sublime throne. Shams-ud-din accordingly assembled a large army, and headed by "a number of the pillars of the state, such as Ruknu-d-din Hamza', Izzu-d-din Bakhtiyār Nasiru-d-din Mardān Shāh, Nasiru-d-din 'Alī and Badra-d-din Saukartigin," valiant men and skilful archers, "who could in a dark night hit with their arrows the mirror on the forehead of an elephant." "The king took his way towards Jālewar by the aid of God," "and by reason of the scantiness of water and food it was a matter of danger to traverse that desert, where one might have thought that nothing but the face of demons and sprites could be seen, and the means of escape from it were not even written on the tablet of providential design."

"Uḍi Sah, the accursed, took to the four walls of Jālewar, an exceedingly strong fortress, the gates of which had never been opened by any conqueror." When the place was invested by Shams-ud-din, Uḍi Sah requested some of the chiefs of the royal army to intercede for his forgiveness. While the terms of his surrender were under consideration, two or three of the bastions of his fort were demolished. He came, "with his head and feet naked, and placed his forehead on the earth" and was received with favour. The Sultān granted him his life, and restored his fortress, and in return the Rāj presented respectfully a hundred camels and twenty horses, in the name of tribute and after the custom of service. "The Sultān then returned to Dehli. . . ."⁴ This event came to pass between A.D. 1210 and 1216.

We have seen above that Udayasimha is spoken of in the Sūndhā hill inscription as not having been defeated by the Gurjara kings. This no doubt refers to the fact mentioned in the *Kirtikaumudī* that four kings from Mārwar conspired to advance against Lavaprasāda while from the south the Yādava sovereign Siṃghana was marching against him. The *Kirtikaumudī* further says that the Vāghēlā prince succeeded in driving back the Mārwar chiefs, of whom Udayasimha must undoubtedly have been one. A few years later, Lavaprasāda's son, Vira-

¹ [On page 59 above, Bāḍamāru is identified with this Bādmār.—Ed.]

² See page 44 above.

³ Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol. I. p. 207.

⁴ Elliot's *History of India*, Vol. II. p. 238.

dhavala, had been placed in almost the same predicament, as we learn from the *Hamīra-madamardana*, when Sīmha again marched against him on one side, the Turushka called Milachhikāra on another, and Dēvapāla, king of Mālwa, on the third. The kings of Marudēsa were on the point of joining the Turushka army, when Viradhavala at once marched and won them over to his side. The names of these kings are Sōmasimha, Udayasimha, and Dhāravarsha.¹ Of these, Udayasimha is doubtless the Chāhamāna chief of Jālōr.

A manuscript of Rāmachandra's *Nirbhayabhīmāyāyoga* has the following :

*Saṃvat 1306 varshē Bhādrava-vadī 6 Ravāṣ-ady-ēha Śrī-mahārājakula-Śrī-Udayasimha-dēva-kalyāṇa-vijaya-rājyē.*²

It will be perceived at a glance that the Udayasimha here referred to is the Chāhamāna prince Udayasimha, for whom we have inscriptions with dates ranging from V.E. 1262 to 1306. Similarly, at the end of his work entitled *Vivēkavilāsa*, Jinadatta tells us that he wrote it for the gratification of Dhanapāla of the Vāyada family, who was looked upon as son by Dēvapāla, the treasury minister of Udayasimha of the Chāhvāna dynasty and the lord of Jāvalipura.³ It can hardly be doubted that the prince here alluded to is the Chāhamāna Udayasimha of Jābālipura (Jālōr).

Udayasimha's queen was Prahlādanadēvi, who bore to him two sons, Chāchigadēva and Chamundarāja. From Bhīmāl Inscription No. XIII, we learn that Udayasimha had one more son at least, viz. Vāhaḍasiha.⁴ From other accounts it appears that he had also a daughter. For, it is stated by Rājasēkhara in his *Prabandhachaturvīṃśatī* and by Harshaganī in *Vastupālacharitra* that the Vāghela king Viradhavala had two sons, viz. Virama and Visala. The cause of the latter was espoused by Vastupāla, and the former had to flee for refuge to his father-in-law Udayasimha, chief of Jābāli, but was treacherously murdered at the instigation of Vastupāla.⁵

Udayasimha was succeeded by his son Chāchigadēva. In the Sūndhā hill inscription he is described as "destroying the roaring Gūrjara lord Virama, hating the enemy Śālya, taking exquisite delight in felling the shaking Pātuka, depriving Saṅga of his colour, and a thunderbolt to the mountain, viz. the furious Nahara." Virama, as pointed out by Professor Kielhorn, is doubtless the son of Viradhavala just mentioned. Perhaps he was assassinated by Chāchiga at the instigation of Vastupāla during his father Udayasimha's reign. Śālya may be, as suggested by the learned doctor, the prince of the same name mentioned in verse 19 of the Dabhōi inscription as an enemy of Lavanaprasāda.⁶ Pātuka is perhaps a *dāsi* form of the Sanskritised name Pratāpa. The only Pratāpa, who, I think, can be a contemporary of Chāchiga, is his cousin, who was the son of Mānavasimha, the eldest brother of Udayasimha. Saṅga is perhaps Saṅgaṇa, a ruler of Vanthali near Junāgaḍh, who was a brother-in-law of Viradhavala and was slain by him.⁷

Of the reign of Chāchigadēva five inscriptions have been found. The earliest is engraved in the temple of mātā on the Sūndhā hill in the Jaswantpurā District. It is dated in the akshaya-tṛitiyā of the month of Vaiśākha of the [Vikrama] year 1319. The second is dated

¹ Prof. S. R. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1904-05 and 1905-06, p. 16 ff; Dhāravarsha and Sōmasimha were, of course, Paramara kings and were father and son. Sōmasimha was, in all likelihood, the governor at that time and had some share in the administration.

² Dr. Peterson's *First Report* (1882-83), App. p. 81.

³ Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1893-94, p. 156.

⁴ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I. Pt. I. p. 482; here Chāmondarāja is also referred to.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI, p. 190; Dr. Bhandarkar's *Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts* for 1893-94, p. 156.

⁶ Above, Vol. I, page 23.

⁷ *History of Gujarat in the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, Vol. I, Pt. I. p. 200.

V.E. 1326. It was found by me at Sēvāḍī, but was originally lying at Karṣḍā in Mewār, doubtless Karahḍā mentioned therein. No less than three of his records have been discovered at Bhinmāl, with the dates V.E. 1328, 1333 and 1334. In the last inscription are mentioned his brothers Vahadasiha and Chamundarāja, the last of whom has, as we have already seen, been referred to in the Sāndhā hill inscription.

From an inscription originally found at Badhatrā but now deposited at the Ajmēr museum it appears that Chāchigadēva or Chācha, as he is there called, had a queen named Lakshmidēvi from whom he had a daughter called Rūpādēvi.¹ The latest date we have for Chāchigadēva is V.E. 1334, and after it we find inscriptions of a king who is named Sāmāntasimha, Sāmvasimha or Sāmvyantasimha with dates ranging from V.E. 1339 to 1353. Unfortunately no epigraph has been found which tells us how he was related to his predecessor Chāchigadēva. But all the bardic chronicles that I have seen in Mārwar are unanimous in saying that Sāmāntasimha was a son of Chāchigadēva. He was thus a brother of Rūpādēvi, to whose reign her inscription belongs. The last of Sāmāntasimha's records dated V.E. 1353 is interesting (No. XXIII). It expressly refers itself to the conjoint reign of Sāmāntasimhadēva and Kānhaḍadēva. The same thing is done in another inscription found at Chōḥṭan and noted in connection with No. XXIII. Bardic chronicles tell us that the latter was a son of the former. Kānhaḍadēva must, therefore, have been *yuvārāja* or heir-apparent since V.E. 1353, the date of the latter inscription. No inscription has as yet come to light of this prince when he was on the throne. But he is twice referred to in the *Tawārikk-i-Firishṭāh*. While speaking of the conquests, in A.D. 1304, of Ein-ool-Moolk Mooltany, a chieftain of Alā-ud-Din, it says: "Nehr Dew, Raja of Jalwar, panic-struck at the rapid progress of Ein-ool-Moolk, surrendered that place without opposition."² I am informed by Munshi Devi Prasad that for "Nehr Dew" the published Persian text of the *Tawārikk-i-Firishṭāh* has Gātar Dev, which, with a slight change of diacritical marks, can be read Kānir Dev. Kānir Dev of Jalwar can be no other than Kānhaḍadēva, son of Sāmāntasimha, of Jālōr. For about four years he remained a feudatory of Alā-ud-Din. The account of his death and the capture of Jālōr are given in the same work as follows: 'It is related that the Raja of Jalwar, Nehr Dew (Kānir Dev), as has been stated above, resided at the court of Dehly. One day the king was boasting, that at the present day no raja of Hindocstan dared to oppose his arms; on which Nehr Dew, in the plenitude of folly, replied, "I will suffer death, if I do not myself raise an army that shall defeat any attempt of the king's troops to take the fort of Jalwar." The king directed him to quit the court, and finding he was collecting troops, ordered a division of the army to besiege Jalwar; and the more to show his contempt for Nehr Dew, placed the troops under the command of one of the slave girls of the palace, called Gool Behisht "the Rose of Heaven." She evinced great bravery and nearly succeeded in taking the fort, but she fell sick and died. The siege was then conducted by her son Shaheen. Nehr Dew quitted the fort and attacking the royal army, slew Shaheen, with his own hand, and the Mahomedans retreated four days successively towards Dehly. Alla-ood-Deen, vexed at this repulse, sent strong reinforcements under Kumal-ood-Deen, a general of distinction, who succeeded at last in taking Jalwar by storm, and made a dreadful slaughter of the garrison, putting Nehr Dew and his family to the sword, and plundering all his treasures. The news of this event created great joy at the capital.'³ The exact date of this event is not specified in the *Tawārikk-i-Firishṭāh*, but the latter implies that it must have come to pass shortly before A.D. 1309.

According to the chronicle of Mūtā Nēnsi, which is looked upon as of the highest authority throughout Mārwar, Chāchigadē had three sons, viz. Sāmvasi Rāval, Chāhaḍadē, and Chamdra. Sāmvasi's son was Kānhaḍadē, who was the lord of Jālōr and was also

¹ Above, Vol. IV, p. 313.

² Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol. I, p. 362.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

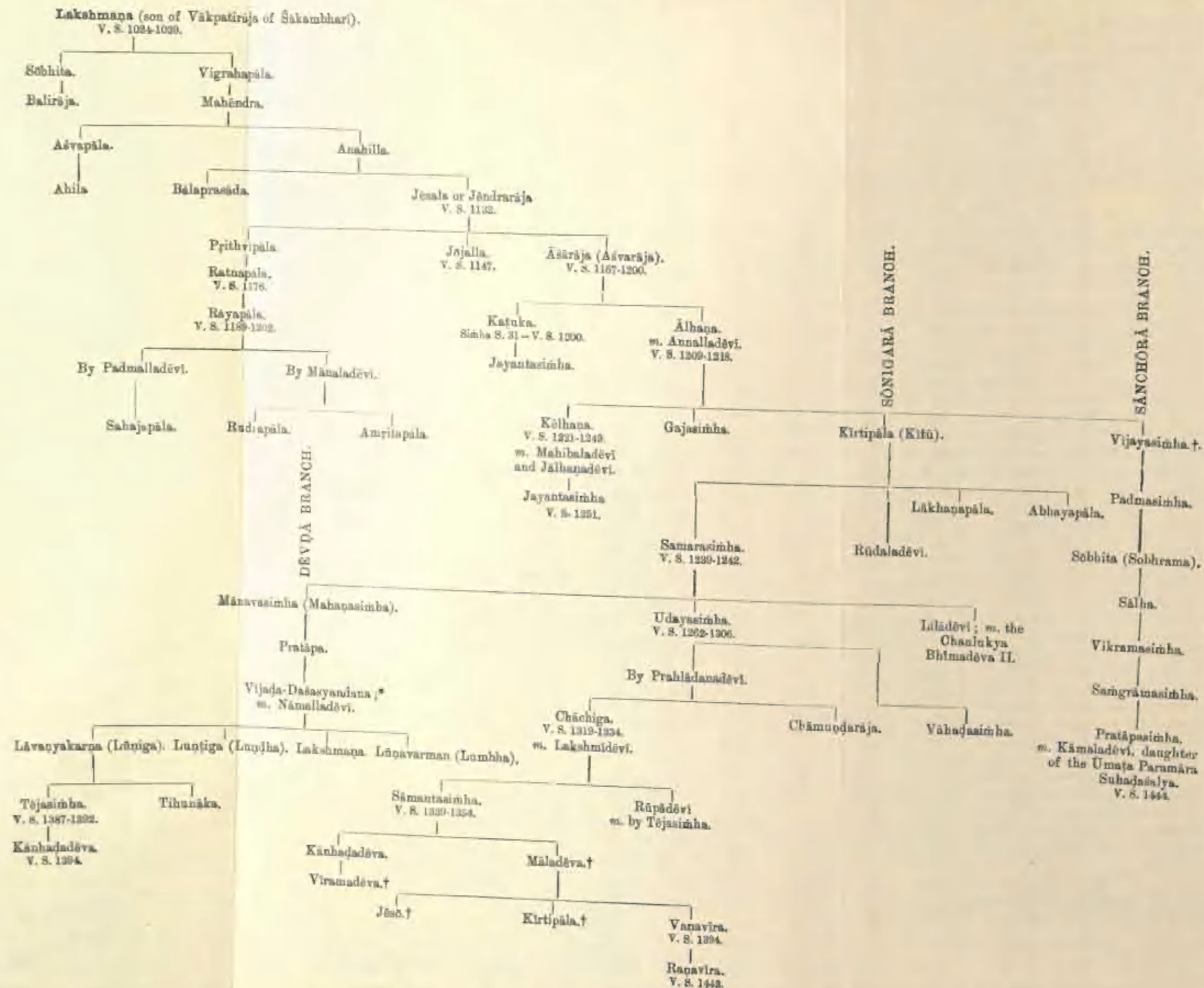
styled the tenth Salagarāma (Śaligrāma) and Gugulinātha. He and his son Virama died three days after fighting with the Pātasāha (i.e. Alā-ud-Dīn), who then captured Jālōr. This event happened in V.E. 1368. Jinaprabhasūri, author of the *Tirthakalpa*, tells us that the temple of Mahāvira at Satyapura (Sāñchōr) was polluted by Alā-ud-Dīn's army and the image carried off in V.E. 1367. As Sāñchōr is not far off from Jālōr, it is not unreasonable to suppose that the army, which captured Jālōr, polluted the temple of Sāñchōr also. And as the sack of this Jaina fane occurred in the lifetime of Jinaprabhasūri, the date given by him must be accepted as correct. Between this and the date of the capture of Jālōr given by Mūtā Nēsi, the difference is but one year, which is of no consequence, for, as we learn from the *Tasārīkh-i-Firishṭāh*, the siege of Jālōr lasted for a long time, and it is possible that, while the siege continued, a detachment of the army proceeded to Sāñchōr for pillaging the temple whose fame must have spread all over southern Mārwar. The date 1368 V.E.=1311 A.D. may thus be taken to be the year when the fort of Jālōr fell into the hands of Alā-ud-Dīn.

Mūtā Nēsi says that, when Jālōr was on the point of being taken, Kānhaḍadēva managed to send off his brother Mālādēva from the fort in order that the Sōnigara family might not be completely destroyed. Mālādēva continued to live a migratory life for some time, but soon succeeded in winning the favour of the Muḥammadan emperor, who was pleased to assign to him the fort of Chitor which remained in his possession for seven years. After describing the flight of the Guhilōt prince Ratnasimha from Delhi, the *Tasārīkh-i-Firishṭāh* says as follows: "At length, finding it of no use to retain Chittoor, the king ordered the Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it, and to make it over to the nephew (sister's son) of the Raja. The Hindu prince, in a short time, restored the principality to its former condition, and retained the tract of Chittoor as tributary to Alla-ood-Deen during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money, besides valuable presents, and always joined the imperial standard in the field with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot."¹ Abool Fazal, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, gives the same account, but mentions Mālādēva as the name of the Hindu prince. Mālādēva is mentioned by Tod also in connection with the fall of Chitorgaḍh, with regard to which he says that Alā-ud-Dīn "delivered the city in charge to Maldeo, the chief of Jhalor, whom he had conquered and enrolled amongst his vassals."² Mūtā Nēsi tells us that Mālādēva had three sons, viz. Jēsō, Kitapāla and Vapaṇvira. Of Jēsō we know absolutely nothing. As regards Kitapāla, he may perhaps be the same as the Chāhumāna Śrī-Kituka, whom together with Alā-ud-Dīn, Rāṇā Bhuvanasiṃha is represented to have conquered in the Rāppur inscription.³ Vapaṇvira, the third son of Mālādēva is no doubt the *Maharajadhiraja* Śrī-Vapaṇviradēva of the Kōṭ-Solankiyā inscription (No. XXIV), dated V.E. 1394 (A.D. 1338). Both Mālādēva and Vapaṇvira are referred to by Tod while speaking about the marriage of the widowed daughter of the former with Rāṇā Hammira. Tod has also described how, with the help of his wife and a scribe whom he had obtained as part of the dower, Hammira succeeded in making himself master of his ancestral fort, Chitor. He further says that "Bunbeer, the son of Maldeo, offered to serve Hamir, who assigned the districts of Neemutch, Jeeran, Rattanpur, and the Kairar, to maintain the family of his wife in becoming dignity. . . . Bunbeer shortly after carried Bhynsore by assault, and this ancient possession guarding the Chumbul was again added to Mewar." It is impossible to say how far this account, based solely on bardic chronicles, is true. It is indeed curious how Gōḍvād, which comprises Kōṭ-Solankiyā where Vapaṇvira's inscription was found, is not mentioned amongst the provinces assigned to him by Hammira. It is also

¹ Briggs' *Firishṭāh*, Vol. II. p. 303.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I. p. 243. I do not know what authority is forthcoming in support of Tod's statement that Maldeo (Mālādēva) was the Chief of Jhalore (Jālōr), though this is by no means impossible.

³ *Bharatnagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*, p. 114.



* In the bardic chronicles of Sirohi, Vijaya is also called Dēvarāja, from whom the name Dēvā was derived.
† These names have been taken from Mūtā Nēpa's chronicle.

inexplicable how the Kōt-Solankiyā inscription referred itself to the reign of Vapaviradēva alone, if the latter was subordinate to Hammira.

Mātā Nēnsī's chronicle informs us that Vapavira's son was Raṇavira or Raṇadhira. Of the latter an inscription (No. XXV), has been found at Nādlai in the temple of Jādvāji on a hillock close by. It specifies the date V.E. 1443 (A.D. 1387), and speaks of Raṇaviradēva, son of Vapaviradēva of the Chāhamāna lineage as then reigning. According to Mātā Nēnsī, Raṇavira had two sons, viz. Kēlana and Rājadhara. The latter is represented to have been killed in V.E. 1482 while fighting with Rava Raṇamalla. The same event appears to be alluded to in the following words of Tod about this prince, whom he calls Rinmul: "With the forces of Mewar added to his own, under pretence of conveying a daughter to the Viceroy of Ajmer, he introduced his adherents into that renowned fortress, the ancient capital of the Chōhāns, putting the garrison to the sword, and thus restored it to Mewar."¹

Here closes my account of the Sōnigarā dynasty. Sōnigarā is a *śākha* or division of the Chōhāns, and derives its name from Sōngar, i.e. Suvarṇagiri, by which the fort hill of Jālōr was known. We have seen above that Kirtipāla, son of Ālhaṇa, established himself at Jālōr. And consequently all the Sōnigarās trace their descent from Kirtipāla, who is known by the abbreviated form Kitū in their records. The descendants of Chōhān kings who preceded Kirtipāla are called Nāḍōliyās, very few of whom are now found in Mārwar. They are now settled, I am told, in the Pālanpur Agency at such places as Thirād and others. A third *śākha* of the Mārwar Chāhamānas was the Dēvdā, to which the present prince of Sirohi belongs. It sprang from Manavasimha, *alias* Mahapasimha, the eldest son of Samarasimha and the grandson of Kirtipāla. All the Chāhamāna inscriptions found on and round about Ābū belong to this dynasty. There is yet a fourth sub-division of the Mārwar Chōhāns, which is known as Sanchōrā. They were unquestionably connected with Sanchōr, in which district they are still found in large numbers. And it cannot be seriously doubted that Nos. XXVI. and XXVII. are records of this dynasty. They are dated in V.E. 1444 and belong to the reign of Chāhūṇa Pratāpasimha, also called Pātā. A history of five generations is here given, and we are even told that they belonged to the family of Lakshmapasimha, king of Nāḍula. But beyond saying that it was one of the branches sprang from Lakshmana, we are not informed how exactly they were connected with the Sōnigarā *śākha* and whence they branched off. Mātā Nēnsī, however, gives the following genealogy of the Sanchōrā Chōhāns: (1) Rāva Lakhaṇa, (2) Bali, (3) Sohi, (4) Mahānda Rāva, (5) Anahala, (6) Jinda Rāva, (7) Āsa Rāva, (8) Mānaka-Rāva, (9) Ālhaṇa, (10) Vijaisī, who captured Sāñchōr, (11) his son Padama-sī, (12) his son Sobhrama, (13) his son Sālō, (14) his son Vikāma-sī, and (15) his son Pātō. It will be seen from this account that it was Vijaisī, who first made himself master of Sāñchōr. And amongst the names that follow his may be recognised those given in Nos. XXVI. and XXVII. Thus Sobhrama, Sālō, Vikāma-sī and Pātō of Mātā Nēnsī's list are Sōbhita, Sālha, Vikramasimha, and Pratāpasimha. The order of succession also is correct except for the omission of the name of Saṅgrāmasimha, father of Pratāpasimha. Mātā Nēnsī's account again agrees with the inscription in deriving the descent of these princes from Lakshmana, but further gives the additional information that the founder of the Sanchōrā branch of the Chōhāns as such was Vijaisī, apparently son of Ālhaṇa. There appears to be a little confusion in the order of succession between Lakshmana and Vijaisī as given by Mātā Nēnsī, but there is no difficulty in recognising Ālhaṇa to be the name of that Chōhān prince, who was father of Kēlhaṇa and Kirtipāla. Just as his son Kirtipāla seized Jālōr, established himself there, and became the founder of a Chōhān branch called Sōnigarā, so another son, named Vijaya-sī, appears to have captured Sanchōr, where he reigned and originated the Sanchōrā line.

¹ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. II. p. 15.

No. 5. —PALITANA PLATES OF DHARASENA II.; [GUPTA-]SAMVAT 252.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, Ph.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates are one of seven sets of copper-plates which were discovered some 40 years ago in an underground chamber at Palitānā in Kāthiāvár, and which now belong to the State of Palitānā. Like the plates of Simhāditya (No. 2 above), they were first described by the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX. p. 130, No. V, and I edit the inscription on them from two sets of ink-impressions, prepared by Dr. Vogel's clerk and placed at my disposal by Rai Bahadur Venkayya, to whom Mr. W. C. Tudor Owen, I.C.S., Administrator of Palitānā, had kindly lent the original plates.

These are two copper-plates, measuring, according to Mr. Venkayya, 11½ inches in breadth and 7½ inches in height. Each plate bears 18 lines of writing on its inner side. There are two ring-holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second, but it is impossible to say whether the existing seal belongs to this or to one of the other five Maitraka grants discovered along with it.¹

The writing on the plates is well preserved, and the alphabet is of the usual Valabhi type. The letter *ē* occurs in *ēta* (l. 29) and *ēkalika* (l. 24). The sign of *jihvāmālīya* is employed once (l. 21). The date (l. 36) is expressed in numerical symbols.

The language is Sanskrit prose; two verses from the *Mahābhārata* are quoted near the end (l. 35 f.). The rules of *sandhi* are frequently disregarded, especially in the grant portion, and the whole inscription teems with orthographical mistakes of every description. The *anuseāra* is replaced by guttural *ś* in *śikha* (twice in l. 7), *ś* by *yi* in *yica* (l. 5), the vowel *ri* by *ru* in *pitru* (l. 23) and by *ri* in *kṛita* (ll. 3, 36), etc. The doubling of *chh* after short vowels or the preposition *a* is disregarded throughout (ll. 3, 29, 33, 34 (twice), 35), and *ttea* is replaced by *tea* in *latva* (l. 8) and *svatva* (for *sattva*, l. 12). The following Prākṛit forms deserve to be noted:—*panti* for *paṅkti* (l. 4), *Mahēlara* for *Mahēvara* (l. 16), *viśadhika* for *vīśatyadhika* (l. 26), *triśadhika* for *trīśatyadhika* (l. 27), *dvātrīśa* for *dvātrīśat* (l. 26), *varīśa* for *varaśa* (l. 35), *darīśayitā* for *darśayitā* (l. 20), *prāpiya* (l. 28) or *prāptya* (ll. 24, 26) for *prāpya*, and *sapariyyā* for *saparyyā* (l. 11).

The inscription records a grant of land by the Maitraka king Dharasēna II. of Valabhi and is dated on the very same *tithi* of the same year as four other grants of the same king.² The panegyrical introduction is practically identical with that of all other published grants of Dharasēna II. The only point worth mentioning is that the name of his grandfather is spelt Dharapaḍa (l. 11), while his remaining grants read either Dharapaṭṭa or Dharapaḍḍa.³

The grant portion runs as follows:—

(Line 1.) From Valabhi,—

(L. 21.) the fervent worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the glorious Mahārāja Dharasēna (II.), being in good health, commands all (*officials*), (*viz.*) *āyuktakas*, *vinīyuktakas*, *drāṅgikas*, *mahattaras*, irregular and regular soldiers, *dhruvādhikaranīkas*, *dāṇḍapāśīkas*, *chōrōd-dharapīkas*, *rājasthānīyas*, *kumārāmātyas*, etc. and others according as they are concerned:—

(L. 23.) “Be it known to you that, in order to increase the spiritual merit of (My) mother and father, and in order to attain rewards in this (*world*) and in the next, I have granted:—

(L. 24.) “180 *pādāvarīyas*,⁴ (*held by*) Chari (?), on the north-eastern boundary of the village

¹ See Mr. Jackson's remarks, *loc. cit.*, bottom of page.

² Nos. 469-472 of Prof. Kielhorn's *List of Northern Inscriptions*.

³ *Gupta Inscri.* plate xxiv. l. 10; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 72, plate, l. 11.

⁴ On this term see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VIII. p. 306, note 21, and above, Vol. III. p. 323, note 3.

Nātyōṭaka belonging to¹ the [Baṇvā]vānaka district (*sthali*),² and in the west of the field of Dāraka in the village Śkalika, and in the north of the field of Āditya; 120 *pādāvarṭas*, and the Nimba pond (*vāpi*) containing³ 32 *pādāvarṭas*, in the east of the road on the north-western boundary (of Nātyōṭaka); 130 *pādāvarṭas*, held by⁴ Gōkṣa, on both banks of the (river) Vatsa-vahaka⁵ and within the upper part of the Khaṇḍabhēdaka tank (*taṭaka*) on the south-western boundary of De[va]rakshitapāṭaka belonging to the Nimbakūpa district (*sthali*); 100 *pādāvarṭas*, held by Dhārmika, on the northern boundary of the village Chitrakasthalya belonging to the Kadambapadra district (*sthali*); and the Avatara pond (*vāpi*), held by Kōdhaka, on the eastern boundary of the ground⁶ of Kadambapadra;—

(L. 29.) "this (*land*), with the *udraṅga*, with the *sparikara*, with the *vāta-bhūta-dhānya-hiranyadēya*, with (*the right to*) eventual forced labour, not to be meddled with by any royal officers, according to the maxim of *bhāmichchakra*, to the two Brāhmaṇas Rōgha and Śyāna of the Vajrasaneyā-Mādhyandina (*school*) and of the Kausika *gōtra*, for the performance of the rites of the five great sacrifices, (*viz.*) *bali*, *chara*, *vaidvāda*, *agnihōtra*, and *atithi*, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, the rivers, and the earth shall exist, to be enjoyed by (*his*) sons, grandsons, and (*further*) descendants, with libations of water, as a *brahmadēya*."

Then there follow the usual admonitions, and two verses of Vyāsa. The last line runs:—

"(*This is*) the signature of Myself, the *Maharāja Śrī-Dharasēna*. (*This edict was*) written by the *sandhicigrahadhikṛita* Skandabhāṭa. The *dā[taka]* (*was*) Chirbira. The year 252, the 15th (*tithi*) of the dark (fortnight) of Vaiśākha."

The date has to be referred to the Gupta-Valabhī era of A.D. 319, and the specified month places the record in A.D. 571. The *dātaka*, Chirbira, is mentioned in five other grants of Dharasēna II.⁷ The writer, Skandabhāṭa, served both Dharasēna II.⁸ and his father and predecessor Guhasēna.⁹ I am unable to identify the geographical names mentioned in the grant.

TEXT.¹⁰

First Plate.

- 1 [चौ]¹¹ स्वस्त¹² [॥*] वलभीत[:*] प्रसभप्रणतामिवाणां¹³ मैत्रकाणांमनुलवलस-
पन्नमण्डल[॥]भोगमं(स)सक्तसंप्रह[॥*]रघतलव्यप्रता-
2 प[:*] [प्र]तापोपनतदानम[॥*]नाज्जवोपार्जिता[नु*]रागोनुरक्तमौलभृतमिचयीणो-
बलावास(॥)राज्ययी[:*]¹⁴ परममाहेयः

¹ The gerundive *prāpya* (spelt *prāpiya* or *prāpiya* in this grant) is synonymous with *antaryoga*; it occurs again in ll. 26 and 28. Compare above, Vol. III. p. 323, note 3.

² The same term is found in other Valabhī grants. See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 212, text line 23; Vol. VI. p. 12, text l. 5; Vol. XIV. p. 330, text l. 23; Vol. XV. p. 187 f.; *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 37, text l. 6.

³ For *parisara*, 'extent or area of a pond,' see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 166, text l. 25; above, Vol. IV. p. 80, text l. 55; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IX. p. 299, text l. 6; *Pennsylvania Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 299, text l. 20 f.

⁴ For *pratyaya*, 'holding,' see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 170, note 5; above, Vol. IV. p. 80, text ll. 55 and 61; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 205, text l. 16, and Vol. XIV. p. 330, text ll. 23-25; *Pennsylvania Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 299, text ll. 17 and 19.

⁵ Compare *Piśchhakūpikā-vaha*, above, Vol. IV. p. 80, text ll. 55 and 59.

⁶ For *vatana* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 15, text l. 11; Vol. IX. p. 239, text l. 4; Vol. XIV. p. 330, text l. 25; Vol. XV. p. 187, note 9.

⁷ *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 70; Vol. VIII. p. 303; Vol. XV. p. 188; *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 37.

⁸ *Gupta Inscr.* p. 167; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 12; Vol. VII. pp. 70 and 73; Vol. VIII. p. 303; Vol. XV. p. 188; *Bhāvnagar Inscr.* p. 37.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 175, and Vol. V. p. 207.

¹⁰ From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Venkayya.

¹¹ Read स्वस्ति.

¹² Read मैत्रकाणां.

¹³ Expressed by a symbol.

¹⁴ Read राज्याय.

- 3 श्रीसेनापेतिभटाईस्तस्व¹ सुतस्तत्पादरजोदण्डावनतपविचित्रितगिरा[:*]² गिरावनत-
ग्रवचूडामणिप्रभाविह्व³
- 4 रितपदन्वपन्तिदिधितिदीनानाथक्रिपणजनोपजीव्यमानविभव[:*]⁴ पर[म*]माहेश्वरः
श्रीसेनापतिधरसेनस्तस्यानु-
- 5 जस्त[त्*]पादाभिप्रणामप्रस्तुतस्ततरविमलमौलिमणिर्धर्म(1)न्वादिप्रणीतविविविधानध-
र्मा⁵ धर्मराज यिव⁶ वि[हि]तविन-
- 6 यव्यवस्थापदतरखिलमुवनमच्छलाभगैकस्वामिना⁷ परमस्वामिना स्वयमुपहितराज्या-
भिषकमहा⁸ विश्राणनाव-
- 7 पूतराजश्री[:*]⁹ परममाहेश्वर¹⁰ महाराजश्रीद्रोणसिंह[:*]¹¹ सिंह¹² इव तस्यानुज[:*]
स्वमुजवलपराक्रमेण परगजव-
- 8 टानीकानामकविजयि¹³ शरणेपिणा¹⁴ शरणमवबोवा शास्त्रार्थतत्वाना¹⁵ कल्प-
तररिव¹⁶ सुहृ[त्*]प्रणयिना¹⁷ यथाभि-
- 9 लपितकामफलपभोगद[:*]¹⁸ परमभागवत[:*]¹⁹ श्रीमहाराजधुवसेनस्तस्यानुजस्त-
स्वरणार[वि]न्दप्रणतिप्रविधता-²⁰
- 10 शेषकस्मयः सुविशुद्धस्वरितोदकचालित(1)सकलकलिकलंकः प्रसमनिर्विजिताराति-
पक्षप्रयितमहिमां²¹ पर-
- 11 मादित्वभक्त[:*]²² श्रीमहाराजधरपडस्तस्व[1*]मजस्तत्पाद(1)सपरिव्यापासपुष्पोद-
य[:*]²³ शैशवा[त्*]²⁴ प्रभृत्²⁵ खड्गद्वितिय-²⁶
- 12 बाहुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितस्वत्वनिकयः²⁷ तत्रभाव(1)प्रणताराति-
चूड[1]रत्नप्रभासंस-
- 13 कसव्यपादनधरस्मिसंहति[:*]²⁸ सकलश्रुतिप्रणितमार्गसम्यत्परिपालनप्रजाहृदय-
र[स्त्र]नादन्वर्त्यराजशब्दो²⁹ [रु]-
- 14 पकान्तिस्थिर्यगाभिर्य(1)बुद्धिसम्पद्भि[:*]³⁰ स्वरशय[1*]ह[1*]द्विराजोदधिचिदयगुरु-
धनेशान(1)तिशयान[:*]³¹ शरणगताभय-
- 15 प्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्त[1*]शेषस्वकार्यफल[:*]³² प्र[1*]त्यन[1*]धिकात्थप्रदा-
नानन्दितविह्वलुह[त्*]प्रणयिहृद-

¹ Read "सेनापति".² Read "पविचित्रित".³ Read "गिरी" and "विष्णु".⁴ Read "पादन्वपन्तिदिधितिदीनानाथक्रिपण".⁵ Read "प्रणततर".⁵ Read "इव".⁶ Read "पहति" and "नाभोगैव".⁸ Read "मिषेक".⁷ Read "चरो".¹⁰ Read "सिंह; सिंह".¹¹ Read "नामैकविजयी".¹³ Read "शरणे".¹⁴ Read "तत्वाना".¹⁶ Read "तत्तरिव".¹⁵ Read "ना".¹⁷ Read "विषीता".¹⁹ Read "ना".¹⁸ Read "सपय्या".¹⁹ Read "प्रणति".²⁰ Read "द्वितीय".²¹ Read "सर्व".²² Read "स्वतिप्रणीत" and "सम्यक्परि".²³ Read "शैशवाभिर्य".²⁴ Read "शशाङ्गादि".²⁵ The द of हृदयहृत् was corrected by the engraver from ह.

- 16 वः[*] पादवारिष¹ सकलभूवनमच्छलाभोगप्रमोदः[*]² परममाहेश्वरः[*]³
श्रीमह[र*]राजगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तथा-
17 दन[स्व]मयूखसन्त[र]ननिव्रितवाङ्मविजलोघविच्छालिताशेषकल्पः⁴ प्रणविशतसहस्रो-
पजी-
18 व्यः[ः]भोगसम्प[द*][रु]पलोभा[दि]वाञ्छीतः[*]⁵ सरसम[र*]भिगामिकैगुणे⁶ सहज-
शक्तिमीचाविशेषविमापिताच्छिलधनु[हंर*]⁷

Second Plate.

- 19 प्रथम[न]रपतिस[मतिस्व]ष्ट[र]नामनुपालयता⁸ धर्मदायाना[म*]पकर्ता प्रजीपच[र*]-
तकारिणां(न)सु[प]-⁹
20 भवानं[र] दरिद्रविता¹⁰ श्रीमरस्त्वोरेकाधिवासस्य संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मिपरिचोभ-
दचविक्रमः[*]¹¹ क्रमो[प]-
21 संप्र[र]तविमलपात्तिर्वन्त्री[*] परममाहेश्वरः[*] श्रीमहाराजधरसेन(॥)कुमारी
सर्वानेवायुक्तकविनियुक्तकदांगिक-
22 महत्तरचाटभटभुवाधिकरणिकदाण्डपायकचोरोद्वरणिकराजस्थानीयकुमारामात्यादी-
(नां)नन्यांच¹² य[द्या]-
23 सबद्धमानका[न*]¹³ समान्नापयत्यस्तु वः[*] संविदित¹⁴ यथा मया म[र*]-
तापिबुपुण्याप्यायना[या*]त्मनश्चैहिक[र]मुष्मिकफ-¹⁵
24 ल[र*]वाप्तये ॥ [वं]वानकस्त्वलिप्र[र*]पीये¹⁶ नाव्योटकग्रामे पुर्वोत्तरसीचि¹⁷ तथा
एकसिकग्रामे च [द]रकसत्कचेचाद-
25 परतः[*] [च]रिपादावर्त्तयतं शशीत्वधिक¹⁸ तथा चादित्वचेचाचोतरतः[*]¹⁹ ॥
तथा(द)परोत्तरसीचि²⁰ पथा²¹ पूर्वतः[*] पादावर्त्तयतं²²
26 विश्वधिक²³ हाविशपादावर्त्तपरिसरा²⁴ निम्बवापो [र*] तथा निम्बकुपस्त्वलिप्र[र*]-
पीये²⁵ द्वे[व*]रचितपाटके श्वरदक्षणीसीचि²⁶
27 वत्सवहकस्योभयतटेपु²⁷ खण्डभेदकतटाकाधोदरे च पादावर्त्तयतं विश्वधिक²⁸ गोच-
प्रत्ययं [र*] तथा कदम्बप-

¹ Read "वारिष".² Read "संताननिर्गच्छजगदीशकौष".³ Read "विष्वा" and "विष्वापिता".⁴ Read "दरिद्रविता".⁵ Read "संबद्धमान".⁶ Read "दक्षणीप्राये".⁷ Read "सेवासीतरतः".⁸ Read "प्रतः".⁹ Read "पुष्पलक्ष्मीप्राये".¹⁰ Read "विश्वधिक".⁸ Read "भुवन".⁹ Read "वाञ्छितः".¹⁰ Read "नामनुपालयिता".¹¹ Read "लक्ष्मीपरिचोभ".¹² Read "तः".¹³ Read "पुर्वोत्तरसीचि".¹⁴ Read "परात्".¹⁵ Read "विश्वधिक".¹⁶ Read "वपस्त्वलि".³ Read "हेश्वरः".⁶ Read "कैगुणे".⁹ Read "कारिणासुप".¹² Read "पाञ्चिक".¹⁴ Read "पितृ".¹⁸ Read "प्रतमश्रीत्वधिक".²⁰ Read "पथा".²⁴ Read "वाञ्छितपादा".²⁷ Read "तटसी".

- 28 द्रुस्त्रलिप्रापिये¹ चिचकस्त्रव्ययामे उत्तरसीन्नि पादावर्तयतं धार्मिकप्रत्ययं
[1*] तथा कदम्बपदस्त्रतले पूर्वसीन्नि कोषकप्रत्यया [अवतर]-
- 29 वापो [1*] एत[त्*] सोद्वं सोपरिकर² सव[1*]तभूतधान्यहि[र*]ष्टादेयं
सोत्पद्यम[1*]नवेष्टिकं समस्तराजकिय[1*]न[1*]महस्त्रप्रत्तेपणियं³ भूमि-
हिद्रन्यावे[न]*⁴
- 30 (न) वाजसनेयमाध्यन्दिनकौशिकसमोचत्र[1*]क्षणरोचयेनाभ्यां वलिचस्त्रवेचदेवा-
स्त्रिहोवातिथिपञ्चमहायात्रिकानं[1*]
- 31 क्रियाणां समुत्कर्षणार्थमाचन्द्राकीर्ण[व]सिरचितिस्थितिसमकालिनं⁵ पुत्रपौत्रा-
न्यभोग्यं उद[द*]कातिस[मं]ण ब्र-
- 32 ह्यदेयं निस्त्रिष्ट⁶ [1*] यतोस्त्रोचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्त्रित्या भूजत[:*]
क्रियत[:*] कर्षिपयत[:*]' पदिश(य)तो वा न कैचि[त्*] प्रति-
षेधे वर्त्तत[व्य]-
- 33 मागामिभद्रदिपतिभिद्यास्त्रदशजैरनित्यानैय्यार्थान्यस्त्रिर⁷ म[1*]नुष्यं सामा-
न्यञ्च भुमिदानफलमवगच्छिरयमस्त्रदायोनुमन्तव्य[:*]*⁸
- 34 परिपालयतव्यञ्च¹⁰ [1*] यच्चैनमाहिन्द्य[1*]दाहिन्द्यम[1*]नं(1)¹¹ वानुमोदेत
स पञ्चभिर्महापातकै[:*]¹² सोपपातकै[:*] सयुक्त[:*]¹³ स्यादित्युक्त¹⁴
च भगवता वेदव्या-¹⁵
- 35 सेन व्य[1*]से[न ॥*] षट्त्रिवरिपसहस्राणि¹⁶ स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भुमिद[:*]¹⁷ 1*]
आहेत¹⁸ चानुमन्त[1*] च तान्येव नरेके¹⁹ वसे[त्*] । [१*] बहु-
भिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभि[:*] सगरादिभि[:*] 1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भु-
36 मि[त]स्य²⁰ तस्य तदा [फ]लमिति ॥ [२*] स्वहस्ती मम महाराज-
[यो]धरसेनस्य ॥ लिखितं सन्निविद्यहाधिक्रितस्कन्दभटेन²¹ ॥ दू²²
विचित्रैर[:*] ॥ स २०० ५० २ वैश[१*]ख व १० ५ [॥*]

¹ Read °ललीप्राप्ये.² Read भूमिहिन्द्र°.³ Read भूजतः कषतः कर्षयतः.⁴ Read भूमि°, नष्ट°, and °आहावी°.⁵ Read °भिर्महा°.⁶ Read वेद°.⁷ Read आह्वेता.⁸ Read °विहृत°.⁹ Read °कर°.¹⁰ Read °सरित्प्रति° and °कालीन°.¹¹ Read °पतिभिद्यास्त्रदशजैरनित्यानैय्यार्थान्यस्त्रिर°.¹² Read °पालयित°.¹³ Read संयुक्त°.¹⁴ Read °नष्ट°.¹⁵ Read नरेके°.¹⁶ Read °राजकौया° and °प्रत्तेपणीय°.¹⁷ Read निमृष्ट°.¹⁸ Read °माहिन्द्यादाहिन्द्य°.¹⁹ Read °नृ°.²⁰ Read भूमि°.²¹ Read भूमिस्तस्य.²² This is an abbreviation of दूतकः. Compare *Gupta Inscrip.* p. 167, note 8; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 70, text line 18, and Vol. VIII, p. 303, note 12; *Bharavager Inscrip.* p. 37, text 1. 18.

POSTSCRIPT.

I avail myself of this opportunity for correcting certain mistakes which I have committed in two former articles on Valabhi grants.

1. In Vol. III. p. 323, l. 11, read: "Hariyānaka, which belongs to Akshasaraka, (a sub-division) of the Hastavaprāharāṇi." On *prāpiya* (for *prāpya*) see now above, p. 81, note 1.

2. When reading with me the Nōgawā plates (Vol. VIII. No. 20), Mr. T. K. Laddu justly observed that *uchyamāna* cannot mean 'said,' but means 'being said, about to be mentioned.' Consequently, the expressions *uchyamāna-bhuktau* and *uchyamāna-vishayē* (Vol. VIII. p. 189) are intended for *Navagrāmaka-bhuktau* and *Chandraputraka-vishayē*. Likewise, on p. 193, text lines 38 f. and 40, *uchyamāna-chāturveidyā-sāmānya* stands for *Navagrāmaka-chāturveidyā-sāmānya*; and on p. 198, text line 43, the same term represents *Chandraputraka-chāturveidyā-sāmānya*. In the Index to Vol. VIII the two districts *Navagrāmaka-bhukti* and *Chandraputraka-vishaya* have to be entered accordingly.

No. 6.—JANKHAT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VIRASENA.

By F. E. PARCITER, M.A., I.C.S. (RETD.)

This inscription was found by Mr. R. Burn in the village of Jānkhat in the Tirwa tahsil of the Farukhabad District, United Provinces, and he gave a brief notice of it in the *Jour. E. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 553. It is engraved on the back of a carved stone, which was among the collection of carved stones called the *Gaṇḍa dēvi* or "village gods." Mr. Marshall sent Dr. Fleet an ink-impression and an estampage of it, together with a photograph of the collection of village gods, which shows the stone amid a quantity of carved stones and fragments of all kinds; and at Dr. Fleet's request I have edited the record.¹ The front of the stone appears to present in bold relief the head and open mouth of some animal.

Above the inscription are three emblems occupying a triangular space 2½" high and 8" wide. The middle and highest emblem represents a tree, and on each side is that of a "chaitya."—The inscription occupies a space 7½" high and 4½" wide, and is arranged in seven lines: there seem to be some traces of an eighth line, but the tops of the letters do not always maintain a level. The letters are in good preservation except at the beginning of the lines. The first letter is partially obliterated in each of the first four lines. The last three lines have suffered most, for the first letter in each has disappeared, the final letter is blurred, and most unfortunately the middle letters have gone entirely. From the appearance of this middle portion of the lower half of the inscription Mr. Burn inferred that it had been used to sharpen chisels on. This defacement extends also into the fourth line where one or two letters have been obliterated. The only lines therefore that are fairly complete are the first three.—The characters are Brāhmī, well made and clearly cut, most of which are about ¼" high. I will consider their form when discussing the age of the inscription: here I need only say that they include the numeral symbols for 3, 4 and 10, and that the short superscript *i* is made to do duty for the long vowel.—The language may be either mixed dialect or Prākṛit; perhaps rather the latter. We have the genitive singular in *sa* twice, and the genitive plural in *nam*. The genitive plural *gishamānam* is peculiar; we should expect the genitive singular. The same genitive plural, however, is found in the form *gimhāna* in inscriptions at Nasik, above, Vol. VIII, p. 60, line 1, and p. 73, line 12; and we have also *hēma(m)āna*, p. 94, line 1, where, again, we should expect the genitive singular. These genitives were perhaps devised on the analogy of the quite correct *śaśna* = *varshāṇām*, *ibid.*, p. 73, line 12.

¹ I have to thank him for various corrections and emendations.

The inscription has suffered so much damage that we can form no opinion as to what its purport was after the opening part of it. Its interest lies in the point that it is a lithic record of a king, the Svāmin Virasēna, who may be identified with practical certainty with a king Virasēna of whom we have coins. Professor Rapson has described and figured one of the coins in the *Jour. R. As. Soc.*, 1900, p. 115, and notes there certain symbols on it which have some general resemblance (but nothing specific except the tree) with the symbols on this stone. And Mr. V. Smith has described fourteen of them, and figured two, in his *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 197, and conjectures there (p. 191 f.) from the provenance of them that Virasēna was a king in the Gangetic Doab about A.D. 300.

The record is dated in the thirteenth regnal year of Virasēna,¹ and on the eighth day in the fourth fortnight of the hot season. As no year of an era is given and the date of Virasēna is not known, we can only fix on palaeographic grounds the period to which the record may be referred; and the following remarks are offered towards elucidating this point. The letters that occur clearly are *k, g, t, n, p, m, y, r, v, śh* and *s*, and they may be compared with the Brāhmi forms in Tables II and III in Bühler's *Indische Palaeographie*. The facts to be ascertained must be, not what are the earliest records with which letters found in this inscription tally, for particular forms, such for instance as those of *k* and *n*, persisted with little or no modification for several centuries, but rather what was the period when any later or new forms found in this inscription came into use.² The forms of certain of these letters, namely, *m, y, v*, and *śh* do not occur in Table II and are first found in Table III; hence these letters deserve most notice and attention may be confined to Table III. The form of *m* resembles most those in columns VI and VIII of that table; that of *y* those in columns I, II, IX and XIII; that of *v* those in columns I and VIII; and that of *śh* the form in column XIV. The forms of *y* and *v* are therefore found in inscriptions varying in date from the 1st century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D.; that of *m* in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.; and that of *śh* not until the second century A.D. The most significant therefore of these letters is *śh*, and its form shows that the inscription cannot be earlier than the 2nd century A.D. There are two other features which point to a somewhat later period. First, the mark for the long vowel *a*, in the letters portrayed in Table III, is formed by a short horizontal bar drawn to the right from the head of a consonant, but here the bar always shows a slight curve upwards—a tendency that became more pronounced in one form of this vowel in the later Gupta alphabet. Secondly, the heads of the letters in this inscription are slightly, yet quite distinctly, wedge-shaped, and this feature also became well developed in the Gupta alphabet. It would therefore appear that this record should be assigned to a time later than the second century, that is, to the 3rd century A.D., and very possibly to the latter part of it; and this agrees with Mr. V. Smith's conjecture regarding Virasēna's age, mentioned above.

TEXT.

- 1 Svamiss³ Virasēnass
- 2 samvatsarē 10 3 gishmā-
- 3 nam pākshē⁴ 4 divasē⁵ 8

¹ Mr. Burn read the year rightly, as 13, in his account mentioned above. Mr. V. Smith read it as 113; but the character before that for 10 is clearly *rē*, the last syllable of *samvatsarē*.

² [This principle, however, must be applied with caution: any particular record may easily give the first available instances of types found in it, and so may carry them back to earlier times than had been previously established for them.—J. F. F.]

³ Read *svamīssas*. There is a dot above the *ss*, which looks like an *śś*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.

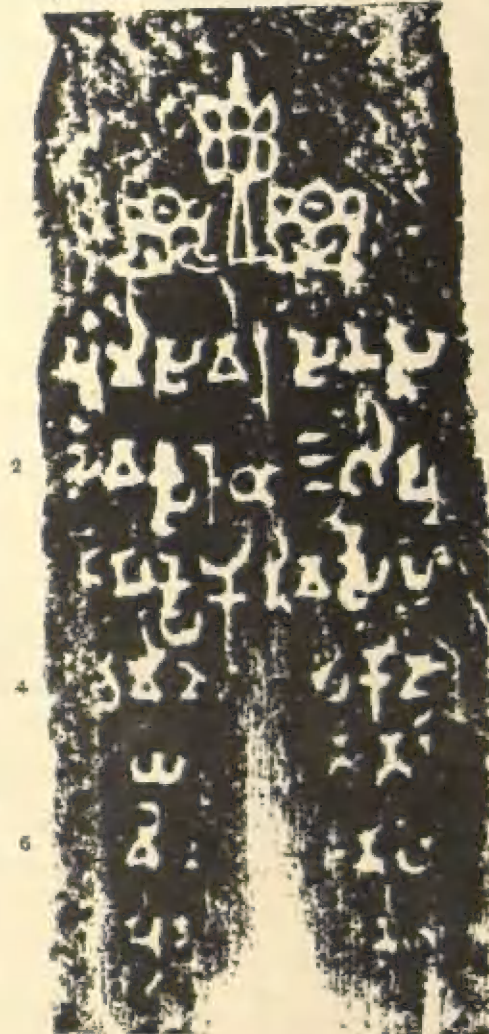
⁴ Read *pākshē*.

⁵ There is a dot above the *śē*, which looks like an *śś*, but may be only a flaw in the stone.



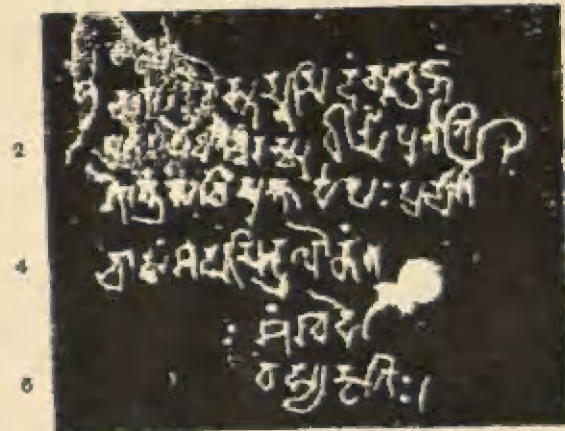
Jankhat Brahmi inscription and Kosam pillar inscriptions.

Jankhat inscription of Virasena.



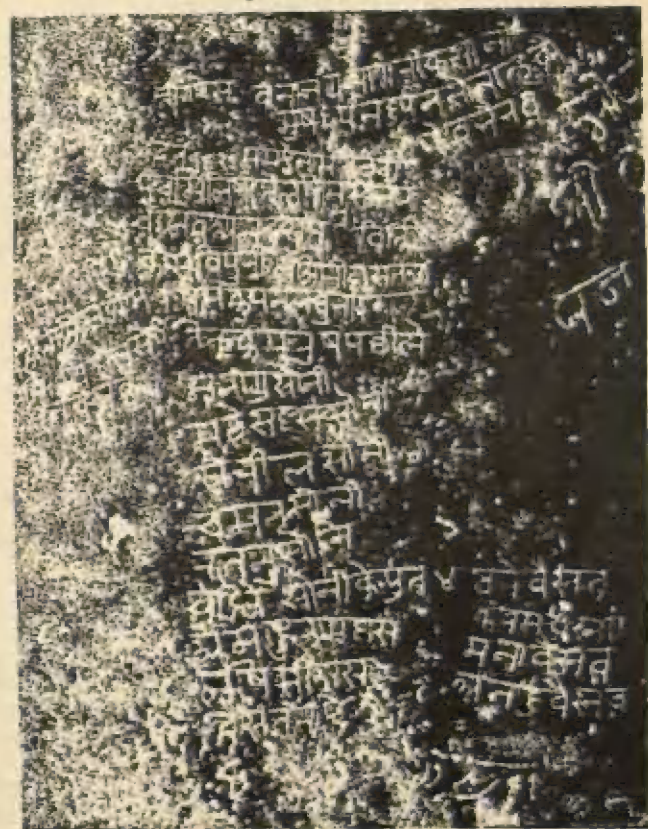
SCALE ONE-HALF.

Kosam pillar inscription.—A.



SCALE ONE-EIGHTH.

Kosam pillar inscription.—B.



SCALE ONE-SIXTH.

4	.. ¹	mi mā	..	..	[y]ikā [vā]-
5	..	ya	..	..	tata ..
6	..	vi	..	..	n[ā]ya
7	..	epn[sa]	..	..	ni[ma]

TRANSLATION.

In the year 10 (and) 3 of Svāmin Vīrasēna, in the fortnight 4 of the hot season,² on the day 8

No. 7.—TWO RECORDS ON THE PILLAR AT KOSAM.

By F. E. PARGITER, M.A., L.C.S. (RETD.)

The two following inscriptions were noticed by General Sir A. Cunningham in his description of the pillar at Kosam in his *Archæological Survey of India*, Vol. I, p. 310. Ink-impressions of them were sent me by Dr. Fleet which he received from Dr. Konow, and at his request I have written this paper on them.

A.—A verse of the 7th or 8th century, A.D.

This is described by General Cunningham thus:—"The next inscription in point of time consists of six lines in characters of the 6th or 7th century. As this record is placed on the lower part of the shaft, from 3 to 4 feet beneath the present ground level, and as the lines are perpendicular to the sides of the shaft, I infer that at the time when it was inscribed, the pillar was still standing upright in its original position, and that the surrounding buildings were still in perfect order. This inference is fully borne out by Hwen Thsang's account, etc."

It is written in the Gupta character of the latter part of the 7th century. The letters are large and somewhat irregularly formed, varying from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches in height. The language is Sanskrit, and the composition is a verse in the *upēndrasajrā* metre written in four lines with the author's name added in the fifth and sixth lines. But the engraver has marred the appearance of the verse by the manner in which he has inscribed it. The first line contains the first *pāda* of the verse, but in consequence of his making the first 8 *akṣaras* of the second line somewhat small and close he got into it not only the second *pāda* but also the first 3 *akṣaras* of the third *pāda*. The third line then contains the remainder of the third *pāda* and the first 3 *akṣaras* of the fourth *pāda*; and the fourth line, receiving only the remaining 8 *akṣaras* of that *pāda*, looks not only incomplete but also erroneous in beginning with the word *cha*. Consequently also the metre appears faulty and the meaning is obscured. When properly adjusted the *pādas* read aright and the metre is correct. The end of the second line is ornamented with a peculiar scroll, in which the symbol for the vowel *i* in the final *ti* has been continued in a line which bends around beneath the letter *t*, ascends on its right and finishes in a right-handed curve further to the right. The incorrect structure of the lines suggests an explanation of this scroll. The portion of the scroll along the right side of the letter *t* is an upright line. The first half of the verse ends with *su-dhīryaś*, but the engraver, thinking that it ended with

¹ This *akṣara*, judging from what remains of it and from the space which it occupies, would seem to be a double consonant, of which *kā*, *cā* or *ṣ* is the second member. It may perhaps be *śas* or *śā*.

² The fourth fortnight of the hot season would be the last fortnight of it, if we should reckon six seasons in the year, and would be (for the time of our record) about the first half of June: with the year of three seasons this fortnight would be about the first half of April.

the second line, put the usual bar there, and the mistake was rectified by turning the bar into a meaningless scroll, continuing its lower portion backward beneath the *t* into the vowel *i* and its upper portion forward in the curve to the right. There was not sufficient room to insert the single bar after *su-dhīryaṁ*, but the double bar at the close of the verse occurs correctly at the end of the fourth line.

The letters are of the Gupta character and resemble most closely those of the Apshead inscription of about A.D. 675, portrayed by Bühler in his *Indische Palæographie*, Table IV, cols. XVIII and XIX (especially the former), with a tendency in some cases towards the shapes in the Multāli inscription of A.D. 708-9, and of the Dighwā-Dubauli inscription of A.D. 761-2, cols. XX and XXI in that Table, such as the *dh* (l. 2). At the same time some of the letters have the earlier forms found in the Kāhām inscription of A.D. 459, col. V in that Table, such as *t* and *bh* (l. 1), *e* (l. 3), *i* (ll. 4 and 5) and *k* (l. 6), though *k* also appears in its form in col. XVIII in the fourth line. The *ṣ* has a peculiar shape, an upright line with a horizontal bar attached to its left side, as in *puṇāṭi* (l. 2), and *Indra* (l. 4), thus approximating to its modern form. The inscription may therefore be assigned to the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century, A.D.

Cunningham inferred from Hsien Tsang's account of this spot that this pillar was standing erect at that traveller's visit there during the early part of the 7th century in Harsha's reign, and the manner in which he says this verse is engraved (quoted above) shows that the pillar was also erect when it was engraved, which appears to have been at the end of that century or the beginning of the 8th century. He says the pillar is a Buddhist structure, and the earliest inscription which it bears is an incomplete record which he ascribes to the 4th or 5th century.¹ Buddhism must have retained its possession of this spot during Harsha's reign, for Mr. V. Smith says "Harsha himself distributed his devotions among the three deities of the family, Śiva, the Sun and Buddha; . . . But, in his later years, the Buddhist doctrines held the chief place in his affections; and the eloquence of the Chinese Master of the Law induced him to prefer the advanced teaching of the Mahāyāna sect to the more primitive Hinayāna doctrine of the Saṃmitiya school with which he had been familiar previously."² The question arises whether this verse half a century or more later is a Buddhist or brāhmaṇical inscription. I am not sure whether the reference to Indra's world could be a Buddhist benediction. It seems more like a brāhmaṇic benediction, and this is supported by the facts that the verse is in Sanskrit and that the author's name is Śaṅkha-dēva, which might be a synonym for Viṣṇu. If then this verse be a brāhmaṇical inscription, may we infer that it marks the time when Brāhmaṇism ousted Buddhism from this spot?

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm³ Ya [ikṣat]ē stambham-idam sa-tuṅgam
- 2 [grah-ārucan] pāti⁴ naraḥ-su-dhīrman⁵ paṇāṭi
- 3 gōttram sa vimukta-pāpab⁶ prayāṭi
- 4 ch-āśaśayam-Indra-lokaṁ ||
- 5 Śaṅkha-dē-
- 6 vasya kṛitib |

¹ A. S. I. Vol. I. pp. 309-10.

² *Early History of India*, p. 291.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ These two words and the following are so much blurred that they are far from clear, but what remains of the letters viewed according to the requirements of the metre suggests the reading given.

⁵ Read *dhīryaṁ*.

⁶ The first of these two *p*'s differs considerably from the normal shape, but there can be no doubt that it is a *p* badly formed.

TRANSLATION.

The man, who fixes his look on this very tall pillar, preserves great fortitude when the planets are adverse:¹ delivered from sin, he purifies his kindred and proceeds without doubt to Indra's world.

The composition of Śaṅkha-dēva.

B.—An inscription of A.D. 1565.

This is described as two inscriptions by General Sir A. Cunningham in the following words²:—“This [that is, a brief record of Akbar's time] is followed by a short record of a *soni*, or goldsmith, in three lines, below which is a long inscription dated in Samvat 1621, or A.D. 1564, in the early part of Akbar's reign, detailing the genealogy of a whole family of goldsmiths. It is in this inscription that the name *Kōśambipura* occurs, the founder of the family, named Anand Rām Dās, having died at Kosam.” He thus pronounced the first three lines of this record to be one inscription and the remainder a separate inscription, but they appear to me to be one, for the following reasons. First, the style of the writing is exactly the same throughout. Secondly, the space between *Sri-Gaṇēśaḥ* in line 1 and *Saṁbat* 1621 in line 4 is merely the size of a single row of letters and is just about the interval that would ordinarily be left between the invocation to a deity and the body of the composition. The remainder of line 1 and lines 2 and 3 have been inserted by curving the writing upwards to the right so as to widen out the space to the right between lines 1 and 4: thus there is just room for the word *mukha* between *bānda* in line 1 and *samasi* in line 4, and as lines 1 and 2 curve away upwards, room is found to insert *dēv Bhairav* beneath *darpan sōmāha* and above the end of line 4. The whole inscription looks as if it had been written at first thus—*Sri-Gaṇēśaḥ* as the heading and then *Saṁbat 1621*, etc., to the end; and as if the words *bānda* to *dēv Bhairav* had been added afterwards, the writing being curved upwards so as to make room for these latter words in the manner described above. Thirdly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate inscription, there was no reason to curve the writing, whether it were written before or after lines 4-18; because, if written before, there would have been a clear space and the inscription would naturally have been written compactly in two or three straight lines conformably to its invocation; and if written afterwards, it would have been placed higher (for there is sufficient unused space above) and then written straight similarly. Fourthly, if lines 1-3 constituted a separate composition, it contains no personal name but merely refers vaguely to the “city goldsmiths”; whereas, if the whole is one inscription, the addition in lines 1-3 would be a natural after-thought as a preface to the subsequent names and in order to record a prayer to Bhairava on behalf of them collectively. No argument can be based on the fact that the prayer to Bhairava follows the invocation to Gaṇēśa, because the invocation and the prayer are in one and the same inscription according to either theory. Lastly, the inscription seems, when read as a whole, to give a better sense than when treated as two separate compositions—a point referred to more particularly at the end of this article.

The inscription is written in characters, well-made and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch high, which (that is, such of them as occur) have a close resemblance to ordinary Nāgarī. The chief puzzle occurs in the letter *śh*, which, if read as such, produces meaningless words. The key to explain this difficulty lies in the fact that in the modern vernacular of Upper India this letter, when non-initial and uncompounded, is very commonly pronounced *kḥ*; thus, *purush*, ‘a man’, appears as *purukḥ*, *rishī*, ‘a rishi’, as *rikḥī* and *rikḥ*, *tushār*, ‘mist, frost’, as *tukḥār*, and so on. This modification of the letter *śh* appears to have been so generally established, that the character

¹ This is a possible Sanskrit expression, though certainly peculiar. It is not, however, stranger than various compound words found in the Kāvya literature, and the author was limited in his choice of words by the metre.

² A. S. I. Vol. I. pp. 310-11.

for it is used here uniformly to express *kh*.¹ The proper character for *kh* seems to be that, which is used only once, namely, in the word *Lakṣmī* (=Lakshmi) in line 7, and which approximates to the form of *kh* in Bengali.² Everywhere else *kh* is expressed by the character for *śh*; and this is done whether *kh* represents an original *śh* as in the word *purakh* (l. 9), or whether it is a genuine *kh* as in the words *mukha* (l. 2) and *likṣitē* (l. 5), or whether it represents an original *ka* as in the words *Lakṣmanu* (l. 5), *khēna* (l. 8), and *Lakṣmī* (l. 17). When this peculiarity is observed, the inscription becomes intelligible.

The inscription is in the vernacular. No distinction is made between the sibilants *ś* and *s*, and both are written as *s*, thus, *Mahēśa* appears as *Mahēsa* (l. 11) and *Kauṣāmbī* as *Kausambi* (l. 7), and *Śrī-Gaṇēśaḥ* as *Srī-Gaṇēsaḥ* (l. 1). Similarly *śh* when compounded is written *s*, as in *Baiṣṇa* for *Baiṣṇava* (l. 6, and 15-18). Nor is any distinction made between cerebral and dental nasals (with one exception), thus, *darpaṇa* appears as *darpan* (l. 2), *kripaṇa* as *krapan* (l. 8) and *Baiṣṇava* as *Baiṣṇav*. The one exception occurs in the invocation *Srī-Gaṇēśaḥ*, and the scribe's knowledge was so faulty that, though he has written the *s* right, he has turned the *ś* twice into *s*. It seems possible further that he did not distinguish between the other cerebral and dental letters, for *Chamanda* (l. 13) looks as if obtained from *Chamunḍa*.

The character for *v* appears in its ordinary Nāgari form and also with a dot beneath it. The latter form occurs only at the end of words, as in *dēv Bhairav* (l. 3) and *Baiṣṇav* (ll. 6, and 15-18). In words ending in *va*, the *v* in the present vernaculars drops its inherent *a* and is commonly pronounced with a vowel sound like *u* or *o*, thus, *dēva* becomes *dēu* or *dēo*. The dotted form therefore appears to represent *v* (with that sound), and the undotted form no doubt represents *b*, as seems clear from its use in the name *Kauṣāmbī* (l. 7), the ancient form of which is always *Kauśāmbī* in Sanskrit writings, and also in the word *bāṇa* (l. 1), which is obviously a verb corresponding to the existing verb *bāṇa-nā* (Hindi) and *bāṇa-itē* (Bengali), 'to make, fabricate,' and in which the initial *b* is so well established that no form with an initial *v* ever appears, so far as I am aware. In a similar way final *ya* drops its inherent *a*, and the *y* is then often pronounced as *ē*, and this no doubt explains why the character for *ē* appears instead of *y* in *samaai* (l. 4).

As the language is the vernacular and the vernaculars have generally dropped the *a* inherent in the last consonant (if uncompounded) of a word, the presumption is that the words here must be read without the final *a*, and this is corroborated by the words *bāṇa* (l. 1) and *darśān* (l. 2) which, as discussed later, cannot have a final *a*. The nominative is the same in the plural as in the singular, as in *sōn* (l. 1) and *purukh* (l. 9); and the plural base for the oblique cases is formed by adding *nha* to the singular base, as in *sōninha* (l. 2) and somewhat similarly in the pronoun *tēnha* (l. 9). The accusative-dative is formed with the suffix *ka* (l. 2) and the genitive with *kē* (l. 9, 15). The *kē* appears to undergo no modification, for it is the same with the nominative plural *purukh* (l. 9) and the apparently nominative singular *pu* (l. 15). *Samaai* (l. 4; probably for *samayē*) appears to be the locative singular of *samay* or *samaē*. *Bāṇa* (l. 1) apparently = Hindi *bāṇāṅ*,³ the 3rd person plural of the aorist tense. This verbal base appears with *ā* in Bengali *bāṇ-itē*. The second *darpan* in line 2 should, it seems to me, be *darśān*, that is, *darśān*, because there must be a verb in this sentence and the second *darpan* is meaningless; and *darśān* is so much like *darpan*, that the engraver might easily have confused the two by oversight and so have written *darpan* twice. *Darśān* would = Hindi *darśāṅ*,³ the 3rd person plural of the imperative, used honorifically for the singular. This causal verbal base appears in Hindi *darśā-nā* and Bengali *darśā-itē*. *Likṣitē* (l. 5) seemingly = Hindi *likṣitē*, the plural of the tense *likṣitā*, which though called by some a conditional is very often used as a present tense. The pronoun *ya* (l. 1) = Hindi *yā*, and *pachāṣitē* (l. 9) = Hindi *pichāṣā*.

¹ [Compare Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on pp. 50, 52 and 60 above.—Ed.]

² It cannot be the character for *ka*, because Sanskrit *ka* is modified into *kh* uniformly in this inscription.

³ According to the method of transliteration generally adopted in Hindi grammars.

The words *sōnarī* (l. 5) and *sōnī* (l. 1, 10—15) deserve notice as they appear to be distinguished. Though the signatories are mentioned collectively as *sōnis* (l. 1), yet those who sign as *sōnī* are definitely stated to be the *purukh*, 'men,' that is workmen, of Lakshman *sōnarā* and of four other persons to whose names no description is added. *Sōnarā* therefore seems to be a higher term than *sōnī*, and if *sōnī* designates the workman, *sōnarā* must obviously mean the master or employer; so that, if the former is translated 'goldsmith,' the latter should be rendered 'master goldsmith.' *Sōniyā* in Hindi means 'one who separates gold from ashes, etc., in the mint,' but there appears to be no word in Hindi corresponding to *sōnarā*, unless it be *sōnār* or *sundār*, the ordinary term for a goldsmith.

As regards the personal names, the inscription shows that much the same custom obtained in the sixteenth century as prevails now in using names shortly, familiarly or colloquially. The vowel *u* was often substituted for a final *a*, thus we find *Lakṣimann* (l. 5), *Naligu* (l. 10), *Ratanu* (l. 14) and *Anadu* (l. 16, 18).¹ *Lakṣimann* would be the colloquial form of *Lakṣiman*, that is, *Lakṣmana*; and *Ratanu* of some name beginning with *Ratna*, such as *Ratnadatta* or *Ratnachandra*. *Anadu* may be short for *Annada*, and the full name might be *Annada-dās* or *Annada-prasād*. *Birtī* (l. 6) is probably short for some name beginning with *brīttī*, that is, *vrīttī*. *Laghu* (l. 8) may = *Raghu*, the letters *r* and *l* being frequently interchanged in the colloquial; and the full name might be *Raghu-nāth*. *Chamanda* (l. 13) seems to point to some name like *Chāmunda-dās*, and *Chāmdila* (l. 15) to *Chandrīśa* or *Chandīrīśa*. *Dhanē* (l. 15) is no doubt short for *Dhanēśa* or *Dhanēśvara*; and *Karam* (l. 16) may be abbreviated from *Karam Chānd* (= *Karma-chandra*). I cannot resolve *Hōril* (l. 12) or *Manā* (l. 17), nor *Naligu* or its variants (l. 10); but *Hōrila-siṃha* is given as a name in Monier-Williams' Dictionary.

As regards the date of this record, Dr. Fleet observes as follows:—"It is not capable of actual verification, because the inscription does not include the weekday or some other detail necessary to that end. But, with the year taken as the expired year and the month as the *pūrṇimānta* month,—in both respects in accordance with the practice which prevailed generally at that time in the locality to which the record belongs,—the equivalent of the given details, (Vikrama)-sāmvat 1621, Chaitra vadi 5, is 20 February A.D. 1565."

It appears from this examination that the purport of the inscription differs from Sir A. Cunningham's surmise. It shows that five leading goldsmiths with thirteen of their employes put up this address to Gaṇeśa and Śiva-Bhairava for favour to the goldsmiths of Kauśāmbī town. Only three of the leading goldsmiths belonged to that town, and two were strangers apparently. The fact that these two are named first suggests that they were men of more importance than the three residents, and perhaps they were gold-merchants rather than goldsmiths. One of these two was a Vaiṣṇava and so were four of the employes, yet they also joined in this invocation to Gaṇeśa and Śiva-Bhairava. Surely no ordinary occasion would have caused all these men, that is, the whole local guild of goldsmiths, to join in recording such an inscription on this pillar. At that time, early in 1565, several of Akbar's chief nobles and commanders had revolted against him, hostilities were still going on, and the whole country from Delhi to Allahābād must have been in a lawless condition. Kauśāmbī was presumably a town of no great size or strength then, and its goldsmiths as men of some wealth must have been in danger of extortion or pillage at the hands of the soldiery. In such circumstances was it not natural that they should invoke Gaṇeśa as the god of wisdom, and pray that Śiva-Bhairava, the terrible god of destruction, would display to them a face calm and bright as a mirror?

Lastly, it is particularly worthy of notice that this record mentions Kōsam as Kauśāmbī, that is, Kauśāmbī, at a period long before the time when archaeologists began to identify the place with the Kauśāmbī, Kōsambī, of the Sanskrit and Buddhist books.

¹ [This practice seems to have been prevalent in Rajputana already in the 12th century A.D.; see Mr. Bhandarkar's remarks on p. 38 above.—Ed.]

TEXT.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|---|-----------------|
| 1 | Sri-Gaṇḍasah | Bānān ya nāgarik sōni | |
| 2 | | mukha-darpan darpan ¹ sōniba kan | |
| 3 | | dēv Bhairav | |
| 4 | Sambat 1621 | samsai ² nām Chaitra-badi ³ | |
| 5 | pañchami ⁴ | likhite Lakhimann ⁵ sōnarā | |
| 6 | Baiṣṇav ⁶ | Ananda ⁷ -ant Birti | |
| 7 | Kausambi-puri | Lakhimi-dās tathā | |
| 8 | | Khēma-kripan ⁸ Laghu bhāi | |
| 9 | | tēnha kē purukh paṣṭhāt | |
| 10 | | Naligu ⁹ sōni | |
| 11 | | Mahēsa-das ¹⁰ sōni | |
| 12 | | Hōril sōni | |
| 13 | | Chamanda sōni | |
| 14 | | Ratanu sōni ¹¹ | |
| 15 | | Chandilē sōni kē put | 4 Dhanē Baiṣṇav |
| 16 | | Anadu Rām-dās | Karam Baiṣṇav |
| 17 | | Lakhimi-dās | Manā Baiṣṇav |
| 18 | | Basanta-Rām ¹² | Anadu Baiṣṇav |

TRANSLATION.

Śri Gaṇḍas! The town goldsmiths make this. May the god Bhairava show a mirror-like face to the goldsmiths!

Sambvat 1621, at the time by name¹³ the fifth day of the dark fortnight of (the month) Chaitra, write — Lakshman the master goldsmith, the Vaishṇava Birti son of Ānanda, Lakshmi-dās of the town of Kausambi,¹⁴ (and) of the same town the brothers Khēma-kripan (and) Laghu.¹⁵

Their men (write) afterwards — Naligu the goldsmith, Mahēsa-dās the goldsmith, Hōril the goldsmith, Chamanda the goldsmith, Ratanu the goldsmith, the son of the goldsmith Chandilē, Anadu Rām-dās, Lakshmi-dās, Basanta-Rām, (and) four (others), Dhanē Vaishṇava, Karam Vaishṇava, Manā Vaishṇava, Anadu Vaishṇava.

¹ Read probably *darśā* (for *darśā*); see remarks on the grammar.

² Read *samsai* probably.

³ That is, Sanskrit *vadi*.

⁴ Read *pañchami*.

⁵ Or perhaps *Lakhimna*.

⁶ Read *Baiṣṇav*.

⁷ Read *Ananda*.

⁸ That is, *kripan*.

⁹ Or *Naligu* or *Naligu* or *Naligu*.

¹⁰ Read *°dās*.

¹¹ Read *sōni*.

¹² The last letter looks something like *śāśā*, but the extra marks may be due to injury.

¹³ Dr. Fleet has drawn my attention to the constant occurrence of the expression "*Sambat — varāḥ*" in inscriptions, which is calculated to suggest that *samsai* is a synonym for *varāḥ* and should be applied to the preceding "*Sambat 1621*". Such a rendering however presents two difficulties to my mind; first, it would entail treating *sām* as a mere expletive, whereas the insertion of a mere expletive in this laconic inscription (for the preceding words, *bānān* to *bhāi*, were put in afterwards) would be strange; and secondly *samsai* is not ordinarily an equivalent of *varāḥ*, vernacular *śāśā*, (which might well have been used here), but would apply quite correctly to a day, the *pañchami*.

¹⁴ *Kausambi-puri* is an adjective formed from *Kausambi-pur*.

¹⁵ *Tathā* seems to refer to the adjective *Kausambi-puri*; otherwise there appears to be no reason for its insertion in l. 7. It applies obviously to both Khēmakripan and Laghu, and so the word *bhāi* is probably plural agreeing with both, though the meaning would be the same if we translate "*Khēmakripan (and) Laghu (his) brother*."

No. 8.—THREE COPPER-PLATE RECORDS OF SONPUR.

By B. C. MAZUMDAR, B.A., B.L., M.B.A.S., SAMBALPUR.

The three copper-plate charters which I now publish were all found in the Feudatory State of Sonpur, attached to the district of Sambalpur. It was in the year 1898 that I deciphered them, as well as another charter which was found at Satalma (called Satallamā in the inscription) in the same district. Mr. Slocock, the then Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur, who gave me the Satalma charter to get deciphered, took it back from me with the transliteration and translation of its text, and forwarded it to the Museum at Nagpur.¹

In the sequel I shall have to refer to the Satalma plates as well as the copper-plate charters of the Sōmavamāsi kings of Kaṭak which have been edited by Dr. Fleet.² For convenience of reference, the subjoined three inscriptions will be denoted by the letters A, B and C, respectively; the Satalma plates by S; and the records published by Dr. Fleet by F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, F 5 and F 6.

As regards orthography, there are two points to be noticed before I proceed to deal with the individual inscriptions. The vowel *ri* was pronounced as *ri* and not as *ru*, as it is now done, by the inhabitants of Sambalpur and Orissa; see, e.g. *pravṛita* for *pravrīta* (C, l. 15), *riśaya* for *riśayaś* (C, l. 25). A few singular cases have also been noticed in the Satalma³ grant and in the Kudopali plates.⁴ *Trikaṭiṅga* occurs for *Trikaṭiṅga* (A, l. 4; F 1, l. 3) and *Riśikāśa* for *Hṛiśikāśa* (F 1, l. 15). There was only one letter current to denote both *v* and *b*. Owing to the fact that *b* is the pronunciation for both of them in Bengal and Orissa, it cannot be said that *v* is used wrongly for *b*, or *vice versa*.

A.—Vakratantali charter of Mahābhavagupta I.

These are three plates (of four sides), of which the first and last are written on the inner sides only. They are narrower at the margins than in the middle. The height varies from 4½" to 4¾" and the breadth from 8½" to 9". The plates are strung together on a nearly circular ring, 3¼" in diameter and ½" thick, which is passed through circular holes cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about ¼" from the edge. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper which bulges out on either side along the ring for a space of 1½". In addition to this, a copper pin appears to have been driven through the lump of copper. In the upper portion of this lump is a deep impression, nearly circular, about 2" in diameter. Here is the figure of a goddess in relief, squatting apparently on a lotus, flanked on each side by an elephant with its trunk uplifted. The elephant on the left side is not quite distinct. Close to it is a much defaced legend. I have read it tentatively as *Śrī-Janmējyadēva* [*rājasya f*]. Considering that the legends on most of the seals of this family are illegible and have not been deciphered, this reading must be looked upon as a mere conjecture.

The plates belong to the time of the *Paramahatāṭhāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P. M. P. Śrī-Sivaguptadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamahēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of Trikaṭiṅga. The grant was issued from the camp of victory pitched at Suvarṇapura. In line 36, the date is given as the third year of the victorious reign of the *P. M. P. Śrī-Janamējyadēva*. This is the earliest known record of Mahābhavagupta I. as well as of the Sōmavamāsi kings of Kaṭak, as no inscriptions of his father

¹ These have been published by Prof. Hultsch; above, Vol. VIII, pp. 135-43.² Above, Vol. III, pp. 323-59.³ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 139.⁴ Above, Vol. IV, p. 256.

Mahāśivagupta I. have been so far discovered. It records the gift of the village of Vakratentali belonging to the **Lupattarā-Khaṇḍa** to the *bhaṭṭaputra Jātarūpa*, who was a resident of **Mēraṇḍā** and an immigrant from **Rāḥhapham¹vallikandara**. He belonged to the Kauṇḍinya-gōtra and the Chhandoga-charaṇa. His *pravaras* were Maitrāvaruṇa and Vāśiṣṭha.² Kṛi Ghōṣha, the writer of these plates, is identical with that of F 1, dated in the 6th year of **Mahābhavagupta I.**³ and the engraver, **Samgrāma**, son of **Rayana Ojjhā**, is the same as that of S, which belongs to the 8th year of the reign of the same king.⁴

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Suvarṇapura-samāvāsita[ḥ*] śrīmatō vijaya-skandhāvārāt para-
- 2 mahāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Śivaguptadēva-pād-ānudhyā-
- 3 ta-paramamāhēśvara-paramahāṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramēśvara-Sō-
- 4 ma-kula-tilaka-Tri(tri)kalīṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahābhavaguptarājadēvaḥ kuśali
- 5 Lupattarā-Khaṇḍiya Vakrat[ē]ntali-grāmā brāhmaṇān sampūjya tat-pra-
- 6 tinivāsi-kuṭumbīnāḥ-tad-[v]iśayīya-yathā-kālādhyāsināḥ samāhartṛ-sa-
- 7 nnidhārtṛi(dhārtṛi)-dāṇḍapāsika-piśuna-vētrik-āvarōdhajana-rājavallabhādīn-anyāthē-cha
- chā-
- 8 ṭa-bhaṭa-jātiyān samājñāpayati [I*] Vidita[m-a*]stu bhavatām yath-āsmābhīr-ayam
- grā-
- 9 mah sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sarvva-bādha-vivarjitaḥ sa-gartōsharāḥ s-āmra-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 madhukāḥ sa-jalasthalaḥ sarv-ōparikar-ādāna-sahitaḥ pratinishiddha-chāṭa-
- 11 bhāṭa-pravēśaḥ=[cha]tuh⁷-sīmā-paryantaḥ Kauṇḍinya-gōtrāya M[ai]trāvaruṇa-Vāsi-
- 12 śṭha-pravarāya Chchhandoga-charaṇāya Rāḥhaphamvallikandara-vinirgatāya
- Mēraṇḍā-vā-
- 13 stavīya bhaṭṭaputra-Jātarūpa-nāmnē bhaṭṭaputra-Śrīvaśchchha-su(sō)nave saliladhārā-
- 14 purāṣaram-ā-chandra-tārak-ārka-kāṣhī-samakāl-ōpabhōgārthān mātā-pitrō-
- 15 r-ātmanaḥ-cha puṇya-yaśō-bhividdhayaḥ viśumati-samkrāntīyām tāmra-śāsanē-
- 16 n-ākārikṛitya pratipādita ity-avagatya samuchita-bhōga-bhōgakara-hiraṇy-ā-
- 17 dikam-ūpanayadbhir-bhavadbhiḥ sukhēna prativastavyam-iti [I*] Bhāvibhiḥ-cha
- bhūpatibhir-dda-
- 18 ttir-iyam-asmaḍiyā dharmma-gauravād-asmad-atu(un)rōdhāch-cha svadattir-iv-ānupāla-
- niyā [||*]
- 19 Tathā ch-ōktam dharmma-sāstrē [I*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā dattā rājabhiḥ Sagar-
- ādibhiḥ [I*] yasya ya-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 20 sya yadē bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam [||*] Mā bhūd-aphala-śāṅkā vaḥ
- paradatt-ēti
- 21 pārthivāḥ [I*] sva-dānāt-phalam-ān[āntya]m para-datt-ānupālānē [||*] Śāśthim⁸
- varaha-sahasrāṇi

¹ The akshara ph is almost the same as yā in li. 18, 20 and 23.

² See above, Vol. IV, p. 256.

³ From the original plates.

⁴ Read śāśthim.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 344.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 143.

⁸ The akshara ts looks like tta.

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30 वृषां सविष्ठायं कृषिं कृत्वा पश्यान्ति तृप्तिं सद्यः आदितां ब्रह्मणा विष्णुर्ह
 32 द्या सात्मा इति शकः शूलं पालयितुं शकः आदितां ब्रह्मणा विष्णुर्ह
 34 वृषां सविष्ठायं कृषिं कृत्वा पश्यान्ति तृप्तिं सद्यः आदितां ब्रह्मणा विष्णुर्ह
 36 वृषां सविष्ठायं कृषिं कृत्वा पश्यान्ति तृप्तिं सद्यः आदितां ब्रह्मणा विष्णुर्ह
 38 वृषां सविष्ठायं कृषिं कृत्वा पश्यान्ति तृप्तिं सद्यः आदितां ब्रह्मणा विष्णुर्ह

- 22 svargē mōdati bhūmidah [I*] ākahēptā ch-ānumantā cha tāny-ēva narakē vasēt
[II*] Agnēr-apa-
- 23 tyam prathamam suvaranarā bhūr-Vvaishnavi Sa(Sū)rya-sutās=cha gāvah [I*] yah
kāśchanam gāh=cha mahiñ=cha
- 24 dadyād=dattās=trayas=tāna bhavanti lōkāh [II*] Āsphōṭayanti pitarah prava-
- 25 lgayanti pitāmahāh [I*] bhūmidatā kulē jātah sa nas=trātā bhavishyati [II*]
- 26 Bhūmim yah pratigrihā(hā)ti yas=cha bhūmim prayachchhati [I*] ubhan tau
pūnya-karmāṇau niya-
- 27 tam svarga-gāminam [II*] Taḍāgānām sahasrāpi vājapēya-satāni cha [I*] gavām
kōṭi-pradā-
- 28 nēna bhūmi-harttā na śuddhyati [II*] Haratē hārayatē yas=ta manda-buddhis=
tamōvritah [I*] sa baddho
- 29 Vārupāh pāsais=tiryag-yōnim cha gachchhati [II*] Sva-dattām para-dattām vā
yō harēd¹=vasu-

Third Plate.

- 30 ndharām [I*] sa viśthāyām kṛimīr-bhūtvā pachyate pīṭribhi[h*] saha [II*] Ādityo
Varuṇo Vishṇur-Bha(Bra)-
- 31 hmā Somp Hutāsanaḥ [I*] Śūlapānis=ta bhagavāh² ābhi(abhi)namdanti(nandanti)
bhūmidā[m II*] Sa(sā)mānyo=
- 32 yam dharmma-sētur=uripāṇām kāla(lē) kāla(lē) pālanīyo bhavadbhiḥ [I*]
sarvvān-ētān=bhāvino bhūpati-
- 33 ndrā[n*] bhūyo bhūyo yāchate Rāmachandrah [II*] Iti kamala-dalāmbu-hindu-
lōlam(ām) śriyam=a-
- 34 nachintya manushya-jivitañ=cha [I*] sakalam=idam=u[dā*]hritañ=cha badhvā na
hi pu-
- 35 rushaiḥ parakirttayō vilōpyāh [II*] Paramabbattāraka-mahārājādhirā-
- 36 ja-paramēśvara-Śrī-Janamējāyadēvasya vijayarājyē samvatsarē tṛtīyē Śrā-
- 37 vaṇa-māsa³-sitapaksha-pañchamyām yatṛ-āṅkatō Samvat 3 Śrāvaṇa śudi 5
[I*] likhi-
- 38 tam=idam śāsanam mahās[a]ndhivigraha-pratibaddha-kāyastha-Kōi-Ghōshēṇa Valla⁴-
Ghōsha-
- 39 sutēna Samāgrāmēna⁵ u[t*]kṛitam śāsa[na*]m=iti : Rayana⁶-Ojjhā-sutēna [II*]
Maṅga[lam*] mahā-śrīḥ ||

B.—Nibinnā charter of Mahāśivagupta.

These are three plates (of four sides) of which the first and last are engraved on the inner sides only. They measure about $8\frac{1}{2}$ " to $8\frac{3}{4}$ " in breadth and about $5\frac{1}{2}$ " in height. The engraving is so deep that the empty side of the first and third plates show traces of the working of the chisel. They are strung on a circular ring which is passed through round holes (about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in diameter) cut on the left margin of each plate about 1" from the edge. The ring is $4\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and about $\frac{3}{4}$ " thick. The ends of the ring are secured into the lower portion of a lump of copper, which bulges out on either side along the ring to a space of $1\frac{1}{2}$ ". The upper portion of the lump of copper is fashioned into a circular seal $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. On the seal is cut in relief a squatting figure. Nothing more than this is clear on the seal.

¹ Read *harita*.

² Is it by mistake that *bhagavāḥ* has been engraved for *bhagavāḥ*? May it be that the form *bhagavāḥ* current in Pāli and Prākṛit was then used in the vernacular too?

³ Read *-māsa*.

⁴ Read *Vallabha* (?)

⁵ Read *Saagrāmēna*.

⁶ In the Nagpur Museum plates he is called *Rayanā-Ojjhā*.

The plates are dated during the reign of the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramāśvara Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēva*, who meditated on the feet of the *P.M.P. Mahābhavaguptarājadēva*. The king is described as the most devout worshipper of Śiva (*paramamāhēśvara*), the forehead ornament of the lunar race and the lord of *Trikaliṅga*. The grant was issued from *Vinitapura*. In lines 45-46 the date is given as the 15th year of the victorious reign of the *P.M.P. Śrīmad-Yayātirājadēva*. F. 5, which belongs to the same reign, but is 6 years earlier, was also issued from *Vinitapura* on the bank of the river *Mahānadi*.¹

The plates record the gift of the village of *Nibinḍā* (l. 5) or *Nibinnā* (l. 17) in the *Kōśala* country to the *Dikṣita Puṇḍarikaśarman*, who was a resident of the village of *Maramēṇḍā* in the *Kōśala* country and an immigrant from *Bhaṭaparōli*. The donee was the son of *Nārāyaṇa-śarman* and grandson of *Uhlāsa-śarman*. He belonged to the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, had the *pravaras* *Āṅgīrasa*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Bhāradvāja*. The writer of the grant was the *Mahākṣhapatalaka Śrī-Uchchhava-Nāga*, son of *Allava-Nāga*, who was known to the *Mahāsandhivigrahika Rājaka Śrī-Chārudatta*, and the engraver was *Tṭhakura Paṇāka*.

TEXT.²

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ Svasti [||*] Śrī[ma]to Vini(ni)tapurāt-⁴Paparabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-pa-
- 2 ramāśvara Mā(Ma)hābhavaguptarājadēva-pādānudhyāt(ta)-paramamāhēśvara-para-
- 3 mabhaṭṭāraka-mahārājādhirāja-paramāśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Trika-
- 4 līṅgādhipati-Śrī-Mahāśivaguptarājadēvaḥ kuśali Kōśala-dē-
- 5 sa(śa)-pratibaddha-Ganudapāṭa⁵-maṇḍalē ch-Ottara-palliya-Nibinḍā-grāmē
- 6 brā[hma]ṇēn samp[ā]jya [ta]d-vishayīyān yathākālādhyāsinah samā-
- 7 ha[rtri]-sa[m]nidhātṛi-yuktādhikārika-daṇḍapāsika-chāṭa-bhaṭa-pisu(śa)-
- 8 na-vā[tri]k-āvarōdhajana-rāpaka-rājaputra-rājñi-rājaval[la]-
- 9 bha(bhā)ḍin sarvān rāja-pādōpājī(ji)vinah samājñāpayati [i*] Vidaditā-astu
- 10 bha[va*]tām yath-śa[m*]ābhīr-aya[m*] grāmah sa-nidhiḥ s-ōpanidhiḥ sa-
- dasā(śa)parādhaḥ
- 11 sarvabādhā-vivarjitah sa[r*]vōparikarādāna-sahī[ta]ś-chatur-si(si)mā-pa-
- 12 [r]yantaḥ s-āmra-madhukah sa-gartōsa(śa)rah sa-jalasthalah pratinidhiddha-chāṭa-
- 13 bhaṭa-pravēśah Bhāradva(dvā)ja-sagōtrāya | Āṅgīrasa-Bārhaspatya-Bhāra-
- 14 dvāja-pravarāya Uhlāsa-śarmmanah putrāya | Na(Nā)rāyaṇa-śa[rmma]-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 15 sa[h*] putrāya | Bhaṭa[pa]rōli⁶-vini(ni)rggata(tā)ya | Kōśaliya-⁷Maramēṇḍā-[grā]-
- 16 mē(ma)-vāstavyāya Śrī-⁸Puṇḍarika-sarmmanē dikṣitāya | Ganudapāṭi-
- 17 maṇḍalē Uttara-pallikāyā Nibinnā⁹-grāmah [saliladhārā*]pura[s]saram-ā-chandra-
- 18 k-ā[r]kka-kahiti-samakō(kā)l-ōpabbhōgā[r]tha[r*] mātā-pitrōr-ātmanas-cha puna
- (punya)-
- 19 yas(śa)vṛiddhayē tāmbra¹⁰ tāmbra-sā(śa)śanēn-ākarakṛitya pratipādita ity-ava-

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 351.² From the original plates.³ Expressed by a symbol.⁴ Read *Parama*.⁵ This is what I read. It occurs also in line 15. No such name is retained for any village or pargana in the Sonpur State. Ghaṭapāra in the neighbourhood is however suggested.⁶ Where this Bhaṭaparōli is could not be ascertained.⁷ The prefix *mara* perhaps distinguishes the village from other places bearing the name *Meṇḍā*.⁸ Read *Puṇḍarika-sarmmanē*.⁹ In line 5 the name is spelt *Nibinḍā*.¹⁰ Cancel this word.

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- 20 gamya sam[u]chita-bhāga-bhāgakara-hirany-a(ā)di-pratyayam-upanayadbhir-bhava-
 21 dbhiḥ sukhaṇa prativā[s]tavyam-iti [i*] Bhāvibhiḥ-cha bhāpatibhir-ddanti(tū)r-i-
 22 yam-as[ma]diyā dha[r]ma-g[au]ravād-asmad-anurōdhāch-[cha] sva-dattir(dattir)-iv=
 ānupa(pā)-
 23 [l]iniya¹ | Tathā [ch-o*]kta[m*] dha[r]mma-sā(śā)strē [i*] Bahubhi[r]=vasudhā
 dattā (i) rājabhiḥ Segs-
 24 r-ādibhiḥ | yasya yas[ya] yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam || Mā bhū-
 25 taphala-saṅkā² vaḥ paradatt-eti pāthivāḥ | sva-dānāt-phalam-ānantyam
 26 para-datt-ānupālānē | Sa(sha)shṭhi(shṭi)-varsha-sahasrāpi svargge mōdati bhūmi-(i)
 27 dah | ākshi(kshā)ptā ch=ānumantā cha dvāv-ētau naraka-grā(gā)minau |
 Agnēr-apatya[m]
 28 pra[tha]ma[m*] suvarṇa[m*] bhur(bhūr)=Va(Vai)shṇavi Su(sū)rya-sutās-cha gāvah |
 yaḥ kāñchana[m*] gāh-cha

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 29 mahiṇ-cha dadyā[t] (i) dattās=[tra]yas-tēna bhavanti lōkē(kāḥ) | ³Āspō(āspō)rayanti
 pīṭara[h*]
 30 pravalga(ya)nti pitāmahāḥ | bhūmi-dātā kulē jātaḥ sa nas-tre(ā)[t]ā
 31 bhaviḥyati | Bhūmi[m*] yaḥ pratigrih[ṇ]āti yaś-cha bhu(bhū)mi[m*]
 prayachchhati | ubh[au]
 32 tau paṇya-karmāṇau niyatau(tau) svarga-gāminau | Tadāgānā[m*] sahasrē-
 33 na vājapēya-sa(śa)tāni(tēna) cha [i] gavā[m*] kōṭi-pradānēna bhūmi-bartā na su(sū)dhyā-
 34 ti | Haratē hārayatē yas-t[u] manda-buddhis-tamō-vṛitah subaddhō Vāruṇai[h*]
 35 pāsai(śai)s-tiryagōṇi(gyōnim) sa gachchhati | Suvarṇam=śka[m*] gām-śkā[m*]
 bhūmi(mē)-
 36 r-apy-arddham-aṅgula[m*] [i*] harām(n)=na[ra*]kam-āyāti (i) yāvad-āhuta-sa[m*]-
 plavah³ |
 37 Sva-[da]itā[m*] pasāra(para)-dattām=vā yō ⁴harad-vas[u]ndharāḥ | sa viśthāyā[m]
 kṛimi-
 38 [r]=bhū[tvā] pīṭribhis-saha pachyatē | Ādityō Varuṇō Viśṇva(ṣṇu)[r=Brahmā*]
 Soma Hu-
 39 tāsā(śa)naḥ Su(Śū)lapānīs-cha bhagavā[n-a*]bhina[nda*]nti bhūmidah(dam) |
 Sāmānyō-
 40 ya[m*] dharmma-ēṭo[r*]-nyipānā[m*] kālē kālē pālaniyō bhavadbhiḥ [i*] sar[vā]-
 41 n-ētāna(n) bhāvinah pāthivēndrāna(n) bh[ṇ]yō [bhūyō*] yāchate Rāmabhadrah⁵

Third Plate.

- 42 Iti kamala-dal-āmbu-binda(nda)-lōlā[m*] śri(śri)yam-anuchi[ntya] masushya-jivi-
 43 tāḥ-cha sakalam=idam=udāhṛitā-cha buddhā⁶ na hi puruṣai[h*] para-kīrtayō
 44 vilōpyā iti | Paramamāheśvara-para[ma*]bhaṭāraka-mahārājadhira-
 45 ja-paramēśvara-Sōma-kula-tilaka-Trikalīṅgadhīpati-śrīmad-Yayā-
 46 t[ī]rājadēvasya pādānupravarddhamāna-vijayarājyō pañchadasa(śa)mē
 47 samvatsarē | Marggasi (Mārgasira)-māsē (i) sū(śu)klapakṣhē trayōdas(ś)yān-tithau
 Samva-

¹ Read *pāṇiyā.

² Read *bhūḍ-aphala-saṅkā.

³ The akshara a is different from the other initial a which occur in this inscription. It resembles the letter ḍa.

⁴ Read -ā-bhūta-ruplavan.

⁵ Read harita vasundharāḥ.

⁶ After the mark of punctuation, there is a symbol which may be the vowel i added by the engraver himself, as it is written at the beginning of the next line.

⁷ Read -udāhṛitā-cha buddhā.

- 48 t 15 Mārgga audi 13 [i*] Likhi[ta*]m-idaṁ sĀ(sā)sana[m*] mahāsindhi-
 49 vigrahika-rāpaka-Śrī-¹Chārudattasy-āvagatēna mahākshapa-
 50 ta[la]ka- Śrī-Uchchhava-Nāgēn-Āllava-Nāga-sutān-ś(ś)tkirṇa[m*] Ṭṭhakura-Panā-
 51 kēn-eti | Sampadō jalaja-parṇa-jalābhā | jīvitta maraṇa-santa-
 52 ti-as[m*]sitha[m*] bhōga-bhū(a)ktir-achirāya vilōkyah (?) kirttayō nripatibhi[r*]=
 nri(nna)
 53 lōpyā iti |

C.—The charter of Śatrubhañja.

These are three copper-plates (four sides), the first and last of which bear writing on the inner sides only. The third plate is a little smaller than the other two. The height and breadth of the plates vary — the former being smaller about the middle than at the margins and the latter being greater in the middle than at the margins. The first two plates measure 8' in breadth in the middle and about 7½' at the margin. Their height varies from 4½' in the middle to 5' at the margin. The third plate varies in height from 4½' to 4¾' and 7½' to 7¾' in breadth. The plates are strung together on a circular ring 3' in diameter through a hole cut on the left margin of each plate at a distance of about ⅞' from the edge. Between the margin and the proper ring-hole is a second smaller hole on the third plate, the object of which is not apparent. The ends of the ring are secured at the bottom of an oval seal whose major and minor diameters are 2½' and 1½' respectively. Across the seal is engraved in relief the legend Śrī-Śa[tra]bhañ[ja]-dēvasya in the alphabet employed in the inscription. Above the legend is a crescent enclosing within its arc a round dot which is perhaps intended to represent the Sun. Below the legend is a recumbent bull facing the proper right. A small portion of the seal is broken to the proper right of the bull.

The inscription belongs to the reign of king Śatrubhañjadēva (l. 10) or Bhañjabhūpati (l. 14), who is described as belonging to the Bhañja race (l. 16 f.) and to the Anḍaja-vamśa (l. 16). He was apparently the ruler of Ubhaya-Khūñjali-maṇḍala (l. 17). In line 4 reference is made to many kings (named) Śilābhañjadēva.² In their family was king Śatrubhañjadēva. He granted Milupāḍi-Khaṇḍakshētra in the district of Rōyārā-vishaya. The donee was the bhāṭaputra Kṛishṇa, son of Ākhaṇḍala and grandson of Mahōdadhi. He was an immigrant from Ālāpa-grāma, belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra and was a student of the Sāmaveda. He is said to have had three *śishya* for his *pracara*, but their names are not given. The whole inscription is so full of mistakes that it is hardly possible to correct them. Even the imprecatory verses are not correctly quoted. There is no doubt that the record was composed by some ignorant person, and I cannot altogether suppress my suspicion about the genuineness of the grant.

Four other inscriptions of the Bhañja family are known, three from Oriassa and the fourth from Gumsūr in the Ganjam District. One of them, which has been published by the late Professor Kielhorn,³ furnishes the following pedigree:—

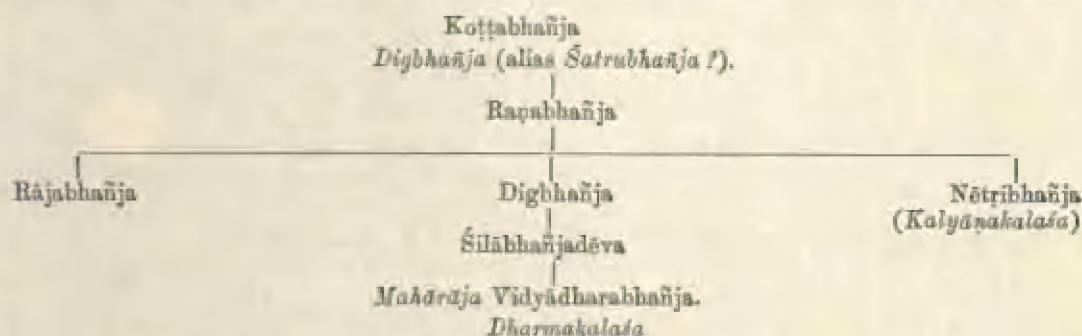
Ragabhañjadēva
 |
 Digbhañjadēva
 |
 Śilābhañjadēva
 |
 Mahārāja Vidyādhara-bhañjadēva
 Dharmakalāśa
 (parama-māhāśvara).

¹ [The reading intended is probably -*Dhāradatta* and what looks like the *s* of *ra* may be due to a mistake of the engraver.—Ed.]

² Śilābhañjapāṭi is the name of a village in the Ōḍra country; see above Vol. III. p. 354.

³ Above, Vol. IX. p. 272.

One of the Bāmanghātī plates¹ is dated in Samvat 288 and during the reign of Raṇabhañja, son of Digbhañja and grandson of Koṭṭabhañja of the Bhañja family,² while the other belongs to the time of Rājabhañja, son of Raṇabhañja, and grandson of Koṭṭabhañja of the Bhañja family.³ In the Gumsūr plates, the donor is Nēṭṛibhañja, son of Raṇabhañja and grandson of Śatrubhañja. The following tentative genealogy may be derived from these four records:—



The subjoined grant is dated during the reign of Śatrubhañja, but I doubt if it has to be assigned to the first king on the foregoing tentative genealogy. I would rather assign it to some successor of Vidyādharaḥabhañja on the above table. The emblems on the seal may be taken to show that Śatrubhañja was a Śaiva. But in line 16 of the text he is described as a fervent devotee of the god Viṣṇu (*parama-vaishṇava*). The modern representatives of the Bhañja family are the rulers of the native state of Mōrbhañj in Orissa, which probably owes its name to a king named Mayūrabhañja. The indirect reference to this king in the present grant in the epithet *aṇḍaja-vaśīṣa-prabhava* is to my mind satisfactory evidence of the donor Śatrubhañja having lived at a comparatively later period. In the two Bāmanghātī plates mention is made of Virabhadra, the founder of the Bhañja family, who is said to have been born in the great *tapōvana* at Kōṭyāsrama by breaking open a pea-hen's egg.⁴

TEXT.⁵

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁶ Svasti [||*] Saṃghāra-kāla-hutabhog-vikarāla-ghōra-saṃbhrānta-ki[m*]kara-kṛi-
- 2 tānta bhina | gahanāndhakāra-surāsura-gahanādapatra tadabhairavaṃ Hara-va-
- 3 puḥ bhavataḥ prapātub || Durvāraḥ yārāṇa-pratipakṣa-Lakṣmi-haṭa-grahaṇa śuddha
- 4 Śrī-Śīlābhañja-dēva⁷ parāddhipatayo bahavo babhūva bhūri-sahasra-saṅkhā tēshām ku-
- 5 l[ē] sakala-bhū talapāla⁸-mauli-mālārchita-pāda-ghṛishu khaḍga-dhārā-hate-
- 6 na nripati-Śrī-Śīlābha[m*]jadēva prakāṣa-paṇarusha-raśmi-chakra-ni-

¹ No. 655 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's Northern list.

² The queer wording of the inscription makes it doubtful if Digbhañja was a mere surname of Koṭṭabhañja or if Digbhañja denoted a distinct king. In any case the identification of Śatrubhañja and Digbhañja with Koṭṭabhañja is purely tentative.

³ No. 656 of the same list.

⁴ The Bhañjas of Maurbhanja as well as of Ganjam have the peacock (*mayūra*) as something like a totem. The Bhañja-rājas all say that they had their origin in a peacock.

⁵ From the original plates. The text is hopelessly corrupt and I have made no attempt to correct the numerous mistakes.

⁶ Expressed also by a symbol at the beginning of the line.

⁷ Śīlābhañjadēva was apparently the father of the donor.

⁸ From *la* of *sakala* up to *pā* of *pāla*, there is an erasure in the original.

- 7 ta nisirdānitārihridayōpi pā nripatayaḥ || Gambhīryōṣa payānidhi sthi-
 8 ratvēna ¹prithivīyā valēnānūla + ²avitājanano³ — chimāsamamah tapasō Vri-
 9 haspate(tī)-sarmah | amāsava jagā namakṛitya tajā dattāvakāso vijarājā-
 10 na Śrī-Satrubha[m*]jadēva itatūladdhīḥ tasmātātējasaiḥ bhuvanaṁ-dānya madamāna-
 mi-
 11 lita sambaddhata nripacha[kra] chaturaṅgabala kshōbha-chaḷita-ddharāmaṇḍala ||
 Gaja-tara-
 12 ga-khura-nidāraṇa-raṇa-prasara dadvaladvali vitāna chhachhana janyāgaṇa-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 13 skaddha (?)-vēdikā sēmarāyataḥ paricāta-jaya-Lakṣi-samānam⁴ dita-pairaja-
 14 napadaḥ Śrīmad-Bha[m*]ja-bhūpati purā pa⁵(?)ti para nānyaḥ saradamala dhavala-
 kara
 15 jana-patala-ddhavalita-digavadano anavarata-pravrita saṁmana dānādita-
 16 sakala-jano Aṇḍaja-varṇsa-prabhava⁶ parama-Vaiśṇava matā-pūtri-pādānūdyōta Bhamjā-
 17 mala-kula-tilakab Ubhaya-Khīḍjali-maṇḍala-bhaviśhyad-rāja-rājanākā⁷
 18 śrī ta[ra]ṅga-kumā[ra]-māra-mānya mahā-sāmata⁸ brāhmaṇa praddhāna a-
 19 nyās-cha daṇḍapāsi-chaṭa-bhāja-vallabha-jātinā || yathārahama-
 20 nayati boddhayati samādisayati ch-ānyat || Śivam-samākaṁ viditam-a-
 21 sta bhavatām Rōyarā-vishaya-pratibaddha-Milupāḍi-khaṇḍakṣbētra-chatuḥ-
 simā(sīmā)-pa-
 22 ryanta-nidhi-śchōpanādhī-sahitam akshaya-tritiya-yugādi-dino⁹ Gaṅgāsānūdyi¹⁰
 23 matā-pūtri ātmanah punma-virddhayaḥ salila-ddhārā-purnasārēṇa vidhina
 24 vidhi viddhānēna saviddhayaḥ | Tāvra-śāsana pratipādītyaḥ | yāva-vēda-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 25 ritha-vachanēnaḥ Kāsyapa-gōtrāya triyārisāya-pravarāa Sāma-vēdādhyā-
 26 yi Ālāpa-grāma¹¹-vinirggataḥ bhataputra Kṛishṇō Ākhaṇḍala-suta-Mahōda-
 27 dhi-naptre¹² | Tathā ch-ōktaṁ dharma-śāstrēṣu [chhā ?]la-[kṛi]shṭhān-mahim dadyā |
 sahījasasya mē-
 28 dīni yāva sūrya-kṛitām lōkām tava-svargamahiyatō || Āsph[ō]ṭayati pi-
 29 tarah pravalgaoti pītāmahā bhūmī-dātā-kulō jātā sa mē trātā bhūśahyati
 30 Bahubhir-vasudhā datam rājāna Sagarādibhi yasya yasya yadā bhūmi
 31 tasya tasya tadā [pha]la || Mā pāthīva kadāchitā¹³ brahmaṣva¹⁴ ma-

¹ The syllables *prithivīyā* are engraved over an erasure.

² This cross is incised below the line between the aksharas *la* and *sa*.

³ The akshara *je* seems to have been erased by the engraver himself.

⁴ There is a *visarga* after the akshara *nam*.

⁵ This letter looks also like *rdāri*.

⁶ *Aṇḍaja* means 'born of an egg (*aṇḍa*)' of a peacock.

⁷ The aksharas from *śrī* of *Khīḍjali* up to *mā* of the second *māra* in the next line are engraved over an erasure. The akshara *tri* at the beginning of the next line has perhaps to be cancelled.

⁸ It is not easy to ascertain to whom the epithet *mahāśāmata* applies, as the construction is extremely faulty.

⁹ The grant was made on the *akshaya-tritiya* day which falls on *Valśākha-śukla-tritiya*. *Yugādi-dīnā* may mean 'on a Friday on which the Kaliyuga commenced.' [See also *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXVI. p. 179, under *Valśākha-śuklapakṣha*.—Ed.]

¹⁰ By *Gaṅgāsānūdyi* is perhaps meant the confluence of the Mahānadi and the Tel.

¹¹ The village *Ālāpa* could not be identified.

¹² *Kṛishṇa*, son of *Ākhaṇḍala* and grandson of *Mahōdadhī*, is the donee.

¹³ The akshara *dā* of *kadāchit* is engraved over an erasure.

¹⁴ Land enjoyed by a brāhmaṇa as rent-free is now called *brāhmaṣṭhāra*, not *brāhmaṣva* as it is here.

i.

ॐ स्वस्ति सं ज्ञान काल दृक् शुद्धि काल ज्ञान सं शुद्धि काल क
 २ ना कालिक । गदम काल सुग सुग दमय पत्र कर काल बंदन ब
 ४ पुः सुवतः प्रपातः । यद्वीरः वाग्ल प्रविपक्ष्य । क्ति मय दृक् शुद्धि
 ६ श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 ८ ल संकलं सुते प्रां पा लं मोलि नाला सिं क पा र पृष्ठु गे क पी ना द कि
 १० क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 १२ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 १४ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 १६ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 १८ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 २० क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 २२ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 २४ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु

ii.

ॐ स्वस्ति सं ज्ञान काल दृक् शुद्धि काल ज्ञान सं शुद्धि काल क
 १४ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 १६ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 १८ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 २० क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 २२ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु
 २४ क कृपति श्रीगिला रुद्रय दृक् शुद्धि पक्ष्या दृक् शुद्धि सुव सुवि सद्गुण संभोगिणी कु

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- 32 nasid-api ānēsha dhamabbhōshajya atata halāhala-visham || Āvisha[m] vi-
 33 shamitāhuḥ brahmasvaṁ visha n[eh]yatō visam-ākākinō haranti brahmasa putra-
 pātrikaṁ
 34 yathā gau bharatō vashhakshariṇi kshiramustō ēva datvā sahasrākaha bhūmi bhara-
 35 ti bhūmidah || Vājapāyō-sahasrāpi āsvamedha-śatāni cha || gavā[m*] kōṭi-pradā-
 36 nēna bhōmihartā na sudhyati || yathā bijāni lōhanti pukirāṇāni mahitāla¹

Third Plate.

- 37 Ēva bhūmi-kṛita-dānani sasye² sasye prayachhati [!]* bhūmi yaḥ pratigrihnāti ya-
 38 chchēbha bhūmi prayachhati ubhai tai punya-karmā niyatai svargā-gāminai [!]*
 Harantō hāra-
 39 yatō yas-ta ma[m]da-budhis=tamā-vritah sa bōdhā Vāraṇah pāśyēs=tiryayō-
 40 nisha jāyētō || Sva-datām para-datām vā yō harēti vān[m]dharā || sa kapilā-
 41 śataghnānam-ānāsi pratipadyatō || Hirāṇyamēka gā-
 42 m-ēka[m] bhūmir-apy-ardham-agula || harantō naraka yā[m]ti yāva-
 43 d-āhanta-samplavah || Śiva[n]gana Pāṇḍi³-sutēna lāchhinta⁴
 44 mahārājaki⁵ madrētīḥ ||

In order to localise and identify the places mentioned in the foregoing three grants and other allied inscriptions we must try and ascertain how and where the originals were found. A and B as well as S were discovered by cultivators while ploughing fields in the villages granted by the charters. As regards Milupāḍi Khaṇḍakshētra of C, Milupāḍi or Milupāḍi may be the name of a plot of land. All fields in the district of Sambalpur as well as in the feudatory states attached to it bear local names; and if Khaṇḍakshētra denoted merely a stray piece of land, no identification of it is possible. But Khaṇḍakshētra may also be the name of a village; for in F 1, line 13, we actually find the word as the name of a village. The resident of that village is said to have come from Oḍayaśrīṅga, which I identify with Oḍṣīṅgā in the native state of Āṭmallik. Rōyārā being on the borders of Sonpur State (C, line 21), not far off either from Pāṭṇā or Āṭmallik, there might have been a village of the name Khaṇḍakshētra in the locality where the record was unearthed.

It must be noted that the states of Rerhakhōl, Āṭmallik, Bōdh and Pāṭṇā lie to the north, north-east, east and south, respectively, of the Sonpur State which they adjoin. Of the geographical names mentioned in F 1, the river Ōṅgā (now called Ong) flows through the states of Pāṭṇā and Sonpur. The Zamindāri of Barpali (district Sambalpur) in which the village Satallamā, the modern Satalmā of S is situated, is also within a few miles from the river Ong flowing past Sālēbhaṭā. Bakṣīrā and Loīśīṅgā (Vakavedḍā and Lāīśīṅgā of F 1) are also close to Sālēbhaṭā Police Station.

Nuptara, Nuparsinga and Banktentuli (*Lupattarā Khaṇḍīya Vakratentalī grāmē*, line 5, A) are in the neighbourhood of the place where A was obtained. As *Suvarṇapura* (A, line 1) is certainly the Sanskritised form of *Sonpur*, so also is *Rāḍhāphamvālikandara* (A, line 12),

¹ The aksharas *ai* and *āi* are engraved over an erasure.

² The form *sasye-sasye*, etc. indicating abundance of crops, shows that the dialect then in use was similar to Bengali, for this is now used only in Bengal as an idiomatic form.

³ Read *Śivanāyāna*. The akshara *na* of *nāga* is corrected apparently from *ga*.

⁴ The word used here for 'engraving' must be some Dēśī term then current.

[What is intended is probably *Śivanāyāna Pāṇḍi-sutēna lāchhitaṁ*, and *mahārājaki madrētīḥ* seems to mean *mahārājasya madrayatī*. On the word *lāchhita* see the late Professor Kielhorn's remarks, above, Vol. IX. p. 274.—E1.]

⁵ The form *mahārāja-ki* is Hindi pure and simple. The use of this form is worth noting.

a very high sounding form of *Berbakhol*. The word 'kandara' means 'khol' both in Uriya and vulgar Bengali.

Murasima (F 1, line 1 and S, line 2) appears to be *Mursing* which is in the *Jarāśiṅgā* *Zamindari* of the *Pāṭṇā* State. The situation of *Satalmā*, *Bakābirā* and *Lośiṅgā* led me first to make this identification. My impression is confirmed by the fact that it is customary with the *Zamindār* of *Jarāśiṅgā* to be ceremoniously installed every year on the *Dasara* day (10th day from the full moon of the month of *Āśvin*) by going to *Mursing*, which is at present quite an insignificant village.

There is no doubt that when A was issued, the donor was present at *Sonpur*. The word *vijaya-kataka* in line 1 of the *Pāṭṇā* copper-plate grant (F. 1), like *vijaya-standhādāca* (A, line 1), occurring as it does after the name of the place where the king was residing, can never mean a town. "From *Murasima* (or from *Suvarṇapura*, as the case may be) where the king with his victorious soldiers was encamped" should be the meaning of the first line of the text of both F 1 and A.

It is very probable that a town was being built at *Chandwār*, on the bank of the *Mahānadi*, opposite *Katak*, either by *Janamājaya* or his son *Yayāti*; but it was never finished. Dr. Fleet has very rightly remarked (above, Vol. III, 324) that the town *Katak* is of later origin than *Chandwār*. If this be the case, how could the place attain any celebrity already in the time of *Janamājaya*? It may be that the town *Katak* owes its name to the fact of its being built on a camping ground. As the king must have encamped in many different places, it is impossible that the name *Kataka* had at such an early period as the reign of *Janamājaya*, become the proper name of the locality to which it is now applied. Dr. Fleet saw clearly what the word meant,¹ but was only misled by the name of the town where the plates edited by him were preserved. Since it is clear that the *Sonpur* charters were issued from *Sonpur*, there is no reason to suppose that the charters relating to *Bakābirā* (F 1) and *Satalmā* (S) — not far from one another — were not issued from some place in *Pāṭṇā* during the military expedition of the grantor.

I am inclined to think that the town *Vinītapura*, whence *Mahāśivagupta* issued B granting the village of *Nibinnā*, is no other than *Binikā* in the *Sonpur* State. The villages *Nibinnā* and *Moṇḍā* (now a police station) are in the *Binikā* subdivision. From the source of the river to the Bay of Bengal there is no other town on the bank of the *Mahānadi* which bears such a name. Considering that even villages very often retain their old names, it is not likely that a town of such importance has lost its name altogether. For this reason I think *Vinītapura* is the Sanskritised form of the non-Aryan name *Binikā*.

It is a pity that the original find-spot of F 5 cannot now be known. How the charter relating to a village in the *Kōsala* country was carried to the Government record room at *Katak*, was not at all inquired into by *Babu Rangalal Banerji* when he first edited it in 1877. I can easily imagine how the charters granted in favour of the chief minister of the king (F 2, F 3 and F 4) were carried by him and left behind.

I must, by the way, mention one fact here, regarding the names of those villages mentioned in the plates edited by Dr. Fleet, which I have failed to identify, because the locality where they were discovered could not be traced. *Raṇḍā*, *Moṇḍā*, *Mardā*, *Loṇḍā*, *Tulūṇḍā*, *Kulūṇḍā*, *Bulūṇḍā*, *Balaṇḍā*, and such other names many villages in the district of *Sambalpur* bear. *Raṇḍā*, *Tulūṇḍā*, *Alaṇḍā*, etc. of the plates bear the provincial peculiarities of the names of villages in the district of *Sambalpur*.

The district of *Sambalpur* and the Uriya-speaking feudatory states attached to it, were included in the *Chattisgarh Division* of the *Central Provinces* till October 1905, for administrative

¹ Above, Vol. III, p. 341.

convenience due to their geographical situation. It is perfectly clear that this tract of country was also once included within Kōsala-dēśa or Dakṣhiṇa Kōsala of which Ratanpur (in the district of Bilaspur) was the capital, but did not form any part of Ōdra or Orissa. For, in the first place, Nibinnā in Sonpur (B, lines 4, 5, 15 and 16) and Satallamā (modern Satalma) in Sambalpur (S, line 9) are described as villages in Kōsala-dēśa.¹ Secondly, the Brāhmana who came from Orissa to be settled in the district of Sambalpur, could not have been called a man of Ōdra-dēśa (S, lines 16 and 17) if the district were part of Orissa. It is worthy of note that even now, when anybody goes to Puri on pilgrimage, either from Sambalpur or from the feudatory states, he says he is going to Orissa. In popular language, Orissa does not include Sambalpur and its feudatory states.

The grantors of the charters F 1 to F 6, A, B, and S, called themselves lords of Kōsala-dēśa² as well as of Trikalīṅga. It is worthy of note that the Kēsari kings are counted in Orissa from Yayāti and not from his father Janamējaya. There is another Janamējaya in the list of kings, but he was a remote successor of Yayāti. Merely because no epigraphic record of Janamējaya has been obtained, it cannot be argued that it is Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta I., who has been wrongly shown on the list. This is at least certain that the Orissa record does not know anything of Śivagupta who is the first king of this line.

Since all the copper-plate grants of Mahābhavagupta I. relate to villages in Kōsala-dēśa³ (including Sambalpur of course) it must be presumed that, to begin with, the Sāmavamsī kings became powerful in Kōsala-dēśa only; and that it was only subsequently that they extended their influence into Orissa. Sādhārana, who was the chief minister of Mahābhavagupta I., was granted villages for his enjoyment in Kōsala-dēśa (F 2 to F 4). He could not have managed them if he had been living far away from those villages; nor would the king select such distant villages for his minister who was his favourite.

Whether the Guptas who were lords of Kōsala and Orissa were connected with the family of Śivagupta, son of Harshagupta of the Rājim, Sirpur and Ratanpur records is a question which awaits solution. That the Hinduised Śabara king Udayana belonged to, or rather claimed descent from, the lunar race, like the Sāmavamsī kings, and that the successors of Udayana from Tivara downwards assumed the title Gupta, and were all Śaivas, have been fully established. From the inscription of Bhavadēva published by Professor Kielhorn (J. R. A. S. 1905, pp. 617-629) it may be inferred that different branches of the same family reigned simultaneously at different places. The assumption by Bhavadēva of the title Kēsarin has also to be noted. Dr. Fleet did not accept the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham, not because there was any chronological difficulty in identifying the father of Janamējaya with Śivagupta of the Rājim plates, but because he considered it not possible on palaeographic grounds.⁴

The characters of the Sambalpur and Orissa plates differ very much from those of the Rājim and Ratanpur records; but the cause of this difference may be the following. King Janamējaya and his successors had many Bengali Kāyasthas for their court officers. We get the names Kailāsa Ghōṣa, father of Vallabha Ghōṣa (S),⁵ Kōi Ghōṣa,⁶ son of Vallabha

¹ [Satallamā was in Kāśāśāṣṭa-vishaya—not in Kōsala-dēśa.—Ed.]

² [In F 1, A and S, there is nothing to connect the donors with Kōsala; but in F 2 to F 6 and B the donative villages are said to be in the Kōsala country.—Ed.]

³ [See the preceding note.—Ed.]

⁴ Above, Vol. III, p. 833.

⁵ [The text of this inscription has কায়স্থ বাহুবল কে(বি)বালবল.—Ed.]

⁶ Kōi Ghōṣa seems to be a contraction of Kailāsa Ghōṣa.

Ghōsha (A and F 1), Malla Datta, son of Dhāra Datta¹ (F 1, F 2, F 3, F 4, and S) in the employment of Janamejaya; the names Chāra Datta,² Uchchhava Nāga and Allava Nāga³ under king Yayāti (B) and the names Siṅga Datta⁴ and Maṅgala Datta under Bhimaratha (F 6). None but Bengali kāyasthas bear Datta, Ghōsha, Nāga, etc., as surnames. The Uriya Karans (who may be called kāyasthas) never used such surnames. The words Datta, Ghōsha, etc., as inseparable parts of the names of men, were in use in other parts of Northern India; and such names could be borne by persons of any and every caste. But as these words are surnames here of Kāyasthas, there can be no doubt that the kings had Bengali officers under them when they acquired territories in the forest tract of Sambalpur.

The writers and engravers used the alphabet which was current amongst them. Mr. Thomas remarked long ago that these letters resemble mostly, and are identical in some cases with, the modern Bengali alphabet. The letters *kra*, *ṣga*, *ācha*, *tu*, and *pha* are striking examples. But it must also be borne in mind that some letters represent the modern Uriya forms of them only. If we compare the alphabet of the epigraphic records of the Pāla and the Sēna kings of Bengal, we can clearly see how the modern forms of Bengali and Uriya letters were evolved. These characters were also in use in the district of Ganjam, but they were slightly modified by southern influence (*e.g.* above, Vol. III., plate facing p. 222). Inscriptions written purely by Uriya scribes also bear the forms of these letters with the provincial peculiarities of Bengali letters (C). I cannot deal with the historical significance of it here.

The cumulative effect of the foregoing facts is certainly on the side of the suggestion of Sir Alexander Cunningham that the Guptas who were Kōsalēndras and Trikalīṅgādhīpatīs must have sprung from the Hinduised Śābara family of Udayana.

[The identification proposed by Mr. Mazumdar of Vinittapura with Binikā in the Sonpur State has been arrived at independently by Rai Bahadur Hira Lal in his article on the Sirpur Stone Inscription of Mahāśiva Gupta which, though received prior to this paper, has been unavoidably delayed for want of proper impressions of the inscription.—Ed.]

NO. 9.—FIVE VALABHI PLATES.

By PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

In the *Indian Antiquary*⁵ has been published an "Account of a collection of copper-plates belonging to the Palitānā State. By the late A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S." The collection consists of twelve plates, which were found some forty years ago. They were strung together on a copper wire, about $\frac{3}{8}$ " thick, and suspended by it from the roof of a small underground chamber adjoining a tank in Palitānā. Two of these plates form a grant by the *Sāmanta Mahārāja* Simhāditya, the remaining ten make up four complete and two incomplete Valabhi grants.⁶ The twelve plates have been kindly lent to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, the Government Epigraphist for India, who has been good enough to send me impressions of eight of them, prepared at his request in Dr. Vogel's office.

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya describes the wire on which the plates had been strung as being about 8" in length. Its two extremities are secured into an oval seal measuring $2\frac{1}{4}$ " by $1\frac{1}{4}$ ".

¹ [There is no evidence in the inscriptions to show that this man was a *kāyastha*. On the other hand, he is called a *rājaka* in F 2 and S.—Ed.]

² [See note 1 on page 98 above.—Ed.]

³ [Chāra Datta is called a *rājaka*, while the other two are not spoken of as *kāyasthas*.—Ed.]

⁴ [There is nothing in the inscription to show that Siṅga Datta, who held the office of *sandhivigrahin*, was a *kāyastha*.—Ed.]

⁵ Vol. XXXIX. pp. 129 f.

⁶ See above, pp. 16 and 80.

The seal bears in relief, on a countersunk surface, a recumbent bull, facing the proper right, with a pretty large hump, and below it the legend *Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ*. The bull and the legend are separated by two horizontal lines, of which the upper one is not quite distinct.

The eight plates contain three complete and two incomplete Valabhi grants. The three complete ones and one of the two incomplete ones belong to the *Mahāsāmanta Mahārāja Dhruvasēna I*. One of them is dated [Valabhi-] Sāmvat 206, two [Valabhi-] Sāmvat 210, while the incomplete one does not contain a date. The same is the case with the remaining plate, which forms the beginning of a grant issued by *Śilāditya I Dharmāditya*.

I. PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHURVASĒNA I; [VALABHĪ-] SĀMVAT 206.

These are two plates, each written on one side only. According to Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, "the working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely on the back of both plates." The length of the plates is $9\frac{1}{2}$ " and the height $6\frac{1}{2}$ "—7". The size of the individual letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The plates are, to judge from the impressions, in a very good state of preservation. The first plate contains 14 and the second 16 lines of well executed writing.

The characters are the same as in other old Valabhi plates. They comprise the signs for initial *t* in *-tīvara-*, l. 16, and for *dh* in *Dhīṇḍaka-*, l. 17. There are two signs of interpunctuation, viz. a single dot in l. 18 and a double dot or *visarga* in *vasāḥ* instead of *vasāt*, l. 27; *-Dhruvasēnasyah*, i.e. *Dhruvasēnasya* ||, l. 29. The numerical symbols for 200, 6, and 5 occur in l. 30.

With regard to orthography, we may note that the name of the first ancestor of the Maṭrakas occurs in the form *Bhaṭakka*, as in all the older plates. The form *Bhaṭarka* is a later attempt at Sanskritizing the name, and there is no reason for preferring it, at least so long as we do not know whether the name is Indian or not. The *s* in *-phalōpa-*, l. 12, looks almost like an *i*. The dropping of a final *t* in *kaiś-chī*, l. 23; *vasāḥ*, i.e. *vasāt*, l. 27, and the writing of *s* instead of *sh* in *sūḍaśa-*, l. 17, are probably Prakritisms; compare also *-Dīṇasūkaḥ siba*, l. 10. Note further the use of an *s* instead of an *ś* before *ś* in *chatvoriśad-*, l. 16, and *chatevriśad-*, l. 18, and the doubling of surds, nasals and liquids after an *r*; thus, *-spārjī-*, l. 3; *-manir-mmanv-*, *-dharmaṁ Dharmma-*, l. 7; *-artha-*, l. 11; *-pādāvarita-*, ll. 16, 17, 18; *pārveṭṭara-*, l. 18, etc.; but *-arke-*, l. 20; and finally, the spelling *jy* in *Jarabhaṭṭi-*, l. 19. The writing *jy* instead of *j* recurs in *Jyāvala-* in l. 16 of the plates of Sāmvat 210, Ścāvaṣa śu. 15, which will be published below. It is comparable with the common modern spelling *jy* in order to denote the pure palatal and not the sound *ds* in Marāṭhī districts. This spelling is therefore of interest for the chronology of the change of *j* to *ds* in Marāṭhī. Professor Jacobi¹ has suggested to call the language usually designated Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī, the language of Jaina commentators and poets, Saurāṣṭrī. He draws attention to the old Jaina tradition that the ultimate redaction of the Jaina books was made in Valabhi in the year 980 after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvira. It would therefore seem probable that Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī represents the dialect of Valabhi about 500 A.D. Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī is closely related to Mahārāṣṭrī, the parent of modern Marāṭhī,² and not to Śaurasēnī, from which Gujarātī is mainly derived. There are also other features which point to the conclusion that the language of Kathiyawar and Gujarāt generally has not always been of the same kind as at the present day, but more like the dialects from which Marāṭhī is derived,³ and it is therefore possible to compare the spelling *jy* in Valabhi plates and in modern Marāṭhī with each other, though Marāṭhī is not now spoken in the districts where these plates were issued. The writing *rājaśrīḥ* l. 3, where the published grants of Dhruvasēna have *rājyaśrīḥ*, is perhaps also comparable, the modern change of *j* to *ds* not taking place in the word *rājā*.

¹ *The Kalpadra of Bhadrabāhu*, Leipzig, 1879, pp. 15, 18.

² Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, para. 20.

³ See Dr. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey*, Vol. IX. Part II. pp. 326 f.

The writing is on the whole fairly correct. There are, however, some places in which the engraver has misread his draft. Thus we find a instead of d in *chaitariśatā*, l. 16; *vapti*, l. 17; *-chāribhaya*, l. 19; *sāmanyam*, l. 24; a for i in *-vachchurita*, l. 5; d for a in *-pradāta*, l. 7; *-paddhātir*, l. 8; *-mahattarā*, l. 14; *āryapara*, l. 21; d for ā in *-mōdā*, instead of *-mōdāta*, l. 25; i for a in *-icabōddhā*, l. 11; i for i in *-maulimanir*, l. 7; g for i in *-vaṅga*, l. 23; t for g in *-bhōtyam*, l. 21; t for n in *-numattasyaḥ*, l. 25; t for v in *-īrjjat*, l. 2; d for p in *-dātakail*, l. 25; dhru for hri in *sudhrut*, l. 12; n for v in *-jīnyamāna*, l. 6; *-nyarastha*, l. 8; p for b in *-āpādā*, l. 23; p for y in *apam*, l. 25; ru for ka in *-ābhishāra*, l. 9; and so forth. Note also the absence of *sandhi* in *-didhātīḥ dīn*, l. 5; *śriṣṭaḥ yata*, l. 22, etc., and the confusion of the dual and the plural in *Vyāsagītān ślōka bhavanti*, l. 26.

The plates contain a grant issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* bestowing several plots of land in the villages *Madkaṇa*, *Tāpasiya* and *Tinishaka*, in the *Hastavaprāharanī* (district), on the *Chhandogas Kumārasārman* and *Jarabhajin*, of the *Śaṇḍilya gotra*, residents of *Śaṅkaravāṭaka*. *Hastavaprāharanī* is well known from other Valabhī inscriptions.¹ It corresponds to the modern *Hāthab*, 6 miles south of *Gogā* in the *Bhāvnagar State*. The lower classes pronounce this name *Hāthap*,² and this form is probably the correct one. It can be regularly derived from *Hastakapra*, but hardly from *Hastakapra* or *Hastavapra*. These forms look like learned Sanskrit versions of an older *Hatthaappa* and are hardly genuine. *Aslakapra* of the *Periplus* points to an original *Hastakapra*. The names of the three villages in the district are not elsewhere known. The grant was issued from Valabhī, the present *Wala*, situated in 21° 52' N. and 71° 57' E. I cannot identify *Śaṅkaravāṭaka*, where the two donees were residing. The *dātaka* was the *pratihāra Mammaka*, who appears in the same capacity in the two grants of *Dhruvasēna* of *Saṁvat 207*.³ The writer was the same *Kikkaka*, who wrote the remaining edicts of *Dhruvasēna*.⁴ The date of the grant was the 5th tithi of the bright fortnight of *Bhadrpadā* of the (Valabhī) year 206, corresponding to A.D. 525-26. It is the earliest known grant of *Dhruvasēna*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁵ svasti [||*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇā[ṭh] Maitrakapam-atula-bala-sapatna-
- 2 maṇḍal-ābhoga-samsakta-samprahāra-śata-lakṣha-pratīpaḥ pratāp-āpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjat(v)-ōpa-
- 3 rjjit-ānurāgo-nurakta-maula-bhṛita-mitra-īrṣṇi-bal-āvāpta-rājāsriḥ⁶ para[ma]māhēśvaraḥ
- 4 sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhaṭakkaḥ tasya sutas-tat-pāda-raḥ-ru-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śrīś-āi-ō-va-
- 5 nata-satru-chūḍāmanāpi-prabhā-va(vi)chchburita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-didhātīḥ dīn-ānātha-jan-ōpaj-
- 6 n(v)amāns-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras-sēnāpati-Dharasēnaḥ tasy-ānujas-tat-pād-ābhīp-

¹ Compare the (spurious?) plate of *Dr̥pasakha* of *Saṁvat 183* (*Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.* Vol. XX. pp. 1 ff.); the *Gandīgād* plates of *Dhruvasēna* I. of *Saṁvat 207* (above, Vol. III. pp. 318 ff.); the *Bhāvnagar* plates of *Dhruvasēna* I. of *Saṁvat 207* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. pp. 204 ff.); the *Wala* plates of *Dhruvasēna* II. of *Saṁvat 209* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 10 ff.); and the *Bhāvnagar* plate of *Dhruvasēna* IV. of *Saṁvat 326* (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 45); see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 314; Vol. VII. p. 53 f.; Vol. VIII. p. 141; Vol. XIII. p. 355; Colonel Watson's *Statistical Account of Bhāvnagar*, p. 106, and above, Vol. III. p. 319.

² *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII. p. 54.

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 206 and above, Vol. III. p. 323.

⁴ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 106; Vol. V. p. 206; *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. VII. p. 300; above, Vol. III. p. 323, and below Nos. II. and III.

⁵ Expressed by a symbol.

⁶ Read perhaps, with the published plates of *Dhruvasēna*, *rājāsriḥ*.

[illegible]

- 7 pāma-prasā(śa)sta-vimala-maṇḍi(li)maṇḍir-Maṇḍav-ādi-pragīta-vidhi-vidhāna-dharmā
Dharmarāja
8 iṣa vihiṭa-vinaya-nya(vya)vaṣṭhā-paddhā(ddha)tir-akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-svāminā
parama-
9 svāminā svayam-upahita-rājy-ābhishēra¹-mahā-viśrājan-āvapūta-rājasrīḥ paramamā-
10 hēśvarō mahārāja-Drōṇasi[m*]haḥ si[m*]ha iṣa tasy-ānujas-sva-bhūja-balāna para-
gaja-
11 ghaṭ-ānikānam-ākaviyayī śaraṇa-aishīṇā[m] śaraṇam=i(a)vabōddhā śāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvā-
nā[m] kalpa-
12 tarur-iva sudhrut(hrit)-prapayinām yathābhilāṣita-phal-ōpabhōgataḥ paramabhāgavataḥ
13 paramabhāṭṭyā(ṭṭā)raka-pād-ānudhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnaḥ kuśālī
14 sarvām-ēva svām-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-drō[m]gika-mahattarā(ra)-chāṭa-bhaṭa-
dhruvā²dhikarāṇika-

Second Plate.

- 15 dāṇḍapāṣik-ādin-anyā[m]ś-cha [ya]thā-sambhadyamānākānadh[i]yaty³-asta va(vō)
vicīṭam yathā
16 Hastavapr-āharanyām Madkaṇa-grāmō kuṭumbi-Īśvara-pratyaya-pādāvarita-śataṁ
chatvāriṇśad⁴-adhikam
17 ⁵śōḍaśa-pādāvarita-parisārī va(vā)pi cha tathā Tapasiya-grāmō Dhiṇḍaka-pratyaya-
pādāvā(va)rtta-śataṁ
18 ⁶chatvāriṇśad-adhikam tathā ⁷Tinishaka-grāmō pūrva-ōttara-simni pādāvarita-śataṁ
saha vāpyā Śaṅkaravāṭaka-vā-
19 stavya-brāhmaṇa-Kumāraśarmma-[Ja]rabhājyibhyā[m] Śāṇḍilya-sagotrābhyām Chhandō-
gasabrahmacchāribhyā(bhyā)m mayā mā-
20 tā-pitroḥ puny-āpyānāy-ātmanas-oh-aibhik-āmaśmika-yathābhilāṣita-phal-āvaṭṭi,
nimittam-ā-chandr-ārka(a)-
21 āraṇava-kṣiti-sarit-parvata-sihiti-samakālinam putra-pautr-ānvaya-bhōtyam⁸ bali-
vharu-vaiśvadēv-ādyānām kri-
22 yāpām ⁹samātsarpya-ārtiham-udak-ātisarggēṣa brahmadāyō nirīṣṭaḥ yatō-nayōr-
uchitayā brahmadāya-
23 sthityā bhūhṛjatoḥ kṛishatoḥ pradīśator-vvā na kaiś=chi[t*] svalp=āpy-āpādha¹⁰
kāryy-āsmad-¹¹vaṅga-jair-āgāmi-bhadra-
24 nripatibhiś=ch-ānityāny-aśvāryyāny-aśvāhira[m*] mānuhaya[m*] sāma(mā)nyam
cha bhūmi-dāna-phalam-avagaśchhadbhiḥ
25 ¹²apam-asamad-dāyō-numattavyaḥ¹³ [i*] yas=ch-āchchhindyād-āchchhidyamānam va-
ānumōdāt=sa¹⁴ paśchabhir-mmahadātakniḥ¹⁵
26 sōpapātakaś=sa[m]yuktas=ayād-api ch=ātra Vyāsa-gītau ¹⁶ślokā bhavanti [i*]
Shashti-varsha-sahasrāpi svarggē
27 mōdati bhūmidat [i*] āchchhettā ch=ānuman[t]ā cha tāny=ēva narakē vasēḥ¹⁷
[i*] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[h*]
28 Sagar-ādibhiḥ [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā phalam . (II)
Svabastō mama mahā-

¹ Read -shēka-.² Read chatvāriṇśad-.³ Read -bhōgya-.⁴ Read -śōḍaśa-.⁵ Read -mantavyaḥ-.⁶ Read ślokā bhavataḥ.⁷ Read "mānakān-ānumattavyaḥ-.⁸ Read shēka-.⁹ Read -sarpya-.¹⁰ Read -vanta-.¹¹ Read "mōdāt sa-.¹² Read vasēḥ.¹³ Perhaps tatā-ātisarggēṣa-.¹⁴ Read ayan-.¹⁵ Read -mmahāpātakaḥ.

29 sāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasāsana(h) [||*] Dātakaḥ pratihāra-Mammakaḥ
 [||*] Likhitaṁ Kikkakēna [||*]
 30 Sam 200 8 Bhādrapada śu 5.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Om. Hail! From Valabhī. (In the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who forcibly prostrated their enemies, (was born) the general, the glorious Bhataḥka, who obtained splendour in hundreds of battles fought within the circuit of the territories of adversaries of unequalled strength; who gained devotion by gifts, honours and straightforwardness towards those whom he had prostrated by his splendour; who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants and friends; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 4.) His son (was) the general Dharmasāna, whose head was purified, bent before and reddened by the dust of his feet; the shining line of the nails of whose feet was inlaid with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes when they bent with their heads (before him); whose wealth was being lived upon by poor and helpless people; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 6.) His younger brother (was) the Mahārāja Drūpasīma, whose spotless crest-jewel became auspicious by bowing down to his (brother's) feet; whose nature (manifested itself in) the performance of the regulations laid down by Manu and others; who like Dharmarāja (i.e. Yudhishtira) fixed the path of the laws of good conduct; whose anointment to the kingdom was performed by the paramount sovereign in person, the lord of the circuit of the territories of the whole earth, and whose royal glory was purified by (his) great liberality; the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara.

(Line 10.) His younger brother, who like a lion defeated singlehanded, by the strength of his own arm, the array of the troops of the elephants of (his) enemies; who was the refuge of those who sought for refuge; who grasped the real purport of the meaning of the Śāstras; who, like the kalpa-tree, granted the enjoyment of rewards according to the wishes of (his) friends and favourites; the devout worshipper of Bhagavat; who meditates on the feet of the paramount lord; the Mahāsāmanta, the Mahārāja Dhruvasāna, being in good health, issues the following order to all his āyuktakas, vinīyuktakas, officers of the watch-stations, mahattaras, district officers, soldiers, dhruvādāhikarakas, dāṇḍapāṭīkas, and others according as they are concerned:

(Line 15.) Be it known to you that I have given as a brahmadāya, with libations of water, in the Hastavapra-āharaṇī, in the village Madkanā, hundred and forty pādāvaras belonging to the householder Īśvara and an irrigation-well with an area of sixteen pādāvaras; further in the Tapasiya village, hundred and forty pādāvaras, the holding of Dhindaka; further on the north-eastern border of Tinishaka village hundred pādāvaras, together with an irrigation-well, to (two) inhabitants of Śaṅkaravāṭaka, (viz.) the brāhmaṇas Kumārasarma and Jarabhajji, of the Śaṅḍilya gotra, students of the Chhandāga school, for the increase of the religious merit of My mother and father and in order to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I wish, to last for the same time as the moon, sun, ocean, earth, the rivers and mountains, to be enjoyed by the succession of their sons and sons' sons, for the performance of the rites of bali, charu, and vaiśadāsa and others. Therefore, not even a slight obstruction should be made by anyone to these two while they are enjoying it in accordance with the proper conditions of a brahmadāya, cultivating it or assigning it (to others). And this Our gift should be assented to by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common. And he who confiscates it or assents to its being confiscated, incurs the guilt of the five great sins together with the minor sins.

(Line 26.) There are also two verses sung by Vyāsa about this. The giver of land rejoices in heaven for sixty thousand years; but he who confiscates or approves (of confiscation) dwells in hell the same number of years.

The earth has been enjoyed by many kings beginning with Sagara; whosoever at any time possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward.

(Line 28.) The sign-manual of Me the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*. The messenger is the *pratibhāva Mammaka*. Written by Kikkaka.

The year 200 (and) 6; (the month) Bhādrapada; the bright (fortnight); the 5th (tithi).

II—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I.; [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210.

These plates are described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,—“Two plates without ring or seal. Each of them has, however, two ring holes. The ring hole of the left-hand corner of the bottom of the first plate is not complete, a small piece of its lower margin being broken just below the ring hole. Each plate is written only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself in a few places on the back of both plates. The length of the plates varies from 10½" to 10¾" and the height from 6½" to 6¾". The height of individual letters is about ¼". Each plate contains 14 lines of well executed writing in a very good state of preservation.

The alphabet is of the same kind as in the plates described above. The *visarga* is apparently used as a sign of interpunctuation in *bhavantī*, i.e. *bhavanti* ||, l. 23. The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 occur in ll. 27 f.

The orthography is similar to that of the foregoing grant. Forms such as *kaiś=chī*, l. 21, *śiha*, l. 9, and *śammatī*, l. 23, look like Prākṛitisms. The forms *Jyāvala* for the common *Jāvala*, l. 16, and *-rāja*, which perhaps stands for *rāja*, l. 3, have been discussed above. Sords, liquids and nasals are doubled after *r*; thus, *-ārjjavāpārjīl*, l. 2; *-dharmma*, l. 7. A sord has been doubled before *y* in *-amudhyāś*, l. 12; *-sambaddhyāmāna*, l. 14. The engraver has not been careful to avoid miswritings. Thus the *anusoāra* has often been left out, and in ll. 9, 23 and 25, whole syllables are missing. An *a* is very often wrongly written instead of an *ā*; thus, *pratap-śpanata-dāna-man*, l. 2; *-naraś*, l. 2; and other instances in ll. 3, 5, 7, 13, 14, 19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27; *a* is written instead of *i* in *-ayam*, i.e. *-iyam*, l. 23; *i* is used for *ī* in *vāpi*, l. 18; *i* for *ī* in *-manī*, l. 4; *-maṇī*, l. 7; *viditā*, l. 15; *ī* for *ī* in *-numōdētā*, l. 21; *u* for *ū* in *bhūmī*, l. 22; *g* for *ī* in *-vigrāpan*, l. 9; *n* for *ṇ* in *Maitrakānām*, l. 1, and so forth. Writings such as *-didhīl dā*, l. 5, on the other hand, are not mistakes of the writer, but this instance of wrong *śaḍhi* belongs to the original draft and recurs in most of the grants of Dhruvasēna. The redundant *bhavanti*, l. 23, is perhaps also due to carelessness in the original draft.

The grant was issued from Valabhi by the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*, in order to confirm the Brāhmaṇa Viśvaśarmaṇ, of the Jāvāla *gōtra*, a student of the Vājisaṇēya (*śākha*) and a resident of Sindhapura, in the possession of some land in the Hastavapra-*śharapī*, *vis*, the *karada* field cultivated by the Brāhmaṇa Viśākha, on the south-western border of the Bhallara village, and the Āmrillōka tank; and further 50 *pādāvaras* on the northern border of the Vasukiya village, to be entered from Akshasarakā. I am unable to identify the villages the Vasukiya village, to be entered from Akshasarakā-*prācīya*. This corresponds to Bhallara and Vasukiya. Vasukiya is said to be Akshasarakā-*prācīya*. This corresponds to the Akshasarakā-*prāpīya* in the Gaṇeśgaḍ plates of Samvat 207, which Professor Hultzsch¹

¹ Above, Vol. III. p. 323.

translates "which belongs to the Akshasarakaprāpa," comparing the expression *Vaṣaṭhalika-prāpīya-* in l. 5 of the copper-plate grant of Guhasāna of Śaivāt 243,¹ instead of which we should perhaps read *Vaṣapallikāprāpīya-*. It seems certain that *prāpīya* is synonymous with *prāvēśya*, which also occurs in the Khariār plates of Mahāsudēva.² *Prāvēśya* may, of course, be a fiscal term. It is, however, not likely that it means anything else than what it does in the common phrase *achāṭa-bhaṭa-prāvēśya*. *Prāpīya* must then be a Prakṛit form of *prāpīya*.³ I would accordingly translate *Akshasarakā-prāvēśya* "which is entered from Akshasarakā," i.e. borders on Akshasarakā. I cannot locate Akshasarakā. The last part of the word is probably *saraka*, lake, pond. Of the remaining geographical names mentioned in the plates, *Valabhī* and *Hastavaprāharāṇi* have been referred to above. The name *Āmrilika* probably means "abounding in mangoes." *Simhapura*, where the donee resided, also occurs in the plates of Dharaśēna IV. of Śaivāt 326 published in the *Bombay Journal*, Vol. X, p. 77 ff. It is the present Sihor, situated in 21° 43' N. and 72° E.

The *dātaka* was the *pratīhāra* *Mammaka*, and the writer *Kikkaka*, as in the preceding grant. The grant is dated on the 15th (tithi) of the bright fortnight of Śrāvana in the (*Valabhī*) year 210, corresponding to A.D. 529.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm⁴ svasti [H*] Valabhitaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇām Maitrakānām⁵-atula-
bala-sapatna-maṇḍalābhoga-
- 2 samsakta-saṁprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpaḥ prāṇ(tā)p-ōpanata-dāsa-ma(mā)n-ārjjav-
ōpārjitaūnra(rā)gō-nuraktā-
- 3 m[an]labhṛta-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āva(vā)pta-rājāśrīḥ⁶ paramamāhēśvaras-sēna(nā)pati-Śrī-
Bhaṭakkaḥ
- 4 tasya sutas-tat-pāda-raḥṇ-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-śrīś-śrō-vanata-śatru-chūḍāmaṇi(ḥ)-
- 5 prabhā-vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṁkti-didhitiḥ di(dī)n-ānūtha-jan-ōpajīvyama(mā)na-
vibhavaḥ
- 6 paramamāhēśvaras-sēnāpati-Dharaśēnas-tasy-ānujas-tat-pād-ābhīpraṇāma-praśasta-
vimala-
- 7 maṇḍimāṇi(r) = Mmanv-ādi-praṇīta-vidhi-vidha(dhā)na-dharmā Dharmarāja iva
vihita-vinaya-vy[a]vasthā-pa-
- 8 ddhatir-akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍalābhoga-svāminā parama-svāminā svayam-upahita-
rājyābhishēka-
- 9 mahā-vigra(śrī)ṇas-apūta⁷-rājāśrīḥ paramamāhēśvaro mahārāja-Drōṇasimhas-si[ri*]ha
iva
- 10 tasy-ānujas-sva-bhoja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭ-ānikānā(m)m-ēkaviṣyī śaraṇ-aishipā[ri*]
śaraṇa-
- 11 m-avaboddhā śāstr-ārthā-tattvānām kalpatarur-iva suhṛit-praṇayināṁ
yathābhilashita-phal-ōpa-
- 12 bhōgadaḥ paramabh[a]gavataḥ paramabhaṭyā(tā)ra-ka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāśmanta-
mahārāja-Dhruva-
- 13 sēnaḥ kuśali s[a]rvvān-ēva svān-āyuktaka-vimiyuktaka-cha(chā)ṭa-bhaṭa-drāṅgika-
mahattara-
- 14 dhruvādhi-karaṇika-dāṇḍapāśik-ādīn-anyātmē-cha yathā-sambaddhyāmānaka(kā)n-anudarsa-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. V. p. 206 f. (No. 407 of the late Prof. Kielhorn's *Northern List*).

² See above, Vol. IX. p. 172, text-line 4.

Read *śrēṇī*.

³ [See above, p. 81 and note 1.—Ed.]

⁴ Expressed by a symbol.

⁵ Perhaps *rājyāśrīḥ*.

⁶ Expressed by a symbol.

⁷ Read *śrēṇī*.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14.

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SCALE · 8.

V. VENKAYYA.

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Second Plate.

- 15 yaty-astu vō vidi(di)taṁ yathā Sīmhapura-vāstavya-brāhmaṇa-Vishṇuśarmmaṇē
 16 Jyāvāla-sagotrāya Vājisanēya-sabrahmachāriṇē Hastavapr-āharanyā[m*] Bhallāra-
 17 grām-āparadakhīṇa-sīmni brāhmaṇa-Viśākha-prabhuktaka-karada-kshētram dvādaśa-
 pādā-
 18 varita-pariser-Āmrilikā vāpi(pī) tath-Ākshasaraka-prāvēśya-Vasukiya-grāmōttara-
 19 sīmni[i] pādavaritāḥ pañchāśad-bhukta-bhujyamānakāḥ etan-mayā mātā(tā) pitrōḥ
 puṇy-ā-
 20 pyāyanāy-ātmanāś-ch-aiḥik-āmushmika-yathābhilāshita-phal-a(l-ā) vāpti-nimitta[m*]
 pūrvvachāra-
 21 sthity-ānumōdē(di)taṁ yatō=aya bhūmijataḥ kṛishataḥ karshayataḥ pradīśatō vā
 na kais-chi[t*]
 22 paripanthanā kāryy-āsmad-varṇsajair-āg[ā]mi-bhadra-nripatibhiś-cha sāma(mā)nyam
 bhū(bhū)mi-dāna-phalam-ava-
 23 gaehēhād-bhir-ayam-asmad-anumatī¹ mantavyā [i]* bhavanti ch-ātra Vyāsagitāḥ
 śloka bhavanti(h)
 24 Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabbis=Sagar² dibhiḥ [i*] yasya yasya yadā bhūmīs-
 tasya tasya tadā
 25 phalam [i*] Shaashthim varsha-sahaarṇi svarggē mōdati bhūmidah [i*]
 āchēhētta(tā) ch-ānumanta(tā) cha ta(tā)ny-ē[va*] natakō vasō [i*]
 26 Svadattā[m*] paradattam vā yō harēta vasundharām [i*] gavā[m*] śatasahasasya
 hantūḥ pra(prā)pnōti kilbisham [i*]
 27 Svabastō mama maha(hā)sāmanta-maha(hā)rāja-Dhruvasēnasya [i*] Dātakah
 prāthāra-Mammakah [i*] Likhitaḥ Kikkakēna [i*] Sam 200 10
 28 Śrāvaps āu 10 5

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-14 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam. 206].

(Line 15.) Be it known to you that for the inhabitant of Sīmhapura, (viz.) the Brāhmaṇa Vishṇuśarmaṇ, of the Jāvāla gōtra, a student of the Vājisanēya (śākhā), the following (property), viz. in the Hastavapra-āharani, in the Bhallāra village, on the south-western border, the karada² field (formerly) enjoyed by the Brāhmaṇa Viśākha, (and) the irrigation well Āmrilikā extending over twelve pādavaras; further on the northern frontier of the Vasukiya village, which can be entered from (i.e. which borders on) Akshasaraka, fifty pādavaras, which have formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee), has been confirmed by Me, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father, and in order to obtain for Myself such rewards here and in the other world as I may wish. Therefore obstruction should not be made by any one to him while he enjoys it, cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated or assigns it (to others). This Our confirmation should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 23.) There are also verses sung by Vyāsa about this. The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. He who rescinds grants of land made by himself or others, incurs the guilt of the killer of hundred thousand cows.

¹ Read -iyam-asmad-anumatir-ānumantavyā.

² Karada perhaps means 'tribute paying.' It is of course possible to read -prabhuktaka-karada-.

(Line 27.) The sign-manual of Me the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*. The messenger is the *pratihāra* Mammaka. Written by Kikkaka. The year 200 and 10; (the month) Śrāvana; the bright (fortnight); the fifteenth (*tithi*).

III.—PALITĀNĀ PLATES OF DHRUVASĒNA I.; [VALABHĪ-] SAMVAT 210.

These are two plates which have been described as follows by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya,—
“Each of them has two ring-holes. Each plate is written only on one side. The working of the engraver’s tool shows itself in a few places on the back. The length of the plates is about 10½”; the height varies from 6½” to 7½”.

The plates are in a good state of preservation. The first contains 15 and the second 12 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is ¼”.

The characters are of the same kind as in the plates dealt with above. They comprise the signs for an initial *au* in *Aupasvastī*, l. 17; for a final *t* in *trīśat*, l. 17 and *ce(ce)śt*, l. 24; for a final *m* in *-amujātām*, l. 19. The curious shape of the *visarga* in *krishatā*, l. 20; *-gītāś*, l. 22; *-ādībhīś*, l. 23; *-vāśhanāś*, l. 25, is probably due to the engraver’s misunderstanding his draft. Note also the signs of *-ā-* in *-āim-āka-*, l. 11, and of *ś* in l. 12. A sign of inter-punctuation occurs in l. 25. The numerical symbols for 200, 10 and 5 are found in l. 27.

With regard to orthography the remarks made about the preceding grants also hold good here. The wrong *samāhi* in *blumjātō krish-*, l. 20, may be a Prākṛitism. The same is perhaps the case with *Drōṇasāhams-śha śva*, l. 10. Consonants are doubled after *r* in the usual way; thus, *-śrījāśpārjīta-*, l. 2 f.; *-dharmma Dharmma-*, l. 8; *-māryyāśaya-*, l. 20, etc. The doubling of a surd before *y* in *-āuddhyātō*, l. 13, *-sambaddhyamśna-*, l. 15, is also in accordance with the practice in similar grants. There are several instances of careless writing; thus we find *a* for *ā* in *dānaman-*, l. 2; *capī*, l. 16; *brahmapa-*, l. 17; *-āpyāyanaya-*, l. 18; *tā(sā)mānyām*, l. 22; *-ānumanta-*, l. 24; *-dayaś*, l. 25; *ā* for *a* in *chā*, l. 24; *krishpādhyāś*, l. 25; *a* for *ā* in *blumi-*, l. 25; *ri* for *ri* in *trīśat*, l. 17; *ś* for *a* in *ceśt*, l. 24; *ś* for *ai* in *śarāśhiptāś*, l. 11; *chch* for *ch* in *chch-ānu-*, l. 24; *chhy* for *adhy* in *Vichhyāśarish-*, l. 25; perhaps *j* for *jya* in *-rāja-*, l. 3; *ācha* for *śva* in *āchayāja*, l. 27; *ta* for *gā* in *-ātam-*, l. 21; *t* for *tt* in *-tātōānām*, l. 11; *āchchhētō*, l. 24; *tā* for *ā* in *tāmānyām*, l. 22; *p* for *y* in *mapāpī*, l. 18; *dā* for *ma* in *-āśhikādēśhmika-*, l. 19; *a* for *ś* in *maitrakānām-*, l. 1, for *i* in *ādny-śva*, l. 24, and for *v* in *-anumantany-*, l. 22; *p* for *y* in *patō*, l. 20; *s* for *śh* in *śuka-*, l. 25. L. 21 contains a series of mistakes in *-chavityāny-āivaryyāny-śsthira mānuryya tāmānyām*. Note also the superfluous *anusvāra* in *-śhaśm-*, l. 10; *śhprīnt-*, l. 12; the superfluous *va* in l. 21; the redundant *ha* in *vāśhanāś*, l. 25; the omission of *nā* in *-ānīś(nā*)m-*, l. 11; the omission of a *visarga* in *rajāśhi*, l. 23, and the form *Kikkaka* instead of *Kikkakēna*, l. 26. In l. 5, on the other hand, we find the correct *samāhi* *-dīdhitir-ādān-*, while the other grants of Dhruvasēna have *-dīdhitīś dīn-*.

The grant was issued from Valabhi by the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna* to the Brāhmaṇa Skanda of the *Aupasvastī gōtra*, a student of the *Vajisanēya śākhā*, a resident of *Akrōlaka* village, who was therewith confirmed in the possession of an irrigation well (*vāpī*) and a field of thirty *pādānurtas*, on the northern border of the village. I am not able to identify this village. The messenger was *Rudradhara*, who is not elsewhere known, and the writer, as in the preceding grants, *Kikkaka*. The grant is dated on the fifth (*tithi*) of the dark (*P*) fortnight of *Āśvayuja*, in the (Valabhi) year 210, corresponding to A.D. 529. The syllable denoting the fortnight has been miswritten, and it is possible that it should be restored as *śu* and not as *ba*. The mistake is due to the final syllable of the preceding word being wrongly repeated.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ २ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ३ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ ४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ५ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ ६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ७ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ ८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ९ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ १० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ ११ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ १२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १३ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ १४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १५ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ १६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १७ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ १८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १९ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ २० ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २१ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ २२ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २३ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ २४ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २५ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ २६ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २७ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ २८ ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ २९ ॥
 धनुर्मास शुक्ल तृतीया ॥ ३० ॥

[illegible]

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [l^{*}] Valabhitaḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitrāṇā[m^{*}] Maitrakanām(ṇām)-
atula-bala-sapatna-ma-
2 ṇḍal-ābhoga-samsakta-sa[m^{*}] prahāra-fata-labha-pratāpaḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-ma(mā)n-
ārjja-
3 v-ōpārjīṭ-ānurāgō-nurakta-manlabhrita-mitra-śrēṇī-bal-āvāpta-rājaśrīḥ² paramamā-
4 hēśvaras-sēnāpati-Śrī-Bhaṭṭakka-tasya sutas-tach-charapa-rajō-rup-āvanata-pavitrikṛita-
5 śirāḥ śirō-vanata-śatru-chōḍāmāṇi-prabhā-vichohhurita-pāda-nakha-parakṭi-didhitir-ddin-
ānā-
6 tha-jan-ōpajivyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras-sēnāpati-Dharaśēnas-tasy-ānuja-
7 s-tat-pād-ābhīpraṇāma-prasasta-vimala-maulimaṇir-Mmanv-ādi-praṇita-vidhi-vidhāna-
8 dharmmā Dharmmarāja iva vihitā-vinaya-vyavasth[ā]-paddhatir-akhila-bhuvana-maṇḍal-
ābhoga-
9 svāminā paramasvāminā svayam-upahita-rājy-ābhishēka-mahāviśrāṇan-āvapūta-rā-
10 ja[s]rīḥ paramamāhēśvarō mahārāja-Drōṇasīham(simha)s-si[m^{*}]ha iva tasy-ānujas-
svabhuja-balō-
11 na para-gaja-ghat-ānikā[ṇā^{*}]m-ēkavijayi śaraṇē(ṇai)shipām śaraṇam-avaboddhā
śāstr-ārti[th]a-ta[t^{*}]tvā-
12 nām kalpatarur-iva subhī(m)t-prapayinām yathābhilashita-phal-ōpabhōgadah
parama-
13 bhāgavataḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-pād-ānuddhyātō mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnaḥ
14 kuśālī sarvvān-ēva svān-āyuktaka-viniyuktaka-chāṭa-bhaṭa-matattara-drāḍgika-
dhruvā-
15 dhikarāṇika-dāṇḍapāśik-ādīn-anyāms-cha yathā-sambaddhyamānakān-anudarsa-

Second Plate.

- 16 yaty-astu vō viditam yath-Ākrōlaka-grāma uttara-s[i]mni dvādaśa-pādā(r)vartta-
parisārā va(vā)pi(pi)
17 kshētra-pādāva[r]ttās-cha tri(tri)mśat tatr-aiva vāstavya-brā(brā)hmaṇa-Skandāya
Anpasvasti-sagotrāya Vājisanēya-
18 sabrahmacchāriṇē yad-ētat=[pū]rvvabhukta-bhujyamānakam tan-mapā(y-ā)pi
mātāpitroh puṇy-āpyāyana(nā)ya
19 ātmanas-cha-aihiḥ-ādē(mu)shmika-yathābhilashita-phal-āvāpti-nimittam pūrvv-achāra-
sthity-ānujātam
20 pa(ya)tō-sya pūrvva-bhukti-maryyādayā bhūmijatā(ṭaḥ) kṛishata[h]³ karahayataḥ
pradiśātō vā na kūna-vi(chi)t-svalp-āpy-ā-
21 b[ā]dhā vichārapā vā (na) kāryy-āsmad-vamśajair-āta(gā)mi-bhadra nripatibhiḥ-cha-
vityāny-aiśvaryyāny-ēsthira mōnurya
22 tā(sā)ma(mā)nyam cha bhūmidāna-phalam-avagachchhadbhir-iyam-asmad-anumatir-
anumantanyā(vy-ā)pi ch-ātra Vyāsa-gītā⁴
23 ślokā bhavanti [l^{*}] Bahubhir-vvasudhā bhuktā rājabhi[h^{*}] Sagar-ādibhiḥ⁵[l^{*}]
yasya yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā

¹ Expressed by a symbol.² Perhaps -rājyaśrīḥ.³ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *cisarga*.⁴ Read *ch-aiśvaryyāny-aiśvaryyāny-ēsthira mōnurya*.⁵ The engraver has misread his draft and misshaped the *cisarga*.

- 24 phalam [||*] Shashti-varsha-sahasrāṇi svarggē modati bhōmid[a]h [||*] āchchbe[t*]tā
(ch)ch=ānumanta(ntā) chā(cha) nāny(tāny)-ēva narakē vē(va)sēt [||*]
25 Vichhy(Vindhy)-āṭavishv-atoṃyāsu āuska(śushka)-kōṭara-vāsihana[h](vāsinah) [||*]
krishnāhā(ha)yō hi jāyantē bhu(bhū)mi-da(dā)yaṁ haranti yē ||
26 Svabastō mama mahāsāmanta-mahārāja-Dhruvasēnasya [||*] Dātako Rudradharaḥ
[||*] Likhitaṁ Kikkaka(Kikkakēna)
27 Saṁ 200 10 a[ñcha](āva)yuja ja(ba?) 5

TRANSLATION.

[Lines 1-15 are practically identical with the beginning of the plates of Sam. 206.]

(Line 16.) Be it known to you that, in order to increase the religious merit of My mother and father and to obtain for Myself in this world and the other such rewards as I may wish, I have, in accordance with the settled rules of former usage, confirmed (*the enjoyment of*) an irrigation-well with an area of twelve *pādārcas* and thirty *pādārcas* arable land on the northern border of *Akrōlaka* village which had formerly been and are still being enjoyed (by the donee) for the benefit of the resident of that same place, (*viz.*) the *Brāhmaṇa* Skanda, of the *Anpasvaṇti gōtra*, a student of the *Vājisaṇḍeya (śākhā)*. Therefore not even a slight obstruction or dispute must be made by anybody to him while he enjoys (*this land*), cultivates it, causes it to be cultivated, or assigns it (*to others*) in accordance with the conditions under which he enjoyed (*it*) previously. This Our confirmation (*of the old grant*) should be confirmed by those born in Our lineage and by future pious kings, bearing in mind that power is perishable, that the life of man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land is common.

(Line 22.) There are also verses sung by *Vyāsa* about this,—The earth has been enjoyed, etc. The giver of land, etc. Those who rescind a grant of land are reborn as black serpents living in the dry hollows of trees in the waterless forests of the *Vindhyas*.

(Line 26.) The sign manual of Me the *Mahāsāmanta*, the *Mahārāja* *Dhruvasēna*. The messenger is *Rudradhara*. Written by *Kikkaka*. The year 200 (and) 10; (the month) *Āśva[yuja]*; the dark (?) (fortnight); the 5th (*tithi*).

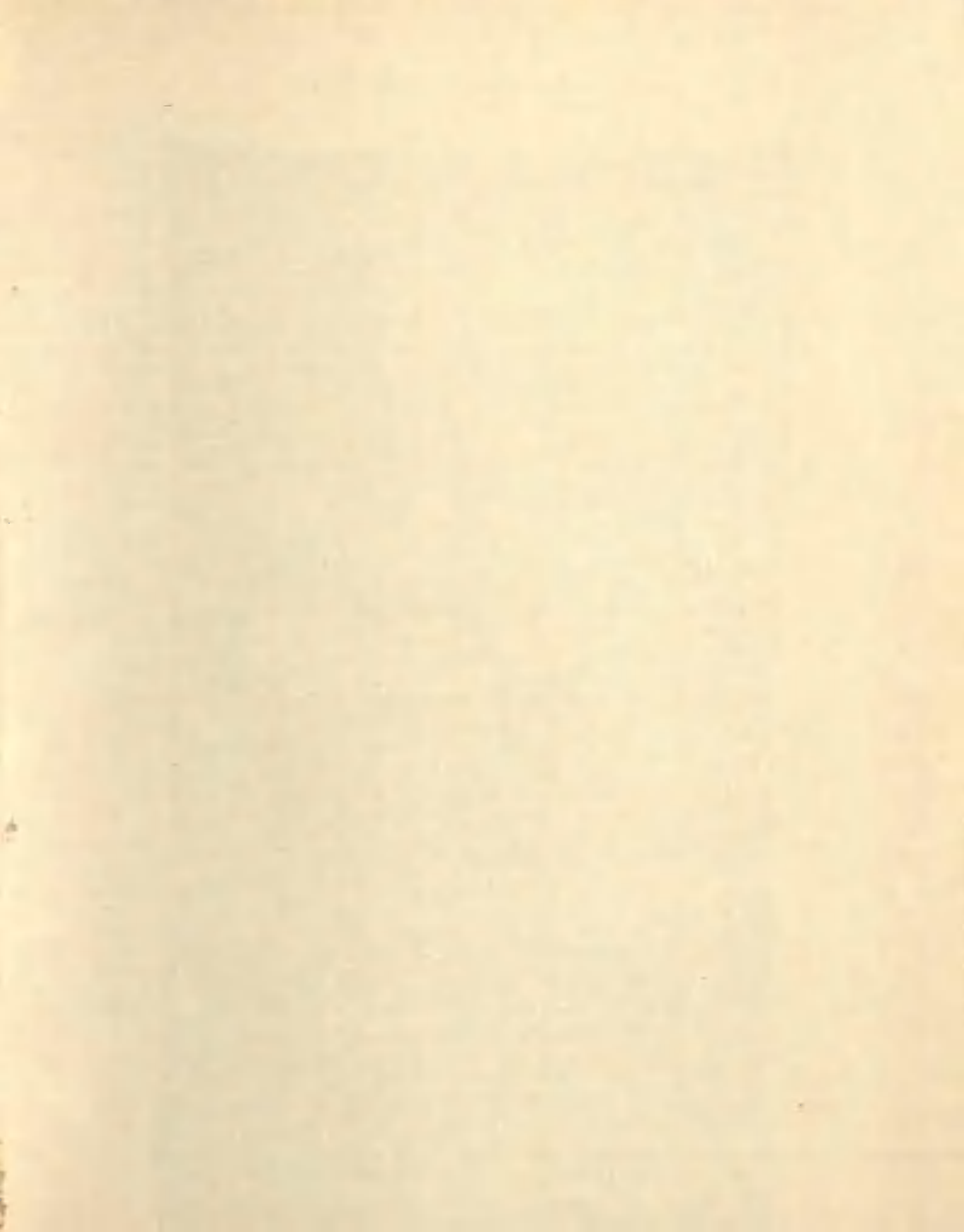
IV.—PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF DHRUVASĒNA I.

This plate has been described as follows by *Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya*,—"One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It is written on one side and has two ring-holes at the bottom. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. There is also a square hole in the left-hand top corner of the plate, bored into the symbol representing the syllable *om*. Length of plate varies from 11' to 11½"; height varies from 6½' to 6¾'."

The plate contains 13 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is ¼".

The characters are similar to those used in the other plates. They comprise the sign of the *ñvaṇmāliya* in *-Dhruvasēnaḥ-kulali*, l. 12. There are three different forms of the medial long *-i-*. Two of them occur in *-didhitiḥ dīn-*, l. 5, and the third in *-praṇīta-*, l. 6. Note also the form of *-ē-* in *-nām-ēka-*, l. 9, which is likewise used in the corresponding passage of the grant just dealt with.

With regard to orthography, we may note the usual doubling of consonants after *r*; thus, *-ārttha-*, l. 10; *-sarvāṇa-*, l. 12. On the other hand, we have a single *dh* before *y* in *-ānudyāyā-*, l. 11; *-sambadhya-*, l. 13, as in the grant of *Samvat 206*. The absence of *saṁdhi* in *-didhitiḥ dīn-*, l. 5, is in accordance with the common practice in *Dhruvasēna's* grants. In l. 4 we find *-rupa-*



nata- instead of -ruṣ-āvanata-, and the syllables *āma-pra* have been omitted in l. 6. In l. 7 we find *viphāta-* for *vāhita-*. On the whole the engraver has done his work carefully.

The grant was issued from Valabhī by the *Mahāsīmanta*, the *Mahārāja Dhruvasēna*, but only the formal portion is preserved.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm¹ svasti [||*] Valabhitāḥ prasabha-praṇat-āmitra(trā)ṇāṃ Maitrakāṇām-atula-bala-
sapatna-maṇḍal-ābhoga-
- 2 samsakta- samprahāra-śata-labdha-pratāpāḥ pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjjit-
ānurāgo-nurakta-maula-
- 3 bhṛta-mitra-śrēṣṭi-bal-āvapta-rājyaśrīḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ śrī-sēnāpati- Bhaṭakkas-tasya
sutas=tat-pāda-
- 4 rājō-ruṣ-anala(ruṣ-āvanata)-pavitṛ[i]kṛita-śirāḥ śirō-vanata-śatru-chōḍāmaṇi-prabhā-
vichchhurita-pāda-nakha-paṅkti-
- 5 dīdhitīḥ dīn-ānātha-jan-ōpajīvyamāna-vibhavaḥ paramamāhēśvaras=sēnāpati- Dharasēnaḥ
- 6 tasy= ānuja= tat-pād-ābhīpra[pāma-pra*]śasta-vimala-mauli-maṇir-Mmauv-ādi-prapita-vidhi-
vidhāna-dharmā Dharmma-
- 7 rāja iva vi[ph]ita-vinaya-vyavasthā-paddhatir-akhila- bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhoga-svāminā
parama-
- 8 svāminā svayam=upakīta-rājy-ābhishāka-mahāvisrāṇan-āvapṛta-rājaśrīḥ paramamā-
hēśvaraḥ
- 9 mahārāja-Drōṇasimhas-simha iva tasy=ānujaḥ svabhuja-balēna para-gaja-ghaṭ-
ānikānām-ēka-
- 10 vijayi śaraṇ-nishīṇāṃ śaraṇam=avaboddhā śāstr-ārttha-ta[t*]tvānām kalpatarur-iva
subhṛit-prapayinām
- 11 yathābhilāshita-phal-ōpabhōgadah paramabhāgavataḥ paramabhāṭṭāraka-pād-
ānudhyātō
- 12 mahārāja-Dhruvasēnaḥ=kuśali sarvān=ēva svān=āyuktaka-mahattara-drāṅgika-
chāta-bhaja-
- 13 dhruvasthānādhikarāṇa-daṇḍapāsik-ādīn=anyāni=cha yathā-sambadhya-

V.—PALITĀNĀ PLATE OF [ŚĪLĀDITYA I DHARMĀDITYA; VALABHĪ-
SĀMVAT 286].

Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya has favoured me with the following description of this plate,—
“One plate only of the inscription is preserved. It has two ring-holes at the bottom, but neither the ring nor the seal which it might have borne is forthcoming. A small piece of the plate is broken at the left top corner, damaging a portion of the symbol for *ōm*. Likewise a small piece is missing at the beginning of l. 10, where, however, no letter has been damaged. The plate is engraved only on one side. The working of the engraver's tool shows itself almost completely at the back. Length of plate varies from 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ " to 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ ". Height about 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".

The plate contains 18 lines of well executed writing. The average height of individual letters is $\frac{1}{8}$ ".

The characters agree with those used in the grants of Śīlāditya I.

With regard to orthography, we may note the use of *ri* for *ri* in *tridasa*-, l. 7; of *ri* for *ri* in *triṣa*-, l. 7; the writing of *mgh* for *mḥ* in *samghatis*-, l. 5 and in *samghat*-, l. 13; the use of *s*

¹ Expressed by a symbol.

for *ś* in *-śasa-*, l. 15; the doubling of consonants after *r* and before *y* in *-ārjjasōpārjji-*, l. 2; *Bhaṭārkkād-*, l. 3; *sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l. 6; *-ānuddhyāta-*, l. 14, and so on. There are a few mistakes, such as *ā* for *a* in *-pētha-*, l. 18; *t* for *tt* in *-sata-*, l. 4; *j* for *jj* in *-ōjvala-*, l. 18; *p* for *pr* in *-pabhāva-*, l. 4; a superfluous *anumāra* in *-rūāja-*, l. 3, and so on. The first *κ* in *santāna-*, l. 9, has been misshaped and looks almost like a *v*. Note also the absence of *sāndhi* in *-śabdaḥ rūpa-*, l. 6.

The plate contains only the formal portion of the grant and breaks off in the description of Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya, but it is absolutely certain that Mr. Jackson was right in assuming that the grant was issued by him. The absence of *sāndhi* in *-śabdaḥ rūpa-*, l. 6; the word *-dhairyya-* in *-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-*, l. 6; and the word *-bala-* in *-ākṣhīla-bala-dhanurdharaḥ*, l. 11, occur in all the grants of Śilāditya but not in other Valabhi grants. It is also possible to state definitely that the plate belongs to a grant issued before Valabhi-Saṁvat 290, because the spellings *-saṁghatī-*, l. 5; *-tridaśaguru-*, l. 7, and *saṁghat-*, l. 13, which also occur in the Walā plates of Valabhi-Saṁvat 286, are not found in the Dhānka plates of Valabhi-Saṁvat 290. The last words of our plate are *-ōjvalatari-kṛt-ārthā-*, and by comparing other Valabhi grants we find that the second plate must have begun *-śukha-sampad-upasā-*. Now these are the first words of the fragmentary second Walā plate of Śilāditya I. Dharmāditya, dated Saṁ. 200 80 6 Vaisākha-va(?) 6, which has been published by Dr. Bhandarkar.¹ The length of that plate is, according to the editor, 12" and the height 8½". The size therefore also agrees with that of our plate, and there cannot be any doubt that the two plates belong together, so that the whole grant is now before us. To judge from Dr. Bhandarkar's edition the second plate is not well preserved. I asked Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya to be good enough to try to get hold of it so that it could be republished together with the first plate. His endeavours to do so have not, however, been successful, and I therefore edit the beginning alone.

TEXT.

- 1 Ōm² svasti [H*] Valabhītaḥ prasabha-prapat-āmītrāpāḥ Maitrakāpām-
atula-bala-saṁpaṇa-maṇḍal-ābhoga-saṁsakta-prahā-
- 2 ra-śata-labdha-pratāpāt-pratāp-ōpanata-dāna-mān-ārjjav-ōpārjji-ānurāgād-anurakta-
maulabhīta-śrēṣṭi-bal-ā-
- 3 vāpta-rāja-śriyaḥ paramamāhēśvara-Śrī-Bhaṭārkkād-avyavacchhinna-rā(m)ja-
vamsān-mātā-pitṛi-ohara-āravinda-prapāti-pravidhaut-āśēśha-kalma-
- 4 shah. śaśavāt-prabhṛiti khadga-dṛitīya-bāhur-ēva samada-para-gaja-ghaṭ-āspṇōṭana-
prakāśita-sa[H*]iva-nikāśha-tat-p[R*]abhā-
- 5 va-prapat-ārāti-ohādāratna-prabhā-saṁsakta-pāda-nakha-raśmi-saṁgha(ba)ti-sakala-
smṛiti-prapita-mārgga-samyak-paripālana-
- 6 prajā-hṛidaya-rahjan-ānvartha-rāja-śabdaḥ rūpa-kānti-sthairyya-dhairyya-gāmbhīryya-
buddhi-sampadbhīḥ smara-śaśāṅk-ādirāj-ō-
- 7 dadhi-tri(tri)daśaguru-dhanēśān-atiśayānāś-śara-āgat-ābhaya-pradāna-paratayā tri-
(tri)ga[va]d-apast-āśēśha-avakāryya-
- 8 phala[H*] prārthan-ādhit-ārthā-pradān-anandita-vidvat-suhṛit-prapayī-hṛidayah
pādachār-iva sakala-bhuvana-maṇḍal-ābhō-
- 9 ga-pramōḍaḥ paramamāhēśvaraḥ Śrī-Guhasēnas-tasya sutas-tat-pāda-nakha-
mayāṅka-sa[nta]na-visṛita-Jāhnavī-jal-au-
- 10 gha-prakṣālit-āśēśha-kalmashaḥ prapayī-śata-sahasr-ōpājīryamāna-sampad-rūpa-lōbbhād-
iv-āśritas-sarabhāsam-ābhi-
- 11 gāmikair-gguṇais-sahaja-śakti-śikṣā-visēśha-vismāpit-ākṣhīla-bala-dhanurdharaḥ
prathama-narapati-samatīśiṣṭānā-

¹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. I, p. 66.² Expressed by a symbol.

[illegible]

- 12 m-anupālayitā dharmadāyānām= apākarttā praj-ōpaghāta-kāriṇām=upaplavānām
darśayitā śrī-sarasvatyōr=āk-ā-
- 13 dhīvāsaya saṅgha(ha)t-ārāti-pakaha-lakshmi-paribhōga-dakṣha-vikramō vikram-
ōpasaṃprāpta-vimāla-pārtibivaśrīḥ paramamābē-
- 14 śvaraḥ Śrī-Dharaśēnaś-tasya sutas=tat-pād-ānuddhyātas=sakala-jagad-ānanda-
ātyadbhuta-guṇa-samudaya-sthagita-samagra-diōma-
- 15 ōḍalas-samara-śata-vijaya-śobhā-sanātha-maṇḍalāgra-dyuti-bhāsuratar-āṇa-piṭh-ōḍūḍha-
guru-maṇḍratha-mahābhārah
- 16 sarva-vidyā-parāvara-vibhāg-ādhigama-vimāla-matir-api sarvatas-subhāshita-lavēn-āpi
sukh-ōpapādaniya-pari-
- 17 tōsha[h*] samagra-lōk-āgādha-gāmbhīryya-hridayō-pi sucharit-ātisaya-suvyakta-
parama-kalyāṇa-svabhāvaḥ khilī-bhū-
- 18 ta-kṛitayuga-nripati-pē(pa)tha-viśodhan-ādhigat-ōdagra-kīrttir=ddharmm-ānuparōdh -ō[j*]-
jvala-tari-kṛit-ārthha-

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm. Hail! From Valabhi. (In the lineage) of the Maitrakas, who had by force prostrated (their) enemies, from the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the illustrious Bhaṭṭarkka, who had acquired splendour in hundreds of battles connected with the circuit of the territories that he had obtained by means of his unequalled strength; who had gained the devotion of those whom he had prostrated by his splendour through his gifts, honours and straightforwardness; who obtained the glory of royalty by the strength of the array of devoted hereditary servants (*was descended*), the royal lineage being uninterrupted, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Gubasēna, whose sins were all washed away by the prostrations at the lotus feet of (his) mother and father; to whom (his) sword was indeed a second arm from (his) childhood; and who brightened the touchstone of his strength by splitting open the temples of the rutting elephants of his foes; the collection of the rays of the nails of whose feet was combined with the lustre of the crest jewels of his foes who were prostrated by the power of that (*strength*); who rendered (his) title of king appropriate by pleasing the minds of (his) subjects by thoroughly observing the conduct laid down in all the *smṛitis*; who in beauty, loveliness, stability, firmness, profundity, wisdom and wealth surpassed (*respectively*) Cupid, the moon, the king of mountains, the ocean, the preceptor of the gods (Bṛhaspati) and Dhanēśa; who, through being intent upon granting safety to those who came for protection, threw away all the results of his deeds as if they were straw; who gladdened the hearts of learned people, friends and favourites by giving (them) riches in excess of their demands; and who was, as it were, the personified happiness of the vast circle of the whole world;

(Line 9.) his son (*was*) the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Dharaśēna, whose sins were all washed away by the flood of the waters of the Ganges which flowed from the cluster of rays of the nails of the feet of his (*father*), whose wealth was being lived upon by hundreds of thousands of favourites; who was impetuously resorted to by attractive qualities as if from a desire for (*his*) beauty; who astonished the archers of all armies by his innate ability and excellent training; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who was a remover of calamities that might oppress (his) subjects; who showed (the world) Śrī and Sarasvatī living together; whose prowess was skilful in enjoying the Fortune of the compact ranks of his foes; and who by his prowess obtained spotless royal splendour;

(Line 14.) his son [the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the glorious Śilāditya], who meditates on his (*father's*) feet; who covers the whole horizon by the rise of his wonderful virtues that gladden the whole world; who supports the great burden of weighty desires on the pedestal of his shoulders (which have got their) splendour increased by the lustre of his sword that is

possessed of the brilliancy of victory in hundreds of battles; who though his intellect is pure by mastering the higher and lower divisions of all sciences, is always easily gratified by even a trifle of wit; who, though his heart possesses a profundity that is unfathomable by the whole world, well manifests his noble disposition in abundance of good conduct; who has achieved exalted fame by purifying the path of the kings of the Kṛitayuga which had become abandoned; [whose second name of Dharmāditya arose from his enjoying riches, happiness, and] wealth which have been made more resplendent by (his) non-obstructing the law.

No. 10.—BURMESE INSCRIPTION AT BODH-GAYA.

By TAW SEIN KO.

Translations of this inscription have already been published at pages 208-210 of Rajendra-lāla Mitra's *Buddha Gaya*, and at page 76 of Cunningham's *Mahābodhi*. There is some controversy as to the correct reading of the dates. The initial date is undoubtedly 657, which corresponds to 1295 A.D., and the final date 660, which is equivalent to 1298 A.D. During the period indicated by these two dates, the Burmese empire of Pagan was in the throes of a Chinese invasion. In 1284, Pagan had been occupied by the Chinese. In 1298 A.D., Kyawzwa, the titular king, had been dethroned by three Shan brothers, who bore divided rule at the new capitals of Myinzaing, Metkaya, and Pinlé in the Kyaukse district. Two years later, the Chinese again invaded Myinzaing. In these circumstances, the only inference is that the last repairs to the Mahābodhi Temple alluded to in the inscription were carried out under the auspices of a king of Arakan.

There is, however, some difficulty in the identification of the personages mentioned in the inscription. *Mahāthera Pinthagugyi* cannot be identified with certainty. *Pinthagugyi* or the "great Pinthagu" is a title, designation, or *sobriquet*, rather than a personal name, and is derived from the Pāli word *pamsukālika*, "one who obtains the materials for his clothing from a dust-heap or a cemetery." Such a title was usually conferred on a Buddhist monk of exceptional sanctity and austerity, who had secured the esteem and admiration of the laity. There was such a celebrated Buddhist monk at Pagan during the reign of Narapati-sithu (1167-1204 A.D.).

Thadomin sounds like an Arakanese title of a king or prince. It does not occur in the chronological lists appended to Phayre's *History of Burma*.

King Sinbyuthakin is called in the inscription *Sinbyuthikhin Tra Mingyi*. The first part means "the Lord of the White Elephant," and the second "Dhammarāja." Here, again, the expression is a common regal title and not a personal name.

Siridhammarājaguru is the title of a learned monk. All royal preceptors are called "Dhammarājaguru," or the "King's guru."

Sirikassapa and Varavāsi are ordinary names of Buddhist monks.

A great deal of interest centres round the designation "Pyu-ta-thein-min", which appears as "Pu-ta thin min" in lines 9-10 of the inscription below. I am inclined to identify this personage with the "King Sinbyuthikhin" mentioned in the same inscription, and both with Meng-di, No. 9 of the "Dynasty of the City Loung-Kyet" at page 301 of Phayre's *History of Burma*. This king reigned from 1279 to 1385, and is described as a "son of Meng-bhi-lu". There are two "Meng-bhi-lu," namely, No. 7 of the same dynasty, who reigned from 1272 to 1276 A.D., and No. 12 of the "dynasty of Ping-tsa City," who ruled from 1075 to 1078 A.D. (page 299, *ibid*). The latter king was driven out from his kingdom by a usurper, and his son and heir, Mengre Baya, sought refuge at the Court of Kyansittha, king of Pagan. Mengre Baya died leaving a son called Lotyāmengnan. This Arakanese prince



[illegible]

was restored to his ancestral throne by Alaungsithu, Kyauzittha's grandson and successor, in 1103 A.D., with the aid of 100,000 Pyus and 100,000 Talaings. Hence the fortunate prince is known in history as "Pyu-ta-thein-min," or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus" (*vide* page 40, *ibid*). It is most probable that Meng-di, during whose reign the inscription was set up at Bodh-Gaya, was a descendant of Letyāmengnan and was also called a "Pyu-ta-thein-min."

On the same page, Phayre says: "Alaungsithu caused the Buddhist temple at Gaya to be repaired." I am inclined to think that, on that occasion, the King of Pagan deputed the *Mahāthera* Pinthagugyi to superintend the work, and that he required his *protégé*, Letyāmengnan, to render the necessary assistance in this work of merit. It would then appear that the "Thadomin" mentioned in the inscription was a descendant of Letyāmengnan, the Prince, who first bore the title of "Pyu-ta-thein-min" or "Lord of the 100,000 Pyus."

It is quite possible that one of the conditions of Letyāmengnan's restoration to the Arakanese throne was that, for the accumulation of merit of Alaungsithu, his suzerain and benefactor, he and his descendants were to render material assistance in the repair and maintenance of the temple at Bodh-Gaya. Viewed in this light, the chronology of the inscription and the *raison d'être* of the proceedings recorded therein become clear, reasonable, and logical.

TEXT.

- 1 Parhāthikhin thāthanā 218 lunliē-pyithaw akhāhnaik sambuteik kyungo
asoyathaw Si-
- 2 siridhammasoka myithaw Mingyi seti shatthaung 4 daung aphaw hnaik
- 3 sumtaw phonpiērā Pāyātha i-tango akhā liamyin pyet
- 4 rwe myinthaw thikhin Pinthagugyi tayauk. Thopyi tachet py-
- 5 etkharagā Thadomin pyu-i. Thopyi(y) tachet pyetkhedon
- 6 ragā Sinbyuthikhin Trā Mingyi mimi kosa sira siridhamma-
- 7 rājakurugo siytaw mulatthaw akhāhnaik pā-la-
- 8 t thaw tabethā Sirikassapasa thi lōk antha utsā hilyet
- 9 malōk radat ragā Varavasi thikhin therago sum kham siyragā Pu-
- 10 tathin min hu-i lōk siykānu thikhin ngu ko myatkyi The(rā) ko
- 11 akhwin puragā Sakarac 657 khu pyatholazan 10 rak thaukkyaui pyudōn-i
- 12 Sakarac 660 Tassungmonazan 8 rak tabungasu ni(y) hlū-sathaw
- 13 takhunkukā takhauppyādoko le passao-i. Thimbōk thaung simi
- 14 thaungdo akyein myaswa hlin passao-i. Thāthami hu hmat rwe thungē 2
- 15 yauk shwepan ngwepan khwet paso swēthaw padetha le pu-
- 16 sao-i. Akhākhapthein hlin thimbōkwut mapyat tisinthaw
- 17 kraung mrie kyun nwado ko le way ruy hlākha. I ngā pyu
- 18 thaw kaunghmugā Nippan pyitsi athauk apin phyitchin tha-
- 19 te. Yat (meik) ti purhāthikhin letthet hlin rabandāsu lothate.

TRANSLATION.

- 1 When 218 years of the era of the Religion of the Lord Buddha had passed away,
Siridhammasoka, the Ruler of Jambudipa,
- 2 built 84,000 chaityas, one of which was situated on the site,
- 3 where the Buddha took a meal (of rice porridge offered by Sujātā before attaining
Enlightenment). This shrine, owing to the effluxion of time, fell into ruin,
- 4 and was repaired by the Mahāthera Pinthagugyi. Subsequently,
- 5 it was repaired by Thadomin. It again fell into disrepair,

- 6 and King Sinbyuthikhin deputed the Royal Preceptor,
 7 Siridhammarajaguru, to undertake the work of repair,
 8 Sirikassapa, the disciple of the Preceptor, had sufficient funds,
 9 but could not take the work in hand (owing, probably, to the absence of skilled artisans)—
 10 He, therefore, sent Varavāsi, a junior *Thera*,
 11 to King Pyutathin Min, who complied with the solicitation for assistance.
 12 The work of repair was begun on Friday, the 10th, waxing of Pyatho 657 B.E. (January 1295 A.D.),
 13 and was completed on Sunday, the 8th, waxing of Tazaungmon 660 B.E. (November 1298 A.D.)
 14 The following offerings were dedicated to the shrine: flags and streamers, 1,000 bowls of rice and 1,000 lamps (for several times), 2 boys in the place of the donor's own children,
 15 and gold and silver flowers and cloth hung on bamboo framework.
 16 In order to provide for the daily offering of rice at the shrine, at all times,
 17 land, slaves, and cattle were purchased and likewise dedicated. May this
 18 meritorious deed of mine lead me on to Nirvāṇa!
 19 May I become a disciple of Metteyya, the coming Buddha!

No. 11.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, BONN.

I have received from the Government Epigraphist, Mr. Venkayya, a large number of dates for examination, of which I here publish 32 dates of Chōla kings. In accepting this task I may be permitted to give expression to my admiration of the work done by my predecessor, the late Professor Kielhorn. Without the results he had worked out with inexhaustible patience, I probably should not have succeeded in verifying many of the dates which are now published.

The dates have been calculated with the help of my General Tables published in Volume I, p. 443 of this journal. The time of the end of *tithis* and *nakṣatras* is given in *ghaṭikās* only, when the result at issue would not be influenced by a few *ghaṭikās*, more or less. In those cases, however, where a higher degree of accuracy is wanted, I have made use of the new special tables which I am going to publish in Part iv. of this volume. These tables yield the result within a few *palas* according to the Ārya, Sārya, and Brahma-Siddhāntas, and the Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi.

The date No. 198 reduces the time previously found for the commencement of the reign of Rājādhirāja II. to the period from the 7th to the 30th March 1163 A.D. The remaining dates confirm the results previously found.

A.—PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌLA I.

191.—In the Vēdapuriśvara temple at Tirukkaḷittattai.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [i] Tiru-manni(manni) vaḷara
 20 ko-Pparakēsaripa[n]mar-āṇa śri-R[ā].
 21 j[ē]ntra-śōlādēvarṅku yāṇḍu opadāvadu
 24 ivv-āt[ai] Magara-n[ā].
 25 ya]ḡu Budag-kiḷamai peḡḡ Tirukkē[ai]-nāṇḡu.

¹ No. 293 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the ninth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of the auspicious (*nakshatra*) Jyēsthā, which corresponded to a Wednesday of the month of Makara in this year."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 8th February 1021, which was the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Makara. The *nakshatra* was Jyēsthā which ended, according to the equal space system, about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

B.—VIKRAMA-CHŌLA.

192.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.¹

- 1 [S]vasti śri [||*]² Pāmādu puṇara
- 3 kō-Pparakēsaripatmar-āna Tribhuvanacha-
- 4 kavattiga]³ śri-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku yāṇḍu 2 irapḍu āvadu Miduna-nāyarru-
[p]pā[r]vva- [pa]kshattu [dv]ādaśiyum Ti[ā]gaṭ-kiḷamaiyum perṇa [Vi]śāgattu
nā].

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Viśākhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

This date is intrinsically wrong. Monday, the 23rd June 1119 A.D. corresponded to the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshāḍha) and the *nakshatra* was Mūla.

193.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.⁴

- 1 Pāmādu puṇara
- 2 kō-Pparakēsaripatmar-āna Tribhuvanachakravartiga]
- 3 śri-Vikrama-Chōladēvarkku [y]āṇḍu māṇṇāvadu Midu[ṇa*]-nāyarru pā[r]vva-
pakshattu shash[th]iyum Velli-kki[ḷa]m]aiyum perṇa Pārattu nā].

"In the third year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Friday, and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 4th June 1120 A.D., being the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Mithuna (Āshāḍha), the *nakshatra* being Pūrva-Phalgunī, which had begun about 12 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise and was current for the greater part of the day.

194.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.⁵

- 1 ⁶ Śri-Vikrama-Śōladēvarkku yāṇḍu 3 māṇṇāvadu Miduna-nāyarru [p]ū[r]v[va]-
pakshattu aṣṭamiyum Viyāḷa-kkiḷamai[yu]m perṇa Uttirattu [nā].

"In the 3rd—third—year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,— on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

¹ No. 170 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The space between *śri* and *pā* was perhaps intended for a punctuation.

³ Read "*chakravartiga*].

⁴ No. 164 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ No. 171 of the same collection for 1908.

⁶ This inscription is engraved in continuation of No. 170 of 1908 (from the middle of line 17 of the latter).

This date is apparently wrong. It belongs to the same year and month as the preceding one and may be expected to fall on the day previous, if we take the week-day to be given correctly, and on the following day if we assume the *nakshatra* to be right; but these items are Friday and Pārva-Phalguni in the preceding date and Thursday and Uttara-Phalguni in this.

195.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri ||— Pāmādu pupara
 3 kō-²Pparakēsari[var]mar-āna Tribhu[va]nash-
 [cha]krava-
 4 ³rttiga[ī] śri-Vi[kra[ma-Śo]ladēva]rkku⁴ yāḍu 12 ā[va]du Rishabha-[nā]ya[r]u=
 ppūrvva-pakshattu shesh[hiy]um Viyā[ā]-ki[akki]lamaiyum⁵ pe[r]-
 5 ra Ma[gattu nā].

"In the 12th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Vikrama-Chō]ladēva,—on the day of M[aghā], which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 15th May 1130 A.D., which was the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) and was coupled with the *nakshatra* Maghā. The 6th *tithi* ended about 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Maghā commenced about 10 *ghaṭikās* after it according to the equal space system.

C.—PARAKĒSARIVARMAN RĀJARĀJA II.

196.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunarayūr.⁶

- 1 Svast[ī] śr[ī] [||*] Poyal vāyṭtu
 3 kō-Pparakēsari[pa]rmar-āna Rāja[r]ājādēva[r]ka
 yāḍu 5 āvadu nā[ī] Vṛiśchika-nāya[r]ra-p[p]ārva-[pa]kshattu trit[iya]iyum
 Śani-kki[ā]lamaiyum pe[r]ra Uttirāḍat-
 4 [tu nā].

"In the time (*nāī*) of the 5th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* Rājarājādēva,—on the day of Uttarāshādhā, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date seems to correspond to Friday, the 24th November 1150 A.D., which was the third *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Vṛiśchika (Mārgaśīrsha). The day was coupled with the *nakshatra* Uttarāshādhā, which commenced about 19 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise of that day, while the third *tithi* ended about 44 *ghaṭikās* after it. We must therefore assume that in the inscription, Saturday is wrongly given instead of Friday.

¹ No. 167 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The letter *ad* of *kēsari* is written on an erasure.

³ The syllable *r* at the beginning of the line is corrected from *ra*.

⁴ The five syllables *maśo]ladēva* are written on an erasure.

⁵ Cancel the first two letters *kī* [a].

⁶ No. 165 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

197.—In the Aiyānār temple at Tiruppaṭṭūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Pū maruviya tiṇu-mādam
 4 kō=Pparakēsaripatmar-āga Tiribuvapachebakkaravattiga| śr[1]-
 Rājarājādēvaḥ[ku y]āṇḍu 7 āvadu Ishaba-nāyarru a-
 5 para-pakshattu dvādaśiyum Viyāla-kkiḷamaiyum perṇa Aśvati-nā|.

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājādēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the twelfth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date intended in this inscription is Thursday, the 21st May 1153 A.D. It is, however, not the 12th, but the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishṭha); it was coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended about 11 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The 12th *tithi* ended about mean sunrise of Friday at Laṅkā, according to the Ārya-Siddhānta, 22 *palas* after it, according to the Sārya-Siddhānta 7 *palas* before it, and according to the Brahma-Siddhānta 52 *palas* before it. But as we have to reckon with true sunrise, which occurred on that day, say at Conjeeveram, 1 *ghaṭikā* 49 *palas* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the end of the 12th *tithi* fell after true sunrise of Friday, which day therefore was called the 12th *tithi*. The 12th (Innar) *tithi* was however coupled with the *nakshatra* Aśvinī, which ended in it, though the day in which it ended was called the 11th *tithi*.

D.—TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN RĀJĀDHIRĀJA II.

198.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.²

- 1 Svasti śri [Θ.] Kaḍal-ś[ā]nda³ pār-ēlun=
 8 Tribhuvapachebakkaravattiga| śri-Rājāta(dhī)rājādēvarkku yāṇḍu āṇvadu
 Miṇa-nāyarru pūrva-pakshattu shashṭhiyum Viyāla-kka(kki)lamaiyum perṇa Urośaṇi-nā|.

"In the sixth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādh[ī]rājādēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 8th March 1169 A.D. On this day, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mīna (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise (according to the equal-space system). The present inscription brings the accession to the throne of Rājādhirāja II. between 7th and 30th March 1163.

E.—KULŌTTUNGA-CHŌLA III.

199.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.⁴

- 1 [k]karavatt[i]ga| śri-Ku]lōttuṅga-śōḷadēva[x]ku yā[ṇḍu]⁵ 2 vaṇṇ⁶
 [Ku]m-
 2 [ba-nāyarru*] irubattog[rā]u=[diyadi]yum porra apara-[pa]kshattu pra[da]-
 m[ai]yum Baḍaṇ-
 3 [pi]radamaiyum⁷ porra [Pā]rattu nā|.

¹ No. 597 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 172 of the same collection for 1908.

³ The syllable /s/ seems to be entered below the line.

⁴ No. 166 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ Between *eda* and the figure 2 there is some space in which traces of a letter or a figure are seen.

⁶ The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllable *eda*.

⁷ The *tithi* seems to have been repeated by mistake.

"In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor [of the three worlds], the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Pūrva-Phalgunī, which corresponded to the first *tithi* to a Wednesday, to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight and to the twenty-first solar day [of the month of Kumbha]."

The date corresponds to Wednesday, the 13th February 1180 A.D., which was the 21st day of the solar month Kumbha. The case is similar to that in No. 197; but here the first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was an expunged *tithi*, wherefore the day was to be called the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. According to the Ārya-Siddhānta, the 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna) ended 5 *ghaṭikā*s 9 *palas* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the 1st *tithi* of the dark fortnight 5 *palas* after mean sunrise of the next day (Thursday); but as the sun rose in Conjeeveram on that day 8 *palas* later, the end of the *tithi* was brought over to the preceding day, and was, therefore, expunged. But this first *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha was coupled with Pūrva-Phalgunī which ended on Wednesday about 34 *ghaṭikā*s after mean sunrise.

200.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.¹

1 Svasti śri [||*] Tiribuvācchēhakaravatt[ī]ga [śri]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku
yāṇḍu 2 vadu² Miṇa-nā[ya]rṛu pūrva-pakṣhattu piradamaiyum Vi[y]āḥa-
kkiḷamaiyum perṛa [U]ttirattādi-nā].

'In the 2nd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhadrpadā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 28th February 1180 A.D. On that day ended the 1st *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Mīna (Chaitra) and the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Bhadrpadā, both about 19 *ghaṭikā*s after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

201.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.³

1 Svasti śri [||*] Pu(pū)-maruviya Tisaimugattōn kō-Pparakē-
[śa]ripaṇmar-āṇa Tiribuvācchēhakaravattiga⁴ 'si-Virarājēndhra(dra)dēvaṅku
yāṇḍu [5]ṅjavadu Kumba-[n]āyarru apara-pakṣhattu⁵ navamiyum Velli-
kkiḷamai perṛa Mūlattu nā].

"In the [5]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājēndradēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 18th February 1183 A.D., on which the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Chaitra) ended about 38 *ghaṭikā*s and the *nakṣatra* Mūla about 36 *ghaṭikā*s after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

202.—In the Siddhanāthasvāmin temple at Tirunāraiūr.⁶

1 Svasti śr[ī] [||*] Payal vāy[ttu]
2 kōv- Virarāśakēśaripaṇ-

¹ No. 175 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The flourish added to the figure 2 may also be taken to represent the syllables *śada*.

³ No. 176 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ Read *śri*.

⁵ Read *-pakṣhattu*.

⁶ No. 178 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁷ Read *Irāśakēśari*.

- 4 mar-āna [Ti*]ribuvanachchakka[va]tti[ga] śr[i]-Virarājendra-Śōladēvarkku
yāṇḍu āṛā[va]ḍu nā[Simha-nāyaggu apara-pakshattu navamiyum Śani-kki[amai]-
yum per[ra] [Mṛi]ga-
5 [śi]rsha[ttu n]ā].

"In the time (*nāl*) of the sixth year (*of the reign*) of king ¹Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Mṛigaśirsha, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

I take the date to correspond to Saturday, the 10th September 1183 A.D. For, on this day the *nakshatra* Mṛigaśirsha began at about 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. The day, however, was not the 9th, but the 7th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Simha (Bhādrapada), that *tithi* having ended about 16 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.—The result shows that the word *navamiyum* of the original date should be altered to *saptamiyum* (or perhaps into *aṣṭamiyum*, if that *tithi* was intended with which the given *nakshatra* mainly coincided, or in which it ended, as was the case in Nos. 197 and 199).

203.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai.²

- 1 [Sva]sti śr[i] [||*] T[i]ribuvagachchakka[va]tti[ga]³ śr[i]-Kulō[t]tu[n]ga-[Ś]ōladē-
[va]ṭku y[ā]ṇḍu ēlā-
2 vaḍu Magara-nā[ya]ṅgu pū[rvva]-pak[shat]tu śatadasi[y]n Viyāla-kki[amai]yum
per[ra] Panarpōsatti=[n]ā].

"In the seventh year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Panarvasu, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The date intended seems to be Wednesday, the 18th January 1185. For, on that day the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Makara (Māgha) ended about 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Panarvasu ended about 14 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The week-day however was Wednesday, and not Thursday, as given in the original date, apparently by a mistake.

204.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīlmiḷalai.⁴

- 1 Svasiti śr[i] [||*] [Payal vā][y*]ttu va[la]m [peru]ga [||*]⁵ Tribuvagachchak-
karavatt[i]ga Maduraiyum Pa[ṇ]ḍiyan muḍittalai[y]uṇ-goṇ[ḍ]aru[i]ṅa śi-
Kulō[t]tu[n]ga-[Ś]ōladēvaṭ[k]ku [y]āṇḍu paḍiṅgāvadu
2 K[u]mba-nāyaggu pūrvva-pakshattu [paṇ]jāmiyum Ve[li]-kki[amai]y[um] per[ra]
I[r]ēvati-nā].

"In the sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva, who was pleased to take Madurai and the crowned head of the Paṇḍya,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Friday and to the [fifth *tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 28th January 1194 A.D., the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Kumbha ending about 54 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise of that day, and the *nakshatra* Rēvati ending about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. As the *tithi* might be an

¹ Kulōttuṅga III. bears the surname Parakēsarivarman in his other inscriptions.

² No. 386 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

³ Read "chakravartiga".

⁴ No. 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ Between *ga* and *tri* there is some space which may have contained a sign of punctuation.

"In the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

I take the date to correspond to Monday, the 30th March 1222 A.D., though the *nakshatra* of that day was not Mūla, but Uttarāshāḍhā and Śravaṇa. The third *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) ended, according to the Ārya and Sūrya Siddhāntas, 1 *ghaṭikā* 44 *palas*, and 46 *palas*, respectively, after mean sunrise, and something more after true sunrise; while the 4th *tithi* ended on the next day. According to the Brahma-Siddhānta, however, Sunday was the third *tithi* and Monday was an *adhika* or repeated *tithi*. The result is practically the same as was found by the two other Siddhāntas.

208.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilār.¹

- 1 ॐ Svasti śri [||*]
- 2 Tiribuvagach[cha]-
- 3 kkaravattigaī śri-
- 4 Rājārājadēvarkku y[ā]-
- 5 [u]ḍu 7 āvadi[u*] edirām=[ā]-
- 6 ḍu Kumba-nāyattu [p]ū-
- 7 rva-pakshattu tṛtiyaḍu[m]
- 8 Tiṅga-kkiḷamai[y]u[m] po-
- 9 ira Śodi-nāi.

"In the year opposite the 7th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Svāti, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds almost certainly to Monday, the 20th February 1223 A.D. But the original date contains two errors: (1) it was not the 'first' fortnight, because in it the *nakshatra* Svāti is impossible; (2) it was not the 3rd but the 4th *tithi*. For, on calculating the above date, we find that the 20th February corresponded to the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Kumbha (Phālguna), and that almost the whole day coincided with the *nakshatra* Svāti.

209.—In the Viḷināthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīḷimīlalai.²

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Tiribuvagachchakkaravattiga [ś]ri-Irājārājadēvarkku yāḍu
[l]l [va]ḍu⁴ Kumbha-nā[ya]ira apara-[pa]kshattu śkādaiyum Śaṇi-[k]kiḷamaiyam
poira
- 2 Mālatu nāl.

"In the [1]1th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

This date is the same as that in No. 214 below and will be dealt with in that place. It deserves to be remarked that, in this inscription just as in No. 214, the month Kumbha has been erroneously quoted instead of Makara.

¹ No. 315 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The name Rājārāja is denoted by two abbreviations.

³ No. 403 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The date may also be read as 21.

210.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [H*] T[i]r[i]buvanaḥchakkaravatt[i]ga[l i]l]-Rāśarāśadēvaṅku yāḍu
[11]² Ishava-nāyaṅ[ru] pū[r]va-pakkattu sapta[m]i]yumu Nāyaṅru-kk[i]lamaiyumu
peṅga Magattu nā].

"(In) the [11]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva, — on the day of Maghā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

If we take the year to be the 11th, neither the week-day nor the *nakṣatra* comes out right. But if we calculate for the 21st year, both items come out right. The date corresponds to Sunday, the 3rd May 1237 A.D. The 7th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (*Jyāishṭha*) ended about 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise of the 3rd May, and the *nakṣatra* Maghā covered nearly that whole day.

211.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimilalai.³

- 1 S[va]sti śri [H*] Tiribuvanaḥcha[k*]karavattiga] śri-Rāja[rājadēvaṅ]ku [y]āḍu
11 a[va]du Dhanu-nāyaṅru pūrva-pakṣattu daṣamiyumu T[i]ṅgaḷ-kk[i]lamai-
yu[m]
2 peṅga Irāvati-[n]ā].

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva, — on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

The date as given in the inscription would correspond to Thursday, the 31st December 1226 A.D., which was coupled with Kṛttikā. This result is wrong in all details. If we calculate Monday, the 29th December of the same year, the *nakṣatra* comes out right, but it is the 7th *tithi*. Now, assuming that the month Dhanu has erroneously been quoted for Makara, the original date would correspond to Monday, the 30th November 1226 A.D. This is apparently the right date. On that day, the tenth *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Makara ended about 37 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* Rēvatī ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

212.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.⁴

- 1 S. Svasti śri [H*] Tiribuvanaḥchakkaravatt[i]ga] śri-Irāśarāśadēvaṅku y[ā]-
2 vatt[i]ga] śri-Irāśarāśadēvaṅku y[ā]-
3 nāḍu⁵ irubadāvadū Magara-nāyaṅru pū-
4 rva-pakkattu sapta[m]iyumu Tiṅgaḷ-kk[i]la]-
5 maiyumu ppeṅga⁶ Aśvati-nā].

"In the twentieth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājadēva, — on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

The calculation of the original date yields Wednesday, the 16th January 1236 A.D., which day was coupled with the *nakṣatra* Aśvinī; but as the week-day is wrong, we must reject this

¹ No. 198 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² Two unintelligible symbols are engraved at the beginning of the line before the akṣara *rea*.

³ The figures in brackets may also be read as 21.

⁴ Read Rishabha.

⁵ No. 409 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ No. 196 of the same collection for 1908.

⁷ Read yāḍu.

⁸ Read peṅga.

date. Assuming a mistake in the month, viz. Makara for Dhanu, we get Tuesday, the 18th December, which corresponds to the given *tithi* (ending 9 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise), but the *nakṣatra* was Rēvaṭi (beginning 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise). If we calculate for the following year, the 21st instead of the 20th, the date comes out right in all details. It corresponds to Monday, the 5th January 1237 A.D. On that day, the 7th *tithi* of the month Makara ended 14 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakṣatra* Aśvini began 13 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise. This is probably the equivalent of the date, though it is rather surprising that the number of the regnal year should have been erroneously quoted.

213.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇimīlalai.¹

1 Svasti śri:— T[i]rubu[va]gachcha(cha)kravartti[ga] śri-Rājārājādēvaṅku [y]āṇḍu
20 iru[bad]ā[va]du Ṛishabha-[n]āyaṅ[ru] pār[vva]-pakṣattu daśa[m]i[y]um
[V]e[ll]i²-kkilamai[yum p]eṇ[ra] Utt[ira]ttu [nā].

"In the 20th—twentieth—year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalguni, which corresponded to a [Friday] and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Ṛishabha."

The date probably corresponds to Friday, the 16th May 1236 A.D. On that day, the 9th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Ṛishabha (Jyāishṭha) ended 12 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalguni 14 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. It appears therefore that, in the original date, the tenth *tithi* has been erroneously quoted instead of the ninth. Calculating Mēsha instead of Ṛishabha, we find that the 10th *tithi* of the bright fortnight ended on Thursday, the 17th April 1236 A.D., 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalguni began only 50 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this date be the right equivalent, we have to assume that the month as well as the week-day are erroneously quoted in the original.

214.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇimīlalai.³

1 Svasti[i] śr[i] [i] Tir[i]buvagachcha[va]ttigal⁴ śri-Irājārājādēva[r]ku⁵ yāṇḍu
21 vadu Kum[ba]-n[ā]yaggu apara-pakṣattu ēk[ā]daśamiyum⁶ Śaṇ[i]-kkilam[aiyu]m
perra Mūlattu
2 nā].

"In the 21st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājārājādēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the [eleventh] *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

The date corresponds to Saturday, the 24th January 1237 A.D. But the month Kumbha has erroneously been quoted instead of Makara. For, it is impossible that in Kumbha (Phālguna) the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight should coincide with Mūla; and besides, in that year Phālguna badi 11 was a Monday (or possibly a Sunday, for the end of the *tithi* fell very near sunrise), but certainly not a Saturday. But on the day stated above, the 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of Makara ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakṣatra* Mūla ended about 27 *ghaṭikās* after it.

¹ No. 407 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The space between *m* and *kki* is just enough for *ceḷli* and not for *ceṇṇai* (Tuesday).

³ No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ Read "chakravarti".

⁵ Read "Rājārāja".

⁶ The syllable *mi* is written below the line. The *tithi* indicated may have been either *śāḍaśi* or *daśami*. But No. 209 above, which is identically the same date, gives *śāḍaśi*.

215.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 [S]vaṣṭi śrī [||*] Tr[i]bhavanachchakrava[tti]ga! śrī-[R]ājarā[ja]-
 2 d[ā]varkk[ā] yāṇḍu [2]6 āvadin-ādirā[m-a]-
 3 p[ā]ṇu Kanni-nā[ya]r[ra]-[p]pūrvva-[pakshattu ashṭa]mi-
 4 [y]um Tiṅga[-]kiḷamaiyum [p]erra Anilattu nā[.]

"In the year opposite the [2]8th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eighth *tithi* (or the fifth *tithi*) of the first fortnight of the month of [Kanyā]."

The date as given in the inscription admits of four cases: (1) 16th year, 5th *tithi*; the equivalent is Tuesday, the 2nd September 1231 A.D.; the *nakshatra* Anurādhā began 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise; (2) 26th year, 5th *tithi*; Wednesday, the 11th September 1241 A.D.; Anurādhā ended 47 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. Assuming the eighth *tithi* to be given, the week-days will be (3) Friday and (4) Saturday for the 16th and 26th year respectively, and the *nakshatra* will also be wrong. If we compute the same four cases for Śiṅha instead of Kanyā, we get a Monday only for case 1, *viz.* Monday, the 4th August 1231 A.D., but the *nakshatra* is Chitrā and Svāti. If we compute for Tulā instead of Kanyā, case No. 4 gives a Monday, *viz.* 14th October 1241; but then the *nakshatra* would be Śravana and Śravishtā. Therefore the date of this inscription seems not to admit of verification.

216.—On some detached stones in a grove at Tirukkāravāśal.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tiribuvanaachchak[karava]tt[ti]ga! śrī-⁴Rājarājadēvaṛkku y[ā]ṇḍu
 28 āvadu Karkkaḍaga-nāyar[ra] pūrvva-pakshat[t]u śatagṭṭe[ṣ]iyum Budag-
 k[ā]mai[um] per[ra*] Utt[i]rattu nā[.]

"In the 28th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṣaka."

The original date erroneously quotes the 14th *tithi* instead of the 4th; for, Śravana (=Karkāṣaka) sudi 14 cannot coincide with Uttara-Phalgunī, but sudi 4 may coincide with it. The corrected date corresponds to Wednesday, the 22nd July 1243 A.D. On that day the 4th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of the month Karkāṣaka ended 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, and the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalgunī ended 24 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

217.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.³

- 1 @ Svasti śrī [||*] T[i]r[i]bhuvanaachchakkaravattiga! śi-Rāsarājadēvaṛ[k]ku
 yāṇḍu 31 āvadu Mēsha-nāyar[ra] * [p]āṇjami[y]um Tiṅga[-]
 kiḷamaiyum [p]erra [A]ṇilattu nā[.]

"In the 31st year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the month of Mēsha."

The 5th *tithi* of both fortnights in Mēsha did not fall, in the year of the inscription (1247 A.D.), on a Monday; and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā cannot be coupled with the 5th *tithi* of

¹ No. 182 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The reading may also be *paṇjamiyum*.

³ No. 454 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The word *Rājarāja* is expressed by two abbreviations.

⁵ No. 199 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ In the original it cannot be made out whether *apara-* or *pāra-pakṣa* was engraved.

either fortnight in Mēsha. The *tithi* is therefore wrong. Now, calculating for the week-day and the *nakshatra* given in the inscription, I find that on Monday, the 22nd, April 1247 A.D., the *nakshatra* Anurādhā commenced 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. The first *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended 34 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise. If this day is the one intended in the inscription, the word 'pañjamiyū' is a mistake for 'pradamiyū.'

G.—RĀJĒNDRA-CHŌLA III.

218.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 ||— Svasti śri ||* Tiribuvanaachchakkaravatt[i]ga[ī śri]-Irāśēndi[ra]-Śōladēvarkku
yāṇḍu pa[t]tā[va]dinn- ed[i]rā[m-ā]ḍu Kaṇṇi-nā-
2 yaṇṇu a[pa]ra-pakabattu shashthiy[u]m Tiāga[k[i]lā[m]aiyu[m] perṛa Rōṣaṇi-nā].

"In the year opposite the [tenth] year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 11th September 1256 A.D.; however the month Kanyā has erroneously been quoted instead of Sīṃha. On the day in question, the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the month of Sīṃha (being the 15th solar Kanyā) ended 51 *ghaṭikās*, and the *nakshatra* Rōhiṇī 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

219.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.²

- 1 [S]vast[i] [śri] ||* [Tiribuvana]chchakkaravatt[i]ga[ī śr[i]-Irāśēnd[i]ra]-Śōladēvarkku
yāṇḍu pa]dig-ē]āvaḍu I-³
2 [I]shabha- nāyaru pūrvva- pa[k]shasattu⁴ tri(tri)tiyaiyūm Nāyaru-kkiḷa[m]aiyūm⁵
perṛa Pūsat[tn*] nā].

"In the seventeenth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājēndra-Chōladēva,— on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 21st May 1262 A.D., if we assume that the third *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the second. For, on that day, the 2nd *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Rishabha (Jyāishṭha) ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* after, and the *nakshatra* Pushya commenced about 40 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

220.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.⁶

- 1 a. Svasti śri ||* Tiribuvanaachcha[kka*]ra[vatti*]ga[ī śri- Rā[j]ē[ndra]- Śōladēvark[u
yāṇḍu
2 17 vada Tulā-nāyaru pūrvva-pakabattu chatu[rddasiy]um Ve]ḷi-kki]a[m]aiyūm
3 perṛa Aśvati-nā].

"In the 17th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rā[jēndra]- Chōladēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Tulā."

¹ No. 308 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 213 of the same collection for 1908.

³ Cancel the letter i.

⁴ Read -pakabattu.

⁵ The m of kkiḷamai is entered below the line.

⁶ No. 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

The date corresponds to Friday, the 27th October 1262 A.D. The *nakshatra* *Āśvinī* ended about 36 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise, and the 14th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* (*Kārttika*) ended according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta* 58 *ghaṭikās*, and according to the *Brahma-Siddhānta* 52 *ghaṭikās* after true sunrise at Conjeeveram. As the same *tithi* was current at sunrise according to both these *Siddhāntas*, it was no expunged *tithi*. But it was an expunged *tithi* according to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*.

221.—In the *Vīlināthasvāmin* temple at *Tiruvīlīmīlalai*.¹

1 Svast[i] śrī [||*] [Tiribuvanach]chakka[ravat]t[i]ga| śr[i]-²Rājendra-[Śō]adēvar[kku
yā[ṇḍu] 1[8]vadu³ [Kumba]-⁴nāyaggu [pūrvva-pa]kshattu [pa]ñcha[miya]m
Badag-k[i]lamai[yum] peṇṇa Utt[i]rāḍa[ttu nā].

"In the 1[8]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōjadēva,—on [the day of] *Uttarāshāḍhā*, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the [first] fortnight of the month of [Kumbha]."

In the month *Kumbha*, the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshāḍhā* can occur only between the 8th and 11th *tithi* of the dark fortnight, in the month *Tulā* between the 5th and 8th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. We must therefore read *Tulā* in the inscription. The details of the date would be right if we assume that the fifth *tithi* has erroneously been quoted instead of the sixth. For, on Wednesday, the 10th October 1263, the 6th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of *Tulā* ended about 10 *ghaṭikās*; and the *nakshatra* *Uttarāshāḍhā* about 20 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at *Laṅkā*.

222.—In the *Mantrapuriśvara* temple at *Kōvilūr*.⁵

1 [Sva*]st[i] śrī [||*] [Tribhuvaga]chchakkara[vat]tiga| [śrī]-R[ā]jēndira-
[Ś]a[la]d[s]varkku yāṇḍu [22] ā[vadu] Kumba⁶-nāya[ṇṇu] a[para]-pakshattu
śha[śhi]yum Tiṇ[gaṭ]-k[i]lamai
2 p[e]ṇṇa Śōdi-nā.⁷

"In the [22]nd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājendra-Chōjadēva,—on the day of *Svāti*, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi* of the [second] fortnight of the month of *Kumbha*."

I cannot verify this date satisfactorily. The *tithi* or the *nakshatra* must be wrong; for, the sixth *tithi* cannot coincide with the *nakshatra* *Svāti*. The nearest approach to the given date is in the twentieth year, Monday, the 14th February 1267 A.D., on which day the *nakshatra* *Svāti* commenced about sunrise; but it was the 4th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of *Kumbha*, which ended about 18 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

No. 12.—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By PROFESSOR H. JACOBI, PH.D., BONN.

V. Venkayya, M.A., Rai Bahadur, has sent me for examination the text and English translation of 17 Pāṇḍya dates, of which I herewith publish 15. In some cases my results

¹ No. 412 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The syllable *rā* is denoted by an abbreviation.

³ The word *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

⁴ Between the letters *ba* and *ad* there is a symbol which may represent either *va* or the *ḍ*-sign. The name of the month is not quite clear. It may also be read [Tulā].

⁵ No. 216 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ There is some unaccountable space between the aksharas *ka* and *ma* of *Kumba*.

⁷ The length of *nā* is inserted below the line.

are not satisfactory; still I thought it advisable to state what they are since they may be useful either for further consideration of historical questions involved by the inscriptions or for deciding the uselessness of the dates as being altogether wrong.

Nos. 90-94 enable us to fix the commencement of Jātavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya's reign, which has approximately been placed in 1310 A.D. by Mr. Krishna Sastri (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1908-09*, Part II, § 27). Four of these inscriptions quote, besides the details usually given in them, the corresponding solar day; thereby, as stated by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI. p. 301), we can find the precise equivalent, though the year is not stated in any era, the regnal year only being given. For, as a given solar day may be coupled with any of the thirty *tithis* and of the seven week-days, a given combination of these three items will, on the average, occur only once in $7 \times 30 = 210$ years, and the chance will be still rarer if the *nakshatra* is mentioned, as is usually the case. In No. 89 the *tithi* is not given, but the combination of the remaining three items is such as will recur only once in about 150 years.

In order to solve the problems to which such dates give occasion, I have developed my tables (above, Vol. I) in detail for several centuries, and with their help the task became an easy one. These developed Tables will be published in book form in the *Encyclopædia for Indo-Aryan Research*. I shall there explain the method of solving the problem in question.

I now proceed to discuss the results of my examination of the dates in Nos. 90-94. They may be summarised as follows:—

Jātavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya (*September 29, December 1, A.D. 1295*).

No. 90. 6th year: 28th September 1302.

No. 91. 22nd year: 3rd May 1318.

No. 92. 44th year: 2nd December 1339.

No. 93. 43 (Cor. 46)th year: 2nd August 1339.

No. 94. 46th year: 16th June 1342.

Nos. 90-92 show that the king must have commenced to reign between the 29th September and the 1st December 1295. With this date for the commencement of the reign No. 94 agrees if we read the regnal year as 46, as we may, since the second figure of 4[9] put in brackets in the transcript, may also be read 6 as stated in the note. In No. 93, the regnal year cannot be 46, since No. 92 is dated in the same year of our era. The date, 2nd August, shows that the 46th year has wrongly been given instead of the 43rd.

According to No. 89 Tribhuvanachakravartin Kulasākhara seems to have begun reigning in 1379-80 A.D. I should, however, not place too much reliance on this result, before it has been corroborated by more inscriptions of the same king. For, if in our inscription the wrong *nakshatra* had been quoted, as is rather frequently the case in these records, the calculated equivalent would of course be also intrinsically wrong.

No. 84 fixes the beginning of the reign of a Tribhuvanachakravartin Sundara-Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1237-38.

MĀRAVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA I. (A.D. 1216-35).

81.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

1 a. Svasti[i] śri [i]* śri-kō-Mārupa[p]mar-āṇa Tiriba[va]-
nachebakkavattigaḷ Śōṇḍu vaṇṇi-aruḷiya śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍi-

2 yadēvaṅku yāṇḍu 20 vadu(din) edirām-āṇḍu [Ka]ṇṇi-nāyarru sparā-[pakṣat]t[u]
Viya[la]-kkaḷamaiyu[m*] shashthiyum perṛa Pūṣattu pāḷ.

¹ No. 129 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

"In the year opposite the 90th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Maṇavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to distribute the Chōla country,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and a Thursday of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date seems to correspond to Thursday, the 18th September 1236 A.D. That day was Āśvina badi 2 as required, the second *tithi* ending about 36 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Iankā. But the day was coupled with the *nakṣatras* Āśvini and Bharanī, and not, as quoted in the inscription, with Pushya. It is impossible, on any supposition, that Āśvina badi 2 should be coupled with Pushya; the *nakṣatra* will always be one between Āśvini and Mṛgaśīras, and never beyond the latter.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇDYA I. (?)

(A.D. 1251 to 1261).

82.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇimīlalai.¹

- 1 Kōr-Chaḍapane(p)mar ²Tiniribuvunach[cha]ttaravattiga| ³Śundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku
 4ḍuṇḍu 2 [vaḍu] irav[ḍ]āvaḍu Danu-nāyaṛru apara-paśakṣat[ta⁴ cha]tu[r⁵]daśi-
 yum Nāyaṛr[u-kkila]mmai⁶.
 2 yam perṛa Āyiliyatta na(nā)].

"In the 2nd—second—year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Āślēṣhā, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the fourteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ."

In this date, the wrong fortnight is cited; for, in the month of Dhanuṣ or Paṇṣa, Āślēṣhā cannot be coupled with *badi* 14, but only with *sudi* 14. However, the week-day does not come out right in either fortnight, if we assume the king to have been Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II. For, in K.Y. 4378 (= 1276 *fl.* A.D.) Paṇṣa was expunged, and both *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 falling in the solar month of Paṇṣa were not Sundays. The same holds good with Paṇṣa *sudi* 14 and *badi* 14 of the preceding year. Assuming the king to have been the first of this name, the week-day comes out right for K.Y. 4354 Paṇṣa *sudi* 14 corresponding to Sunday, the 4th January 1254. But the *nakṣatras* coupled with that day were Punarvasu and Pusya; on the next day occurred Āślēṣhā.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇDYA.

83.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇimīlalai.⁷

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i] [||⁸] Kō-Chchaḍapanmar Tr[i]bhuvanachobakravatt[iga] śr[i]-
 Su[ndara-Pāṇ]ḍya-dēva[rkku yāṇḍu] eṭṭāva[d]u Dhanu-nāyaṛru pūrvva-pakṣhattu
 aṣṭami[yu]m Velli-[k]k[i]lammaiyum perṛa Re-
 2 vati-nā].

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭāvarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious [Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva],—on the day of Rēvatī, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ."

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² Read *Trībhuvanachobakravattiga*.

³ A symbol resembling the figure 4 is engraved before *śa*. Perhaps it stands for *śa*.

⁴ Read *yāṇḍu*.

⁵ Read *pakṣatta*.

⁶ Read "*kāḷamaṣ*".

⁷ No. 411 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

I have calculated the date for both Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. and II.; in both cases, the result is not satisfactory. I give them here. In 1258 A.D. Pausa was an expunged month; if we assume that *sudi* 8, falling in solar Pausa, was intended, we find that it ended 4 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Lankā on Thursday, the 5th December, and the *nakṣatra* Rēvati began only 15 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. Therefore, the date would be right, if the eighth *tithi* had been wrongly quoted instead of the ninth.—Now assuming the king to be the second of his name, the date would fall in 1292 A.D. The calculation proves that on Friday, the 19th December 1292 A.D., the 9th *tithi* ended a few *ghaṭikās* before the end of the day according to all Siddhāntas, and the 8th *tithi* ended on Thursday. But as the *nakṣatra* Rēvati ended about 5 *ghaṭikās* before sunrise of Friday, it could not have been coupled with that day.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA (A.D. 1237-38 to ?).

84.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 ||l @. Svasti śri ||* Tribhuva[ṇa]chchakravattiga|
śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarku yāṇḍu 2 pḍāvad[u] Dhanu-nāyarra 11 nḍi[ya]d[i]-
yum pūrva-pakshattu daṣamiyum
2 Budhan-kiḷamai[ya]m [p]erra Aśvati-nā.

"In the 3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Wednesday, to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 11th solar day of the month of Dhanu."

Between 1200 and 1500 A. D. there is but one day which fulfils all requirements of the date of our inscription, viz. 4340 Kaliyuga, Pausa *sudi* 10, which corresponds to Wednesday, the 7th December 1239 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Lankā, the 10th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month Dhanu (Pausa) was running, and ended about 42 *ghaṭikās* afterwards, and the *nakṣatra* Aśvini had begun 7 *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise at Lankā and ended about 49 *ghaṭikās* after it. Accordingly, this king began to reign in 1237-38 A.D.

JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṇḌYA II. (?)

(A.D. 1275-76 to 1290).

85.—In the Viṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvilimilalai.²

- 1 Svasti [śrī ||]³ K[ṛ]r-Chaḍai[paṇ]mar T[i]ru[b]uvanaachchakka[rava]tt[i]ga| śr[i]-
Śu]ndara-P[āṇḍi]yadē[va]rku yāṇ[ḍu] 9[vadu] Tuḷā-nāyar[r]u [a]para-pakshattu
saptamiyum [N]āyarra-kkila-
2 maiyum per[ra] P[āṇḍ]attu nā.

"In the [9]th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tuḷā."

The week-day does not come out right for the 9th year of either Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. or II. I have calculated the years 1259, 60, 61 and 1283, 84, 85 A.D.

¹ No. 130 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 414 of the same collection for 1908.

³ The punctuation after *śrī* is not distinct; the existing traces seem to point to the reading *Om*.

JATĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYĀ II.

(A.D. 1275-78 to 1290).

86.—In the Mantrapuriśvara temple at Kōvilūr.¹

- 1 Svaati [śri]² [||*] Kō-Ch[cha]dapagmar-āga Tiriba[va]nachechakkarava-
 2 ttiga[] So[u]dara]-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṅku yāḍu 14 vadu Siṃ-
 3 ha-nāyarṅ pūrvva-pakshattu trit[ra]gaiyum³ Budaṅ-kiḷamaiyum
 4 perṅ Attattu nā].

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Siṃha."

The date of this inscription is K.Y. 4391, Bhādrapada sudi 3 = Wednesday, the 8th August 1290 A.D. For, on that day the 3rd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Bhādrapada (Siṃha) ended about 46 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakṣatra* Hasta began about 2 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise.

KŌṆĒRIMĒLKOṆḌĀṆ JAṬĀVARMAN SUNDARA-PĀṆDYĀ.

87.—In the Nilakanṭhēśvara temple at Veḍal.⁴

- 1 [Sva*]sti śri [||*] Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṅ kōr-Chadapagmar Tirubuvagachchakkaravattigal
 śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṅku yāḍu padī[u-mū]ṇṛavadīṅ-edir mu(mū)ṇṛavadu
 Karkāḍaga-nāyarṅ pūrvva-pakshattu saptam[iy]um Budaṅ-kiḷamaiyum perṅ
 Attattu nā].

"In the third (year) opposite the thirteenth year (of the reign) of Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍāṅ king Jaṭavarman (*alias*) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Karkāṣaka."

[Professor Jacobi has not recorded the results of his calculation of this date.—Ed.]

MĀRAVARMAN KULASĒKHARA I. (A.D. 1288-1306).

88.—In the Sundararāja-Perumāḷ temple at Poṅ-Amarāvati.⁵

- 1 ௨. [Śri] Svatt[i](sti) kō-Māra[pa]-
 [ṁma*]r-āṅa(āṅa) Ti[ri*]buvagachchakkaravatt[i]gaḷ]-emmanḍalamuṅ-gonḍ-araḷiya
 Kulasēga-
 2 raḍavarṅku yāḍu 18 vadu Siṃha-nāyarṅ [pū]rvva-pakshattu pañchamiyum
 Tiṅgaḷ⁶-kiḷamaiy[u]m perṅ Utt[i]raḍattu nā].

"In the 18th year (of the reign) of king Māra[varman] *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, Kulasēkharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Uttarī-shāḍhā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Siṃha."

The date of the inscription seems to correspond to Monday, the 6th August 1295 A.D., on which day the 5th *tithi* of the month of Siṃha (Bhādrapada) ended, about 52 *ghaṭikās*

¹ No. 214 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The punctuation after the syllable *śri* is indistinct.

³ Read *tritiyai*.

⁴ No. 69 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁵ No. 21 of the same collection for 1909.

⁶ Read *Tiṅgaḷ*.

after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. But the *nakṣatra* was Chitrā. It may be remarked that the *nakṣatra* Uttarāśāḍhā can never be coupled with Bhādrapada sudi 3, as required by the inscription.

TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN KULASĒKHARA (A.D. 1379-80 to ?).

89.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

1 [S]vasti [śri] [||*] [T]ribhuvanachakravattiga! śri-Kulasēkharade[va]rka
y]āṇḍu 4 vadin=edi[rā]m=a[ṇḍu] Kar]kaḍaga-[nā]yarr-irubatte[ān-tiyadi] Śaṅi-k-

2 [k]i[|am]aiyum perra Rōsaṅi-nā].

"In the year opposite the 4th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasēkharadēva,— on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Saturday (and) to the twenty-seventh solar day of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The only day between 1200 and 1500, which I found to correspond to the date of the inscription, would be Saturday, the 25th July 1383 A.D.; it was the 27th solar Karkāṭaka, (Śrāvapa budī 10) and the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi. This king therefore would appear to have commenced reigning 1379-80 A.D.

In the years 1262 A.D., 23rd July, and 1475, 25th July, the 27th solar Karkāṭaka fell on a Saturday and the *nakṣatra* was the next after Rōhiṇi, viz. Mrigaśīras; we need therefore take no account of these years.

[The alphabet in which the inscription is engraved shows that it must be older than A.D. 1200.—Ed.]

JATĀVARMAN TRIBHUVANACHAKRAVARTIN VĪRA-PĀṇḌYA (A.D. 1295-1342 ?).

90.—In the Vīṇāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvīṇimīlalai.²

1 Svast[i] śri:—³Kōr-Chaḍāpaumar Tirubuvanachakkaravattiga! śri-Vīra-
Pāṇḍiyadēvaṅka yāṇḍu 6 vadu⁴ āṅvadu

2 [Ka]ṇṇi-nāyarrā pāra-va-pa[k*]shattu shatti(shṭhi)yum Velli-kki[|amai]yum perra
Mūlattu nā].

"In the 6th—sixth—year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman (alias) the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vīra-Pāṇḍiyadēva,— on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Friday and to the sixth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The date of this inscription corresponds to Friday, the 28th September 1303 A.D. On that day, the 6th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āśvina (Kanyā) 4403 Kaliyuga ended 6 *ghaṭikā* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā and the *nakṣatra* Mūla was running till about 15 *ghaṭikā* after mean sunrise.

91.—In the Tiruttaliśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.⁵

1 Śri-kō-Chaḍāpaumar-āṅa Tribhuvanachakravatti[ga]! śri-Vīra-[P]āṇḍiyadēvaṅka
yāṇḍu 22[vadu⁶] I]shaba-nā[ya]rra [4]tēdiyum⁷ pā[rava-pa]kshattu
[dvi]tiyaiyum perra Rō[hī]ṇi-n[ā]ḥ⁸].

¹ No. 101 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² No. 401 of the same collection.

³ In the syllable kō, the *ś* of the *ś*-sign is corrected from *tr*.

⁴ *Vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 6.

⁵ No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ *Vadu* is also expressed by a symbol.

The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

"In the 22nd year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇī, which corresponded to the second *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the [4]th solar day of the month of Rishabha."

I take this date to correspond to Sunday, the 3rd May 1318 A.D. This day was actually the 8th solar Rishabha (Jyaishtha), not the 4th as found in the transcript of the inscription; the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Jyaishtha (Rishabha) ended about 13 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, but the *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇī had ended about 26 *ghaṭikās* before sunrise. It would therefore appear that the *nakṣatra* quoted was that current at the beginning of the *tithi*, though it had ended before the day which is called after that *tithi*.

92.—In the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śri [||*] Kō-Chohaḍaivan[mar-āṇa] Tr[i]bhuvagaśchakravatt[i]ga| śri
Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṇu yāḍu 44 vadu Dhanu-nāyarṇu
2 5 tēdiy[um]² pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Bṛhaspati-vāramum perṛa Mūlattu
nā].

"In the 44th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 5th solar day of the month of Dhanu."

This date corresponds to Thursday, the 2nd December 1339 A.D., on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausha (Dhanu) ended 32 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakṣatra* Mūla was current at sunrise and ended about 41 *ghaṭikās* after it.

93.—In the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.³

- 1 Svasti ś[r]i [||*] Kō-Chohaḍaipanmar-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvagaśchakravattiga| śri-Vira-
Pāṇḍiyadēvarṇu yāḍu 46 vadu Karkaḍaga-nāyarṇu 1[4 tēdi]⁴
2 pūrvva-pakshattu [pa]ñjamiyum Sōmavāramum perṛa Uttirattu nā].

"In the 46th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Phalgunī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) to the 14th solar day of the month of Karkaṭaka."

This date apparently corresponds to Monday, the 2nd August 1339 A.D. On that day, the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of Śrāvaṇa (Karkaṭaka) ended about 15 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Phalgunī was current at sunrise, and ended about 6 *ghaṭikās* after it. However, the calculated date was actually the 15th solar Karkaṭaka, and not the 14th as stated in the inscription.

94.—In the Tiruttalīśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.⁵

- 1 [a.] Svasti śri [||*] Kō-Chohaḍaipanmar-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvagaśchakravatt[i]ga|
śr[i]-Vira-P[ā]ṇḍiyadēvarṇu yāḍu 4[9]⁶ vadu Mithuna-
nāyarṇu 21 tēdim⁷ pūrvva-pakshattu tavādeśiyum Āditya-v[ā]ramu[m] p[er]ṛa
Aniḷattu nā].

¹ No. 122 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

³ No. 119 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

⁵ No. 120 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

⁶ The figure in brackets may also be read 6.

⁷ *Tēdi* is denoted by a symbol; *tēdim* stands for *tēdiyam*.

"In the 4[9]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva, — on the day of Anurādhā, which corresponded to a Sunday, to the twelfth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the 21st solar day of the month of Mithuna."

The date corresponds to Sunday, the 16th June 1342 A.D. On that day, at mean sunrise at Laṅkā, the 12th *tithi* of the first fortnight of Āshāḍha (Mithuna) and the *nakshatra* Anurādhā were current, the former ending about 24 *ghaṭikās*, and the latter 45 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. And the day actually was the 21st solar Mithuna.

JATĀVARMAN VIKRAMA-PĀṇDYA.

95.—In the Tiruttaḷiśvara temple at Tirupputtūr.¹

- 1 ||| ॐ Svasti śr[i] [||*] Kō-Chhaḍaipapmar-āṇa Tr[i]bhuvapachchakravatt[i]ga
 śri-Vikrama-Pāṇḍiyadēvaṛṇa yāṇḍu 8[vadi]u² edir 14 āvaḍu
- 2 Śak-ābdam 1344ṃ mēl śellāniṅṇa Śubhakṛi³-varuṣham Dhanu-ravi 19 tēdi⁴
 pūrvva-pakshattu tritigaiyum Buda-vāramum perṇa Tiruvōṇattu
- 3 nā].

"In the 14th (year) opposite the 8th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva, — in the (cycle) year Śubhakṛit, which was current after the (expiry of the) Śaka year 1344, — on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight (and) the 19th solar day (when) the Sun (was in) Dhanu."

This date apparently corresponds to Wednesday, 16th December 1423 A.D., the corresponding Jovian year of southern reckoning being Śubhakṛit. But the third *tithi* has wrongly been quoted for the second. For, on the calculated day which was the 19th solar Dhanu, the 2nd *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa (Dhanu) was current at sunrise at Laṅkā and so was the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa. The third *tithi* began about 5 *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā, and the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa ended about 52 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise. It would therefore appear that the current *tithi* has been quoted instead of the one which ended on that day.

No. 13.—GOHARWA PLATES OF KARNADEVA.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

These plates were found, whilst ploughing, in a field in an old fort at Goharwa, a village in the Manjhanpur tahsil of the Allahabad District. The finder was a Kewat. He states that his plough turned up the plates and broke the ring which fastened them together. The find was rescued from him by one Ramnath, a zamindar of Mawai Kalan, and produced first before the Collector, and then, by the Collector's directions, before Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, C.S., Sub-Divisional Officer, Karwi, Banda district, who sent the plates to Rai Bahadur Venkayya. I edit the inscription from two sets of ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya.

These are two copper plates, resembling ordinary trays, which fit one into the other and form a compact box, with corresponding ring holes at the bottom of the first and at the top of the second plate. They were originally held together by a ring, in such a way that the

¹ No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1908.

² The syllables *vadi* are expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

³ Read *Śubhakṛit*.

⁴ The word *tēdi* is expressed by a symbol.

(*Paramēśvara*, v. 12). His son was Kōkalla (v. 13), whose son, again, was Gaṅgēyadēva, the conqueror of the kings of Kīra, Aṅga, Kuntala, and Utkala (v. 17). His son was Karṇa (vv. 19, 30), king of Chēdi (vv. 25, 29). It will be observed that the panegyrical portion of the inscription contains nothing of historical interest besides the bare names of a few Kalachuri kings who are already known to us from other sources.

The prose portion of the inscription (l. 33 ff.) records a grant of land made by "this *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Paramēśvara*, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara (Śiva), the lord of Trikalīṅga, the glorious Karṇadēva, who meditated at the feet of the P. M. P., the glorious Vāmadēva,¹ the glorious Karṇadēva who has acquired by his own arm the sovereignty of the triad of kings, (viz.) of the Aśvapati, the Gajapati, and the Narapati,—being in good health (and residing) at the camp of victory pitched at the holy Karṇa-tīrtha."

Among the officers to whom the king's order was addressed, the following are specified: *mahādēvi*, *mahārājaputra*, *mahāmantrin*, *mahāśārādhigrāhika*, *mahāmātya*, *mahādharmādīkṣika*, *mahāpratihāra*, *mahākṣhapāṭalika*, *mahābhāṇḍāgrika*, *mahāśmanta*, *mahāpramatavāra*, and *mahāśasādhanika* (ll. 35-37).

The object granted was the village Chandapahā in Kōśamba-pattalā (l. 37). The donee was "the Brāhmaṇa *Paṇḍita-śrī-Sāntisarman*, son of *Avasathika-Māhāt*, grandson of *Upādhyāya-Sila*, (residing at) *Vidabhi*, of the *Kaundinya-gōtra*, with the three *pravaras* *Aṅgīrasa*, *Āmbarisha*, and *Yauvanāśva*, (and) studying the *Vājasaneyi-śākhā*" (l. 39 f.).

The date of the grant was "during the administration (*vyavahara*) renowned by the glorious Karṇa," in the seventh year, in the month Kārttika, on the Kārttikī full-moon tithi of the bright fortnight, on Thursday" (l. 41 f.). These details answer quite regularly to Thursday, 5th November, A.D. 1047: see Dr. Fleet's remarks, p. 146 below.

Before making the grant, the king had "bathed in the Gaṅgā at the holy Argha-tīrtha and worshipped the divine lord Śiva" (l. 42).

Ll. 45-49 contain six of the usual benedictory and imprecatory verses. At the end we are informed that "this (edict) was written by *Karavika-śrī-Sarvānanda* and engraved by *Vidyānanda*" (l. 49).

Among the geographical names mentioned in the grant, I cannot localise any besides Kōśamba-pattalā, which is a vulgar form of Kausāmba-pattalā, 'the district of Kauśāmbi.' The same term occurs as Kōśamba-pattalā in a grant of Jayachandra of Kanauj,² and the Karra inscription of Yaśahpāla³ refers to a village in the Kausāmba-maṇḍala, 'the province of Kauśāmbi.' Manjhanpur, the headquarters of the tahsil in which the Goharwa plates were found, lies west of Allahabad. The same remark applies to Kosam, which used to be identified, without hesitation, with the ancient city of Kauśāmbi. Mr. V. A. Smith has proposed to locate Kauśāmbi further south, near Bharhut;⁴ while Major Vost would place it at Gārgi.⁵ But the finding of the present record at Goharwa in the Manjhanpur tahsil is another item of evidence showing that the country west-north-west of Allahabad between the Gaṅgā and Yamunā rivers must have formed part of the province of Kauśāmbi. Regarding Goharwa Mr. Blunt states that there are several temples, Jaina and others, inside the 'fort' in which the plates were found. I would suggest that this site might be carefully examined by one of the officers of the Archaeological Department.

¹ Compare Professor Kielhorn's remarks above, Vol. II. p. 298 f.

² *I.e.*, apparently, 'during the reign of king Karṇa.'

³ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 137.

⁴ *Colebrooke's Misc. Essays*, Vol. II. p. 246.

⁵ *J. E. A. S.* 1898, p. 511.

⁶ *Id.* 1904, p. 262.

TEXT.]

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 श्रीं स्वस्ति ॥ श्रीं ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं पर[म]-
कारणं । [भ]ावग्राह्यं परं 'द्योतिस्तुल्यं सद्ब्रह्मणे' नमः ॥ [१*] श्वे
हृदयसेवे वल्लीमिव रोपयन्ति
- 2 यां मुनयः ॥ मोक्षमहाफलजननी ब्राह्मी स[क्ष]ापि सा जयति ॥ [२*]
क्षीरोदधेरपरिमेयसुधानिधानमाविर्बभूव' भवभूषणमिन्दुरेवः ।
- 3 अस्मादजायत बुधः⁸ स किल चित्तीयमाद्य⁹ पुरुरवसमाप तनूजरत्नं ॥ [३*]
इति महति सुधामयूषवंशे¹⁰ नृपतिरजायत मौक्तिकायमानः ॥
- 4 अलभत भरतस्य चक्रवर्ती¹¹ 'तुभुवनभूषणभूयमेकमेव ॥ [४*] अचेदितो-
दितकुले¹² जगतीपतीनामीयः कमादजनि हैहयचक्रवर्ती [१] य-
- 5 स्य प्रचण्डभुजपञ्जरमध्यवर्ती काराग्रहे¹³ छत इव प्रसभं दशास्यः ॥ [५*]
वैरिध्वान्तभिदः सहस्रकरता¹⁴ भूपालचूडामणेर्यस्मादद्भुतवाहुव-
- 6 न्यविधुरो¹⁵ नक्तंचरयामणी¹⁶ हिलोकासितवाहुदण्डविहितः (ः) श्रीकण्ठमौलोदितः प्राग्वि-
क्रान्तममृत्युत¹⁷ स्वयमपि स्वमिन्द्रजालोपमं ॥ [६*] यज्ञान्नि-
- 7 धूमैः परितोषितेन्द्रास्तस्मादभूवन्वहवो¹⁸ नरेन्द्राः । राज्ये न येषां विरराम
वृष्टिर्विपक्षनारीनयनान्वुवाहैः¹⁹ ॥ [७*] वज्रालभङ्गनिपुणः परि-
- 8 भूतपा[ण्य]ी साटेशलुण्ठनपटुर्जितगुर्जरेन्द्रः । काश्मीरवीरमुकुटाश्रितपादपीठ-
स्तोषु क्रसादजनि²⁰ लक्ष्मणराजदेवः ॥ [८*] आसीद्यदि-
- 9 जयप्रयाजनिजितव्यामस्त्रेदोदयोन्मज्जनसैनिकगात्रसिंदूरशिरःसिंदूरपुरो[रु]णः²¹ ।
'त्वङ्गंतुङ्गतुरङ्गताडितमहाचोणी[स]-
- 10 द(र)श्चोनिधिः पूर्वर्ती वैरिहठोरकंचदलनास्त्रसिंहवपुर्देरिव²² ॥ [९*] साहित्य-
विद्याबलनाभुजङ्गो²³ निःशेषवाचीधरणाय²⁴ शेषः । ततः स
- 11 जज्ञे जगदैकवंशो²⁵ चेदीन्द्रचन्द्रो युवराजदेवः ॥ [१०*] क्षौत्रेण तनो यस्य
प्रतापेनारिमर्षसु²⁶ । कुलाद्रिकु[चे]ष्वरिभि[स्त्रि]भिस्तुल्यं पदं (।)

¹ From ink-impressions received from Mr. Venkayya.² Expressed by a symbol.³ Read ब्रह्मणे.⁴ The Benares plates (above, Vol. II. p. 506, verse 1) read द्योति.⁵ Read सद्ब्रह्मणे.⁶ Read ब्राह्मी.⁷ Read 'वभूव.⁸ Read बुधः.⁹ Read 'माद्य.¹⁰ Read 'मयूषं.¹¹ Read चक्रवर्ती.¹² Read 'अचेदितो.¹³ Read 'गृहे.¹⁴ Read 'करता.¹⁵ Read 'माहुवन्व.¹⁶ Read 'श्रीः । ईकीकासितगात्रः.¹⁷ Read 'ममृत्युत.¹⁸ Read 'वहवो.¹⁹ Read 'मावुवाहैः.¹⁹ Read 'क्रान्ति.²⁰ Instead of स of 'व्यामस्त्रेदो' the metre requires a short syllable; read 'दीन्यव्यस्त्रेनिकगात्रसिंदूर.²¹ Read लक्ष्मण.²² Read perhaps 'हठोरकंचदलनास्त्रःसिंहवपुर्देरिव.²² Read 'जगती.²³ Read 'वाची.²⁴ Read 'जयदेववंशचेदीन्द्र.²³ Read 'नृपति.



From a photograph.

१ ॥ अथ ह्येतन्मः ॥ तिगुं व्यापकं निषिद्धं न केनो नोपासाव्याप्यं नोपासाव्याप्यं नोपासाव्याप्यं नोपासाव्याप्यं
 २ यो गुरुतयः ॥ साकमहापत्ने जननो वासीत् त्रिधापितो जयति कोरादव र प रिमिथसु वासि सुत मा वि वं नू व न व नू षा मि दु न धः
 ३ अस्मादजायत वः साकलक्षितो रा माघ पुत्र वत्स माप त नू ज र यो ॥ इति महा तमु सम यो वरा नृ पति न जय न मो क्रि काय पा नः ॥
 ४ अलत तन न तम्भ व क व त्री नू व न नू षा नृ प मि का प्र वा ॥ आ दि ता दि त कु लि कु ग ती प ती ना मो राः क मा द ज नि ह ह च व क व त्री दा
 ५ स्य प्र वा उ नू ज पं ज न म वा व त्री को ग यो स ॥ इति व प स न द रा सा ॥ वि नि श्र त ति रः सह स क न तौ प त व दू मा ण र म्मा द दू त वा दू व
 ६ व वि पु ना न क व र षा स णो हि ता त्रा सि त रा दू दा उ वा ह तः श्री कं ठ रो ले दु तिः प्रा धि का त्र म न्न त स य मा प ध मि दू जा ला प मा ष षा मि
 ७ ग्रामेः प रि ता षि त आ स त्मा द त व व ह स्या न न द्यो ग षा ना य षा वि न रा म ट मि वि प क मा य न य मा व द्या दि ॥ व द्या त न न नि गु णा प नि
 ८ मू त पा णा ला र श लु उ न पं ड कृ त उ कृ त नि द्य न का म्मो गं वी न मु कु टा व त पा द यो ठा स्य पु क्ता द ज नि ल ॥ आ ग रा ज द्यो ॥ आ स ध धि
 ९ ज य प्र या ण ज न त वा पा म स्या दा दा या न कृ न सि नि क गा त्र मि दू ग शि नः मि दू ग प्र ता क णा त्व दं नू ज तु न द ग्रा ड त म हा द्या णि म्
 १० दा मो नि वः प्रा सी वि नि का ठा न क व द ल त म्भ सि दू ष प्र नि न वा सा स्ति य वि षा ण ल न त उ ज द्यो निः रा ष वा रो ध ग णा यो र षा त तः स
 ११ डा ह ड ग षि क वा षा व दी द व द्यो लु व ग डा वः ॥ आ वा न त त नो य सा प ता ष ना नि म दं सु कु ला द्य कु नू षु ग मि मि नि द्यो लु व द्य
 १२ द वि ॥ स मा न कृ म ष क र क ति प्र ण धि नी मा ले वा मा नू स त्वं कु षी ण स मा नि धि ना कं प षे ग ना ग क ता वि षि षा वि द्या ता सु वि त मि मा त्र ग
 १३ म ता मु द्दि व द्या सि नी यः सा दा त्र म स्त वः स म त व स म्भ को रा वा गा व ना त ॥ दि का र्ज त नि स्वा न यो प नि व यः आ षा ल व द्यो मा ष
 १४ म्मा द दू त वि क मः क म व र षा का क ल ना मा न व ता वा कृ पं दि ज य प्र चा णि प ण वः स ग्री द ना स मा न स म ज ल न र्प का र्ज म ह त द्यो णि
 १५ ती ना नू सा ॥ आ सा ज य स म द सिं पु ग ग वा स षे द्या स्या द द य त क नाः क कृ तौ क र्पी द्याः प्र का न मा र्ज मि वार व र न ना प क स म्भ
 १६ का पा ल मे दु प ध नि नि नि ना साः ॥ य स्मि सार व क प्र ता व प्र जा ना त जा नि वि वा स व र्द मा ना ता व प न मि नि व द्या ग मा द्या नि ता
 १७ स म त स म सा प्र ली ना ॥ आ का न द द्य व स्मा उ स द्या द्य स्या र तं रा राः ॥ मु नो पा स्य दू न कृ त ना ग वा का न ता ग ता का ना प द न व द्यो
 १८ ग न प नि द्यो प्रो ज ल षा व णः त म्मा कु त ल त द त द्य न सि को गा जे या द व स व ता रा ना का रि क गी द्य कु म्भ द त न वा पा न स्या ना न्म ना
 १९ नि र्जि षा क ले म व वि सी मि ज य स्य स्यः स क्ता यो लु जः ॥ अ नू ण द्यो नि ता त नि र्वा तं रा दि ह ड र्शः ॥ ल द्या स द दू ना सि ते दि ष मा दा प
 २० न द्य पुः ॥ अ नि मा ना न व मा र्जि ना न व न दि सा ति प त्र स क ल्य त क स कः ॥ नि यु य राः कु म्भ द्य क र सा क्ति नः स त म स त स क ल्प न रा वि
 २१ य म्मा गी का म्भ द प्र सा म त्र प्र ता प प्र स ना दि वा व न्मो न मा र्जो ए सा सा आ णो रा सा ॥ इति वः ॥ स्या नू द्या व द्यो व को मा म्भ क्त्वा ड न ह
 २२ म्मा साः ॥ व मा न यः ॥ रा रा सा द्या दि द्या पि द्या व द्या नि ती ॥ म्मा द्या द्य त व ना ता ग दि कु ड न क गी रा ता गी न द ता मु डा य स्या ह णा द त व स्य
 २३ व ना ॥ यो ग म्भ स नि ना य स्य वि पु ले रा व रा र्द रा नि द्या न वि वि ता म ना दि गु णी कृ त म पि ता ॥ इति ए दा त्र वि मि र्वा त
 २४ न प्र मा म्भ मि कृ त री क नि पा मु क्ता त प ता पि त म म्भ ना र्द य स्य प्र या ण पृ त ना म्भ ना मा ना ह ना ष वि प क गो न व स

- 12 दधे ॥ [११*] भूभारक्षमष्टक^१ श्रुतिप्रणयिनीमालम्ब्यमानस्तनुं^२ (।) कुर्वाणः
समरेपि नाकपथगानागच्छतो विदिषां^३ । विख्यातां भुवि भूरिमागर्ग-^४
13 मनामुच्चैर्दधद्वाहिनीं यः साक्षात्परमेस्वरः समभवत्त्वम्यक् मिवाराधनात् ॥
[१२*] दिक्ष्यन्तनिखानयूपनिचयः^५ आपालचूडामणैस्त-
14 आदद्भुतविक्रमः क्रमवशात्लोकज्ञानामभवत् । चक्रे यदिजयप्रयाणपणवः स्वर्गा-
ङ्गनाम्[६]मारम्भे मङ्गलतूर्यकार्यमहितचोणीप-
15 तीनां भुसं^७ ॥ [१३*] आसाजये^८ समदसिंधुरगंधरोषाद्यस्योद्यदायतकराः
ककुभां करीन्द्राः[९]पूत्कारमार्त्तमिव^{१०} खेचरनायकस्य चक्रः
16 कपोलमधुपध्वनिभिर्निराशाः ॥ [१४*] यस्मिन्मुखैकप्रभवे प्रजानां तेजोनिवौ^{११}
चेतसि वर्त्तमाने । त[त्त्वे]^{१२} परस्मिन्नैव योगभाजां निता-
17 त्तमन्तस्तमसा प्रलीनां^{१३} ॥ [१५*] आक्रामदूर्ध्वं^{१४} ब्रह्माण्डसंघट्टितं यमः ।
मन्ये यस्येन्दुनवचताराद्याकारतां गतं ॥ [१६*] कारापंजरवद्वकी^{१५}
18 रन्पतिर्दीप्तोत्तलक्ष्मीचयैः^{१६} तस्मात्कुललभङ्गभङ्गिरसिको गाङ्गेयदेवोभवत्^{१७} । येना-
कारि करीन्द्रकुम्भदलनव्यापारसारात्मना
19 निर्जित्वोत्तलमवधिसीमि^{१८} जयस्तम्भः स्वकीयो भुजः ॥ [१७*] अगुचप्रेति
लोलिति ख्यातं यदिह दुर्ययः ।^{१९} लक्ष्मास्तदधुना धौतं दिव्यमादाय
20 तद्वपुः ॥ [१८*] अतिमनोरथमर्षिजने धनं दिशति यत्तत्^{२०} कल्पतरुस्तदः ।
रिपुययःकुसुदाकरभास्करः^{२१} सुतमस्त स कर्णनराधि-
21 पम् ॥ [१९*] आक्रान्तदृष्टसामन्तप्रतापप्रसरादिव । चरन्तौ रथशौकस्य
सोष्माणौ यस्य रजतः ॥ [२०*] स्फुरद्भां वज्रचक्राभ्यामेक[व्य]जिन ह-
22 स्तयोः । वभार^{२२} यः त्रियं सा[च]ादिन्दोपेन्द्रविजृम्भिनो^{२३} ॥ [२१*] "सर्वोद्भू-
तधराभारदिक्पंजरकराव[तौ] । आनयतां^{२४} भुजौ यस्य वृत्तोत्तवसु^{२५}
23 श्वरो ॥ [२२*] त्वाग[व्य]सनिनो यस्य विपुलं शंस्योर्हयं । निधानं विधिना
मन्ये दिगुणीकृतमर्पितं ॥ [२३*] उहृष्टसुखाद्यविमि[स्रि]ते-

^१ The Benares plates (above, Vol. II. p. 307, verse 16) read "इष्ट".

^२ Read "मालम्ब्यमान".

^३ Read "ख्यात".

^४ Read "पूत्कार".

^५ Read "प्रलीना".

^६ Read "नवचतारा".

^७ Read "नवचतारा" or "नवचतारा वि".

^८ Instead of "य" of यय the metre requires a short syllable.

^९ Read "वभार".

^{१०} Read "आनयतां".

^{११} Read "विदिष".

^{१२} Read "मृग".

^{१३} Read "निषी".

^{१४} Read "दूर्ध्वं ब्रह्माण्ड".

^{१५} Read "भवत्".

^{१६} Read "मन्ये".

^{१७} Read "विजृम्भिनो".

^{१८} Read "विजृम्भिनो".

^{१९} Read "वृत्तोत्तवसु".

^{२०} Read "नवचतारा".

^{२१} Read "आनयतां".

^{२२} Read "तत्तत्".

^{२३} Read "वह".

^{२४} Read "वह".

^{२५} Read "वह".

^{२६} Read "वह".

^{२७} Read "वह".

^{२८} Read "वह".

- 24 न¹ पूत्कारचू[र्णी]कृतश्रीकरेण । सुज्ञातपचायितमम्बराहं² यस्य प्रयाणे पृतना-
गजानाम् ॥ [२४*] नाहं नाथ विपक्षगोचवस-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 25 तिर्न [त्य]क्तपूर्वस्थितिर्यस्याख्यातुमितीव चेदिर्दिनपतेर्दिक्क्रमाक्रामत[:*]³ ॥
प्रान्त(:)ग्रान्तवरुधिनीकरिकरास्फाला-
26 वहेल्लोक्तासितकल्लोलावलिर्वाहदण्डमुदधिचक्रंद⁴ सान्द्रस्वनैः ॥ [२५*] यत्कुन्त-
प्रोतशत्रु(:)श्रुतवधिरसुरापानमत्तप्रवृत्त्यतवेता-⁵
27 लोत्तालतालारवभरितककु[पूच]क्रपर्या(र्य)न्तसोच्चि । चन्योन्यालक्षवाचां⁶ समिति
सुरभसं⁷ दत्तहस्तादिसंज्ञाव्यापारेणामराणां वररम-
28 णविधिः कुतभासीशुहूर्त⁸ ॥ [२६*] आनन्दमन्दसुमनसुमनोवकीर्णं(:)संधाम-
रङ्गभुवि भूमिभृतां पुरस्तात्⁹ । वीरस्य वीरचरितं नटवे¹⁰ कवं-
29 धैर्लक्ष्मीहठप्रहकठोरभुजस्य यस्य ॥ [२७*] नीतेषु प्रमदावियोगविधिना
प्रागुद्यचारित्रतं¹¹ सार्द्धं वन्धुतया¹² गृहस्यपदवीं का[र]गृहस्यापनात् [i*]¹³ वा-
30 नप्रस्यपदं वनाश्रयवशात्¹⁴ भैचाच्च तिष्ठोः स्थितिः¹⁵ (i) येनैव¹⁶ चतुरा-
श्रमेकगुकता स्रष्टाकृता¹⁷ शत्रुषु ॥ [२८*] यस्यार्थिन्नजवांकिताधिकफल-
31 प्राप्ते निसन्धभूः¹⁸ प्राक्प्रत्यग्धरणीधरान्तरस्यपरत¹⁹ स्फुरद्दोषणाः । एते²⁰ निर्मि-
तमाः [पु]रा परिमिते ब्रह्माण्डे यस्मिन् कथं²¹ सम्प्रा[स्य]-
32 न्ति यशान्ति²² चेदिदिनपतेराकुलोभूचिरं ॥ [२९*] किं तस्य कर्ण[वृ]पते-
र्व्वत वर्णयामो यस्य द्विजातिजनशासनताम्बुपटैः²³ । उत्कीर्यमाणनिवि-
33 ङाक्षरचक्रवालवाचालितैर्वधिरभावमियाज²⁴ विश्वं ॥ [३०*] छ ॥ स पय-²⁵
परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवामदेवपादानु-(i)
34 ध्यात(i)परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपर[म]माहेश्वरचिकलिङ्गाधिपतिश्रीमल्ल-
वर्णदेव²⁶ निजभुजोपार्जितास्त्रपतिगजप-²⁷
35 तिनरपतिराजचयाधिपतिः²⁸ श्रीमल्लवर्णदेवः कुशली (॥ छ ॥) जयस्कन्धावार²⁹
श्रीमल्लवर्णतोर्थाधिवासिते महादे[वो] महाराजपुत्रो महाम-

¹ Read 'पूत्कारचिनिःसृतेन पूत्कार'.

² Read 'हेल्लोक्तासितकल्लोलावलिनाह'.

³ Read 'सुरभसं'.

⁴ Read 'नटवे'.

⁵ Read 'वन्धुतय'.

⁶ Read 'यमेकगुकता स्रष्टाकृता'.

⁷ Read 'एतन्'.

⁸ Read 'यशान्ति चेदिदिनपतेरिज्जाकुली'.

⁹ Read 'वधिरभावमियाज'.

¹⁰ Read 'तावपति'.

¹¹ Read 'मम्बराहं'.

¹² Read 'श्रुत' and 'वृत्तवेता'.

¹³ Read 'कुत भासी'.

¹⁴ Read 'प्रागुद्य'.

¹⁵ Read 'मिथोः स्थिति'.

¹⁶ Read 'निजभुजोपार्जिता'.

¹⁷ Read 'परिमितं ब्रह्माण्डमस्मिन्कथं'.

¹⁸ Read 'ताम्बु looks like तावु ; read 'ताव'.

¹⁹ Read 'एष'.

²⁰ Read 'पयः'.

²¹ Read 'चेदिदिनपतेर्दिक्चक्र'.

²² Read 'लक्ष्य'.

²³ Read 'ज्ञात'.

²⁴ Read 'वन्धु'.

²⁵ Read 'येनैव'.

²⁶ Read 'धरान्तरसापारात्'.

²⁷ Read 'देवी'.

²⁸ Read 'शरी'.

- 36 न्नी महासाम्बिविपहिको महामाखो महाधर्माधिकरणिको महाप्रतीहारो
महाचपटलिको महाभाण्डागारिको महासामन्तो महाप्र-(i)
- 37 मत्तवारो महाश्वसाधनिकः एतान्धांश्च[1*]कीर्त्तितान¹ यथास्थाननियुक्तराजपुरु-
षान्यथाप्रतिस्थान² कोशस्वपत्तलाय³ (ii) चन्दपद्माग्रामनि-
- 38 वासिनो निखिलजनपदान्यथाहं मानयति बोधयति⁴ समाजापयति⁵ [11*]
विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिश्चतुराष्ट्राटविशुद्धः सजल-
- 39 स्थलः साम्बमधूक[1*]⁶ सगर्तोपरः सलोहलवणाकरः स्वसोर्मापर्यन्त[1*]⁷
सवनतुण्यूतिगोचरपर्यन्तः (i) विदमो कौण्डिन्यगोत्रायाङ्गिरसाम्ब-⁸ (i)
- 40 रोषयोवनास्त्रिः(ः)प्रवराय⁹ वाजसनेयसाखिने¹⁰ उपाध्यायसौलूपीचाय आवसथिक-
माल्लूपुत्राय पंडितश्रीशान्तिसर्मणे¹¹ ब्राह्मणाय
- 41 ग्रामोयं एतेषां पवं¹²कृत्वा श्रीमत्कर्णप्रकाशे व्यवहरणे सप्तमसंवत्सर-
कार्तिके मासि ¹³सुक्लपक्षकार्तिकीपौर्णमास्यां तिथौ गुरुदि-
- 42 ने एवं संवत्सरमासपक्षतिथिवारानुक्रमेणाद्येह श्रीमतश्चर्चतीर्थे¹⁴ गंगायां स्नात्वा
भगवन्तं शिवभट्टारकं समभ्यर्च्य मातापित्रोरा-
- 43 तनश्च पुण्ययशोभिवृद्धये चंद्रार्कचितिपर्यन्तं शासनत्वेन प्रदत्त इति मत्वा
यथादीयमानभागभोगहिरण्मादिसमस्तराजप्र-(i)
- 44 त्वादायाः एतस्मान्नाश्वणविधेयीभूय दातव्याः । तदपचिकीर्षया न केनापि
(न)¹⁵ गन्तव्यमिति ॥ छ ॥ भवन्ति चात्र पुण्यश्लोकाः ।
- 45 सर्वानेतान् भाविनः पार्थिवेन्दान¹⁶ भूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः [1*]
सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्दृष्टाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [३१*] व¹⁷-
- 46 हुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजतिः¹⁸ सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं ॥ [३२*] भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्णाति¹⁹ यच्च भूमिं प्रयच्छति²⁰
- 47 उभो तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ²¹ नियतं स्वर्गगातिनौ²² ॥ [३३*] षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि
स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः । आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके व-(i)
- 48 सेत²³ ॥ [३४*] अस्मिन्वंसे²⁴ दिज्जोपि यथान्यो नृपतिर्भवेत्²⁵ । तस्यापि
करलग्नेहं शासनं न व्यतिक्रमेत्²⁶ ॥ [३५*] सुवर्णमेकं गामेकां भूमेरप्ये-

¹ Read °तान्.² Read °बोध.³ Read °सोर्मा.⁴ Read °शान्तिने.⁵ Read °सज्ज.⁶ Read °साम्ब.⁷ Read °प्रयच्छति.⁸ Read °वसेत्.⁹ Read °मेत्.¹⁰ Read °पुष्पा° and °स्थानं.¹¹ Read °समाधि.¹² Read °साम्ब.¹³ Read °पार्थिवे° ब्राह्म.¹⁴ Read °श्रीमदध.¹⁵ Read °राजभिः.¹⁶ Read °कर्मोपी.¹⁷ Read °वंसे.¹⁸ Read °कौशाम्यपत्तलायां.¹⁹ Read °साम्ब.²⁰ Read °वोवनाय°.²¹ Read °एवं.²² Read °वेन्दान्.²³ Read °गृह्णाति.²⁴ Read °गामिनी.²⁵ Read °वेत्.

49 कर्मफलं । हरहरकमाप्नोति यावदाद्भुतचङ्गवं^१ ॥ [३६*] लिखितं चेदं
करणिकश्रीमन्मन्दनं^२ । उत्कीर्णितं^३ च विद्यानन्देन ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

REMARKS BY DR. FLEET ON THE DATE OF THE RECORD
PUBLISHED ABOVE.

The record is dated "in the administration (*vyavaharapa*) renowned by the glorious Karṇa," in the seventh year, and on the full-moon *tithi*, coupled with a Thursday, of the month Kārttika. Karṇadēva's predecessor was his father Gāṅgēyadēva, who was reigning, we know, in A.D. 1030,⁴ and for whom we have perhaps also a date in A.D. 1037-38.⁵ For Karṇadēva as king we have the date Phālguna vadi 9, answering to 18 January, A.D. 1042.⁶ On that day he made a grant, having bathed in the river Vēṅi on Phālguna vadi 2 on an occasion which the record mentions as *samvatsarē śrāddhē* (read *śrāddhē*) of his father Gāṅgēyadēva. The editor emended the text here into *samvatsara-śrāddhē*, and interpreted the phrase as meaning "at the annual funeral ceremony" in honour of his father Gāṅgēyadēva. The emendation hardly seems necessary. However, in any case, the text appears to indicate distinctly, not some indefinite anniversary of the death of Gāṅgēyadēva, but the first anniversary of his death; and it is at any rate fully capable of being understood in this sense. Accordingly, Gāṅgēyadēva died on Phālguna vadi 2, = 22 January, A.D. 1041.⁷ The month Kārttika in A.D. 1041 was, therefore, in the first year of Karṇadēva. The month Kārttika in his seventh year came in A.D. 1047. In this year the given *tithi* was connected quite regularly with a Thursday; it ended at about 11 hours 45 minutes after mean sunrise (for Ujjain), that is, at about 5.45 p.m., on Thursday, 5 November; and, being current at sunrise, it gave its number to that same day. And this date, Thursday, 5 November, A.D. 1047, seems clearly to be the date of the record.

The result stated above is in agreement with the points, that this record gives the full titles of paramount sovereignty to Karṇadēva in lines 33-4, and that it does not contain anything to suggest that Gāṅgēyadēva was living when it was drawn up. The following remarks, however, may be added, in case it might be thought that the use of the term *vyavaharapa*, 'transaction of business, management, administration,' instead of *rājya* or *vijaya-rājya*, implies that Karṇadēva was reigning as the representative of his father, the latter being still alive. As we have seen, Gāṅgēyadēva was dead by 22 January, A.D. 1041. Before that, the nearest occasions on which the full-moon *tithi* of Kārttika can be connected with a Thursday are as follows:—In A.D. 1026 it began at about 21 hours 5 minutes after mean sunrise on Thursday, 27 October; but the lateness of the time (3 hours 5 minutes after midnight) precludes the possibility that the *tithi* should have been cited with that day. In A.D. 1023 it ended at about 11 hours 35 minutes after mean sunrise, that is, at about 5.35 p.m., on Thursday, 31 October, and consequently, being current at sunrise, gave its number to the day; but this is altogether too early a date for Karṇadēva to have been associated with his father in the administration for already six years; especially in view of the points, that for Karṇadēva's son and successor Yaśaḥkarṇa the earliest known date is in A.D. 1120, and that for Yaśaḥkarṇa's son and successor Gayākarṇa we have dates in A.D. 1151 and 1155-56.

¹ Read "कर्म".

² Read "श्री".

³ Read "उत्कीर्णित".

⁴ Alhérui tells us this: *Jedie*, trans. Sachau, Vol. I. p. 202.

⁵ Kisthorn's List of Northern Inscriptions, above, Vol. V. Appendix, No. 405.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 407: edited above, Vol. II. p. 305.

⁷ Or on 23 December, A.D. 1040, = Māgha vadi 2, if this *tithi* is preferred in consequence of what the editor pointed out in connexion with the weekday being not correct for Phālguna vadi 2 in A.D. 1042, and being correct for Māgha vadi 2, = 12 December, A.D. 1041. But it seems probable that the mistake lies in the weekday (or else in the *tithi*), rather than in the month.

No. 14.—NARASAPATAM PLATES OF VAJRAHASTA III.;
SAKA-SAMVAT 967.

By PROFESSOR STEN KONOW, PH.D.; CHRISTIANIA.

The grant inscribed on these plates was first brought to light by Mr. Appa Rao, and a short note on it appeared on page 111 of Mr. Krishna Sastri's Annual Report on Epigraphy for the year 1908-1909. I now edit it from ink-impressions supplied by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, who has kindly sent me the following description of the plates:—

"These are five copper-plates with slightly raised rims, of which the first bears writing only on the inner side. They measure roughly 7½" in length and fluctuate between 3¼" and 3½" in breadth. The plates are held together by a circular ring, which measures 4½" in diameter and is nearly ¼" thick. The edges of the ring are secured in the bottom of an oval seal, which measures roughly 2½" and 2¼" in its diameters. The seal is surmounted by a high recumbent bull with various emblems around it, which Mr. Appa Rao says represent a conch, an elephant-goat, a *trifala*, a battle-axe, a crescent, a mace, a rope, and a drum. The plates with seal and ring weigh 295 *tolas*. The plates were received from the Narasapatam tāluka of the Vizagapatam district".

The inscription consists of 74 lines and is in a fair state of preservation.

The alphabet is the same kind of Nāgari as in Vajrahasta's Nadagām plates of Śaka-Samvat 979,¹ and in his Madras Museum plates of Śaka 984.² The *ñ* in conjuncts such as *ñek* and *ñj* is placed after the consonant. The compound *ñj*, which occurs in l. 69, is not used in any of the other known plates of Vajrahasta. It will be seen that the form of the *j* of this compound is slightly changed. There is almost no difference between *ḍa* (l. 55) and *ḍā* (l. 51); between *tu* (cf. l. 25) and *ita* (cf. l. 26); between *lu* (cf. l. 23) and *raṇ* (cf. l. 22). The *anusvāra* is usually denoted by a circle after the consonant. At the end of line 3 and before the sign of interpunction in l. 52, a *vīraṃa* is added underneath. The sign of the *vīraṃa* is also found in *-nīśāḍa*, l. 17; *śamabhūnak*, l. 27. It has been omitted in *-avāḍa*, l. 21; *-puraśarḍa* . . . *janapadāna*, l. 51; *yāvata*, l. 56; *-adityāta*, l. 58; *-gaurācāta*, l. 64 f. In *-avāḍa*, l. 21, and *-janapadāna*, l. 51, the bottom of the letter *a* has been somewhat lengthened. There are several superfluous signs of interpunction in the grant itself, ll. 53 ff. The numerical figures 967 occur in l. 73.

In ll. 7 and 50 some syllables and words are written in Telugu letters.

With regard to orthography we may note forms like *-prakṣhyalita* instead of *-prakṣhalita*, l. 4; *nairityē* instead of *nairityā*, l. 67, and the use of *v* instead of *b*; compare *-śavda*, l. 9 f.; *-lavdha*, l. 12; *-valāt*, l. 16; *-avāḍa*, l. 21; *-avāḍakāna*, l. 27; *-lavdha*, l. 23; *Vaidume*, ll. 36, 58; *-avda*, ll. 39, 73; *-ājayāḥ*, l. 48; *-vāhira*, l. 53. The class nasal and not the *anusvāra* is regularly written before surds. Before *k* and *p* we also find the *anusvāra*; thus, *śaśāṃka*, l. 7; *-śaśāṃkarishṇa*, l. 14; but *-Antyaṃka*, l. 26; *-paśka*, l. 46; *Taṃparā*, ll. 52 f., 71; but *-ālimpanti*, l. 46. Before *kh*, *gh* and *chh* there are no instances of the class nasal, but the *anusvāra* is used in all cases; thus, *-śaṃkha*, l. 9; *-saṃghaṭṭa*, l. 11; *-saṃghā*, l. 39; *lāṃchana*, i.e. *lāṃchhana*, l. 10. In all other nasal compounds, the class nasal is used.

The consonants *k*, *p*, *t*, *dh*, *m*, *y*, and *v* are doubled in all the instances where they occur after an *r*; thus, *-ārṣka*, l. 56; *-karpṇa*, l. 8; *-kirttāḥ*, l. 36; *-sārdḍha*, l. 53; *-dharmma*, l. 64; *-sāryya*, l. 40; *-sarova*, ll. 18, 54. A *g* after *r* sometimes remains single and is sometimes doubled; thus, *-mārgṣa*, l. 42; *-vinirgata*, l. 58; but *-nripatir-Ggaṅg*, l. 26; *-varg[ga]*, l. 42. The other consonants which are used after *r* in these plates, viz. *j*, *tḥ* and *bḥ*, are never doubled.

¹ Above, Vol. IV. p. 183 ff.

² Above, Vol. IX. p. 94 ff.

Compare -*nirjit-*, l. 33; -*carjitāḥ*, l. 55; -*arthibhyah*, l. 24; *pārthivaiḥ*, l. 27; *maṇēr-bhagavatō*, l. 8; -*tir-bhuvān*, l. 30; *kṛimīr-bhātā*, l. 71. Between *m* and *r* a *v*, i.e. a *b*, is inserted in *tāmra-*, l. 61. There are besides, several other mistakes which may be due either to the writer or to the engraver. Thus we find a for ā in -*prakhyaṣita-*, l. 4; *Gaṅg-*, ll. 13, 26, 44; *sampriddhiman-*, l. 30; -*giyaman-*, l. 36; -*chaṭṭa-*, l. 55; a for i in -*kṛita*, l. 39; a for u in -*ācharitām*, l. 41; ā for a in *ānu-*, l. 48; *gaurāvatā*, l. 64 f.; ā for o in -*kul-attamasya*, l. 44; i for t or ai in *iśānyā*, l. 69; i for ī in *śāśanika-*, l. 71 f.; ā for u in -*sūdarāya*, l. 61; ā for o in -*ākāna-*, l. 34; j for jj in -*ujjala-*, ll. 10, 30; -*vā[j*]jātā*, l. 22; t for ṭ in -*chaṭṭa-bhaṭṭa-*, l. 55; t for tt in -*chchhatra-*, l. 10; -*ānuṅga-*, l. 12; t for d in -*samutbhavāyāt-*, l. 37; d for t in *prachyōdan-*, l. 23; y for yy in *nyāyēna*, l. 41; i for s in *śāśinā*, l. 48; -*śim-*, l. 54; *sūnu*, l. 59; *śimānā*, l. 65; s for ś in -*śimantīm*, l. 34; -*māhēvara-*, l. 49; -*praveśā*, l. 55; -*yaś-*, l. 57; *kāsyapa-*, l. 57; *śāśanī-*, l. 61; *vaṁśa-*, l. 68; -*śilā*, ll. 68, 70; *iśānyā*, l. 69; *śāśanika-*, instead of *śāśanika-*, l. 71 f.; s for śh in -*viśayasya*, l. 65, and so forth. Mistakes such as *sē* for *tea* in *prasādāsēm* (-*dāt-sam-*), ll. 8 f., the numerous instances where an *anusvāra* (cf. ll. 27, 39, 42, 53, 56, 72, 74) or a *visarga* (cf. ll. 21, 28, 51, 54) has been omitted; the omission of *jō* in *tasy-ānu[jō*]*, l. 21; of *r* in -*kariśhṇō[r*]*, l. 14; *sūnu[r*]*, l. 58; of *s* in *śamā[s*]*, l. 21; of *sa* in *śā[sa*]nam-*, l. 73, and the many mistakes in l. 62, are probably due to the engraver, while the long omissions in ll. 34 and 65 just as well can be due to the writer of the draft.

There are several instances of wrong or irregular *saṁdhi*: compare -*dattām=vā*, l. 70; -*nicahān śrī-*, l. 17; -*gajānu-arthibhyah*, l. 24; *śaḥ śrī-*, l. 25; *prasiddhaḥ chaturḥ-*, l. 54; -*ādityāta Rūpadēvyah jātaḥ*, l. 58; -*pārvaṇ-tā-*, l. 61 f.

In l. 51 several dots indicate a correction. The engraver probably had to copy a corrected draft, and has reproduced it as he found it. The original reading of the passage was probably *samastāmātyapramukhajānapadān-* as in the Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates, or perhaps, *śāmantāmātyapramukhajānapadān-*; see the footnote to the passage.

The language is Sanskrit, but the construction in ll. 58 ff. is very loose and shows that the composer of the grant was not very well versed in the sacred tongue. With the exception of one imprecatory stanza, the body of the grant is written in prose. The introduction contains the same twelve verses as the Naḍagām and Madras Museum plates, with only one slight variation in verse 2, where our grant has *mahipatiḥ* while the other two read -*vanipatiḥ*. In the grant itself we find the curious expression *bhūmicchhidrapidhānanyāyēnā*¹ instead of the common *bhūmicchhidrapanyāyēna*, l. 55. The epithet *paraśārīśa(su)darāya* used of one of the donees in l. 60 f., is also curious.

The grant was issued from Dantipura by the devout worshipper of Mahāśvara, the *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Vajrahasta* (III), the overlord of the three Kāṭīngas, and bestows some land on Irugana [*alias*] śrī-Mānāditya Chotta and Vira-Bhūtiśvara. The name of the former was perhaps not Mānāditya Chotta but Āditya Chotta, though this reading would imply a serious grammatical slip in l. 60. He was the son of Mānāditya or Āditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarāja and Rūpadēvi of the Vaidamba family, to which Vajrahasta's mother Vinayamahādēvi likewise belonged. The donee Irugana Mānāditya Chotta was consequently a relative of the king.

The land granted comprised the Gōrasatta district with, i.e. including thirty-five villages outside Taṭhpavā. Its boundaries are given in ll. 65 ff.: to the east Vistirnaśila, to the south-east a banyan tree sacred to Gaṇēśa (*Vināyaka-vāṭa*); to the south a hill with the temple of Taṭku-Bhaṭṭārikā, probably some form of Durgā; to the south-west the Andharavēṇī hill; to the west Kāñchaśilā on the Vāśādhārā; to the north-west Amrāpathara; to the north

¹ *Bhūmicchhidrapicāna-* and *bhūmicchchhitr-āpidhāna-* occur in the two grants of Daṇḍimahādēvi published by the late Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. VI., p. 139, text line 81 and p. 142, text line 29), who has corrected them into *bhūmicchchhidrapicāna-*.

Madhupapālī; to the north-east **Tālañjaraśilā**. I cannot localise any of these names with the exception of the river **Vaṁśadhārā**, which flows through the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts. On it is a village which in the Indian Atlas is called **Varanasy**, situated in 18° 51' N. and 83° 56' E., and which I would identify with the **Vārāpasi-kaṣṭaka** mentioned in the Puri plates of **Narasimhadēva IV.**¹ Another locality mentioned in **Gāṅga** plates, the **Varāhavartani**,² I would look for in the course (*partanī*) of the **Varāhanadī**, which rises in the Golkonda hills to the north of **Narasapatam** and flows into the Bay of Bengal at **Vātāda**.

The date of our grant is the **Śaka** year 987, on the ninth day of the (solar) month **Mīna**, on a **Monday**. It is consequently the oldest known grant of **Vajrahaṣṭa III.**

The writers of the grant, the *sandhivigrahin* **Dhavalā**, who is described as the grant writer (*śāsanika kāyastha*) of **Tamṭavā**, and the *kārakī* **Mēṇṭōju**, are not elsewhere known.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Ōm³ svasti [||*] Śrīmatām=akhilā-bhuvana-vinuta-naya-vi-
- 2 naya-dayā-dāna-dākṣiṇya-satya-śaucha-śauryya-dhairyy-ā-
- 3 di-gu[va]-ratna-pavitranām-Ātrēya-gotrāṇām
- 4 vimala-vichār-ā[ch]ā[ra]-puṇya-salila-pra[kṣhyali]ta-⁴
- 5 Kali-kāla-kalmaṣa-maṣiṇām mahā-Mahēndr-ācha-
- 6 la-śikhara-pratiśṭhitasya sa[chara]chara-guroḥ sakala-
- 7 bhuvana-[nirmāp-aika]-su(sū)tradhārasya śaśānka-chu(chū)ḍā-⁵

Second Plate; First Side.

- 8 maṇḍr-bhagavatō Gōkarṇasvāminah prasādā-
- 9 śemāślit-aikāśānka-bhēri-pañcha-mahāśa-
- 10 vda(bda)-dhavalachchhāstra⁶-hēmachāmara-varavṛishabhalāchana⁸-samujva-
- 11 la-samasta⁹-sāmrajya-mahimnām-anēka-samara-saṁgha-
- 12 tṭa-samupalavdha(bdha)-vijaya-lakṣmi-samālīngit-ōtūga-¹⁰
- 13 bhūja-daṇḍa-maṇḍitānām Trikalīṅga-mahibhujām ¹¹Gaṅgānām-anva-
- 14 yam-alankarishṇo[r*] Viṣṇor-iva¹² vikram-ākṛānta-[dha]rā-maṇḍalasya Guṇa-
- 15 mahārṇava-mahārājasya putraḥ || ¹³P[ū]rvvām bhūpatibhir-vvibhajya va-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 16 sudhā yā pañchabbih pañchadhā bhuktā bh[ū]ripārākramō bhūja-
- va(ba)lāt-tā-
- 17 m-śka ēva svayam | śikṛitya vijitya śatru-nivahān¹⁴ śrī-Vaj[ra]ha-
- 18 [sta]ś-ohatāścha[ivā]rīmśatam=atyudāra-charitaḥ sarvvām=arakṣhīt-sa-
- 19 māḥ || [1*] Tasya tanayō Guṇḍama-rājā¹⁵ varsha-trayam-apā-
- 20 layata mahīm || tadānujaḥ Kāmārṇavadvah¹⁶ pañchatrī-

¹ Journ. Beng. As. Soc., Vol. LXIV, Part I, pp. 136 ff.; 151 ff.

² Above, Vol. III, p. 127, note 5; Vol. IV, p. 185, note 5; Vol. IX, p. 95. ³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read -prakhālita-.

⁵ This line, with the exception of the syllables *emāś*, *vai*, and *śaśānka*, is written in Telugu characters.

⁶ Read *prasādāt-sam*.

⁷ Read -chchāstra-.

⁸ Read -lāchchāna-samajjala-.

⁹ The *ta* of -samasta- has been engraved over the *pa* of -samupalavdha-, l. 12.

¹⁰ Read -ōtūga-.

¹¹ Read *Gāṅgānām*.

¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikṛīṭa.

¹³ [There is a superfluous *śaśānka* over the *śa* of *śrī*.—Ed.]

¹⁴ Read -śikṛita-.

¹⁵ Close to the upper circle of the *visarga* there is another circle whose significance is not clear.

- 21 *śāntam-avdāna*¹ | *Tasy-ānu*² *Vinayāditya*[h*] *śamā*[s*]=*tiarā*
 22 || ³*Tatah Kāmārṇavā jāto jagati-kalpabhūrahā* [i*] *yō-rājad-rājita-*
 23 *obchhāyo Vajrahastō mahāpatiḥ* || [2*] ⁴*Prachyōdan-mada-gandha-*
laydha(bda)-*madha-*
 24 *pa-vyālīdha-gaḍḍān-gajānu*⁵= *arthibhyah*

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 25 *śamādāt-sahasram-stulō yas-tyāginām-agraṇī* [i*] *śah*⁶ *śri-*
 26 *mān-Aniyāṇkabhīma-nripatir-*⁷*Ggaṅg-āvay-ōttamāsakah pa-*
 27 *ñchatri*[m*]*śatam-avda*(bda)*kān=samabhunak prithivim*⁸ *statah pārthi-*
 28 *vaiḥ* || [3*] ⁹*Tad-agrasūnu*[h*] *Suratja-sūnanā śamaś sama-*
 29 *stām śamit-śri-maḍḍalā* [i*] *śma pati Kāmārṇava-bhūpa-*
 30 *t[i]r-[bhu]vām sampiddh[i]man*¹⁰-*ar*[ddha]*śamām* ¹¹*samujvalā* || [4*] ¹²*Tad-ānu*
tad-ānu-
 31 *janmā chittajaam-ōpamāno guṇanidhir-anayadyo Guṇḍam-ā-*
 32 *khyō mahīśā* | *sakalam-idam-ara-*

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 33 *kahat-tri*[pi] *varahā*[pi] *dhātrim*(tri)-*valayam-alagha-tojo-nirjit-ārāti-*
 34 *chakraḥ* || [5*] ¹³*Tato* [dva]*mātura*[s-tasya*] *Madhukāmārṇavō nripa*[h |
*avati sm-āvanim-ōttām-avdān**] *ākūnavimsatiḥ*¹⁴ || [6*] ¹⁵*Atha Va-*
 35 *jahasta-nripatēr-ag*[r]*s-sutād-akhila-guṇi-jaṇ-āgranyah* [i*] *Kāmārṇavāt-kav-i-*
 36 *ndra-p*[r]*agiyaman*¹⁶-*āvadāta-śubha-kirttā* | (||) [7*] ¹⁷*Śriya iva Vaidumv-*
(mb)-ānva-
 37 *ya-payah-payonidhi-*¹⁸*śamutbhavāyās-cha* [i*] *yah samajani Vina-*
 38 *ya-mahādēvyah śri-Vajrahasta iti tanayah* || [8*] ¹⁹*Viyad-ritu-nidhi-*
 39 *śa*[m*]*khyām yāti Śāk-avda*(bda)-*saṅghō Dinakṛita*²⁰ *Vṛishabha-athō*
Rohini-bhō su-
 40 *lagnō* [i*] *Dhanuḥi cha sita-pakahō Sūryyavārō tṛtiyā-yuṇi sakala-dhari-*
 41 *trīm rakshitum yō-bhishiktaḥ* || [9*] ²¹*Nyāyēna yatra samam-*²²*ācharitam*
tri-va-

Fourth Plate ; First Side.

- 42 *rg*[ga][m*] *mārgēna rakshati ma*[hīn] *mahita-pratāpō* | *nirvyādhayaś-cha*
 43 *niraghās-cha nirāpadaś-cha śāśvat-prajā bhūvi bhavanti vibhūti-*
 44 *matyah* || [10*] ²³*Vyāpte Gaṅga-kul-āttamasya yaśaś dik-chakraṇāl*[e] *śāśi-pra-*
 45 *dyōt-āmalinēna ya*[sya bhu]*vana-prahlāda-sarpādina* [i*] *śaindū-*
 46 *[mīr-a]tisāndra-paūka-paṭalāḥ kumbhasthali-paṭṭakēshv-ālimpa-*

¹ Read -*śiddān*.

² Read, with the Nagasām and Madras Museum plates, *tasy-ānujō*.

³ Metre: Śloka; read -*śāy-jātō*.

⁴ The Nagasām and Madras Museum plates read -*śanipatiḥ*.

⁵ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read *prachyōdan*.

⁶ Read -*gajānu*.

⁷ Cancel the *visarga*.

⁸ Read -*Ggaṅg*.

⁹ Read *prithivī*, to suit the metre.

¹⁰ Metre: Vāṇastha.

¹¹ Read *sampiddhimān*.

¹² Read *samujvalā*.

¹³ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁴ Metre: Śloka.

¹⁵ Metre: Giti; read *Vajra*.

¹⁶ Read -*pragiyamān*.

¹⁷ Read -*śamādān*.

¹⁸ Metre: Mālinī.

¹⁹ Metre: Vasantatilaka; read *nyāyēna*.

¹⁹ Read *śkōna-viśatatiḥ*.

²⁰ Metre: Giti.

²¹ Read -*śriti*.

²² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita; read *Gaṅga-kul-āttā*.

²² Read -*ācharitam*.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॥ मातापितादिभ्यो नमः ॥ २ ॥
 ३ ॥ गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ ॥ विद्याया नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 ५ ॥ श्रद्धाया नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ ॥ धर्माय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 ७ ॥ अर्थाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॥ कामाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 ९ ॥ मोक्षाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॥ मातापितादिभ्यो नमः ॥ २ ॥
 ३ ॥ गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ ॥ विद्याया नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 ५ ॥ श्रद्धाया नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ ॥ धर्माय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 ७ ॥ अर्थाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॥ कामाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 ९ ॥ मोक्षाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ १ ॥
 २ ॥ मातापितादिभ्यो नमः ॥ २ ॥
 ३ ॥ गुरुभ्यो नमः ॥ ३ ॥
 ४ ॥ विद्याया नमः ॥ ४ ॥
 ५ ॥ श्रद्धाया नमः ॥ ५ ॥
 ६ ॥ धर्माय नमः ॥ ६ ॥
 ७ ॥ अर्थाय नमः ॥ ७ ॥
 ८ ॥ कामाय नमः ॥ ८ ॥
 ९ ॥ मोक्षाय नमः ॥ ९ ॥

26
 28
 30
 32

34 34
36 36
38 38
40 40

[illegible]

- 47 [nti] ponaḥ ponaś=cha [hā]ritām=ā[dhōra]pā vārapān || [11*] ¹Anurāgō-
 48 na guṇinō ya[sya va]kshō-mukh-āvja(bja)yōh | ²āśinō Śrī-Sarasvatyāv-
³ānakū-
 49 lo vi[r]ājataḥ || [12*] Sa dēvaḥ || Dantipurāt-parama-⁴māhōvara-
 paramabha-
 50 ⁵ttarakō mahārājādhirāja-Trikaliṅg-ādhipati-śrīmad-Vajrahasta-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 51 dēva[h*] kuśali mō[h-ā]mātya-purassarāna(n) sāmanta-pramukha-janapadāna(n)
 52 rāja-pād-ōpajivināḥ⁶ samāhūya samājāpayati viditam=astu bhavata[m*] | Tath-
 53 pavā-grāma-vāhira-(l)pañchatrinśata⁷ grāmōpa sārddha[m*] Gōrasatta-
 visha-
 54 yō-yam ⁸prasiddhaḥ chatuḥ-śim-āvachchhinna[h*] sajala-sthalaḥ sarvva-
 pa(pl)-
 55 dā-vivarjitaḥ (l) ⁹achatta-bhattā-prav[ē]sō bhūmi-chhidra-pidhāna-nyā-
 56 yōn=āchandr-ārka-kabiti-sama-kāla¹⁰ yāvata mātā-pitrōr-ā[tma]nāḥ pa-
 57 nya-yaso¹¹-vridhaya (l) Minamāsa-(l)navam[ē]¹² Sōmavarē ¹³Kāsyapa-gotrāya
 58 Pettakallu-vinirgata-Chotta-Vādayarājā tasya sūnu¹⁴ Vaidumvādityāta
 59 Rūpadēvyāḥ¹⁵ jātaḥ ¹⁶Śrī-Mānāditya-Chottaḥ | asya sūnu¹⁶

Fifth Plate; First Side.

- 60 Irugana-śrī-Mānāditya-Chottāya Vira-Bhūliravāya cha | para-
 61 nārisūdūrāya¹⁷ (l) saty-ādhihitha-chētaso || udaka-pūrvvan=tānvrasāsa-¹⁸
 62 ni-kṛitya paṭṭaka-p[r]adatto-smābhir=atōsābbhidhāyibhūyastatāra-¹⁹
 63 vaṇakaraḥ kshētrakarais=cha samuchita-bhāga-bhōgādikaḥ samupanē-
 64 tavyam yathākāla-bhāvibhiḥ²⁰ svapati dānam=idam Manuḥ dharma-gau-
 65 rāvata²¹ || Gōrasatta-visayasya²² śimānō likhyantē || pūrvvataḥ
 66 Vistiraṇasāla || āgnēyē parvata-samipē Vināyaka-vataḥ ||
 67 dakṣhiṇē Tāku-Bhaṭṭārikā-[ā]ma-parvvataḥ | nairityē²³ Andhārāvēpi-
 68 parvvataḥ || paśchi[m]ē ²⁴Vaṁsadhārā-tatō Kāśhas[a]lā²⁵ || vāyavyē A-

¹ Mētro: Ślōka.² Read *āśinō*.³ Read *-ānakūlī* or *-ānakūlyī*.⁴ Read *-māhōvara*.⁵ The aksharas ttarakō mahārājā are in Telugu characters.

⁶ It looks as if the engraver has placed two dots under *ā* in *māhō*, three under *as* in *purassarāna*, one before and one after *ā* in *sāmanta* and three under *i* in *-jivinaḥ*. The *as* of *māhō* seems to have been cancelled. I take the three dots under *purassarāna* and *rājapādōpajivinaḥ* to signify that these words should be cancelled. The two dots under *ā* perhaps correspond with the two dots, before and after *ā*, and indicate that *-ā* should be replaced by *sāmanta*. We would then arrive at the reading *sāmantaśmātyapramukhajjanapadāna-samāhūya*. The Nagagūm and Madras Museum Plates read *samantāsmātyapramukhajjanapadāna-samāhūya*, which may also be the reading intended.

⁷ Read *-bāhira-pañcha-trinśatā*.⁸ Read *prasiddhaḥ-chatuḥ-sim*.⁹ Read *achattābhattāpravatō*.¹⁰ Read *-kālaḥ yāvata*.¹¹ Read *-yaso*.

¹² The *i* of *mā*, the *ā* of *pravatō* in line 55 and the *i* of *chakranālī* in line 44 look like *i*; also the *i* of *Māyōya* in line 73 f.

¹³ Read *Kāsyapa*.¹⁴ Read *sūnu*-Vaidumvādityād.¹⁵ Cancel the *śimāna*.

¹⁶ In spite of *śrī-Mānādityachottāya*, (l. 60) which begins a verse in the Ślōka metre, we should perhaps read *śrīma-Aditya-Chottaḥ*.

¹⁷ Read *śūnara*.¹⁸ Read *-sūdūrāya*.¹⁹ Read *tānvrasāsa*.

²⁰ Read *-atō-ya vidhāy-bhāya samanta-pravāṇikarāḥ*. [It is not impossible that *-bhāy-ājjā-śrītrāṇakaraḥ* was meant; see above, Vol. IX. p. 173, text l. 10 f.—H. K. S.]

²¹ Read *-bhāyibhiḥ-bhūyastatāra*.²² Read *-gaurarāt-paripālaniyam-iti*.²³ Read *-vāyavya śimānō*.²⁴ Read *nairityē*.²⁵ Read *Vaśā*.²⁶ Read *-ālā*.

Fifth Plate; Second Side.

- 69 m[r]āpstharaḥ | uttarē Madhupapaliḥ || (1) isānyē¹ Tālāñjara-
 70 sila² || Svadattāḥ paradattām-vā³ harēt-kāśchid-vasundharām [*]
 sa vi-
 71 śhṭhāyām kṛimīr-bhūtvā pitṛbhūḥ saha pachyatē || Tāmpavā-
 grāma-sāśa-⁴
 72 nika-kāyastha-śrī-sandhivigrahi-Dhavalēna likhita[m*]
 73 śā[sa*]nam-idam || Śakāvda(bda) 987 || iti kāraki-Mā-
 74 nṭōjun-āpi likhita[m]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Hail. The son of the Mahārāja Guṇamahārjaya, who by his prowess conquered the circle of the earth, as (*the god*) Viṣṇu by his strides, wishing to adorn the lineage of the glorious G[a]ṇgas, the lords of the three Kāṇḍas, who were purified by gems (*in the shape*) of virtues praised over the whole earth, such as prudence, good breeding, generosity, charity, courtesy, truthfulness, purity, valour and firmness; who were of the Ātrēya gōtra; who washed off the stains of the impurities of the Kali age by the holy water of (*their*) taintless thoughts and deeds; the grandeur of whose universal sovereignty was resplendent by the unique conch-shell, the drum, the five mahāśabdas, the white parasol, the golden chowrie, and the excellent bull crest which they had obtained by the favour of the blessed Gokarṇasvāmin, who resides on the summit of the lofty Mahendra mountain, the lord of what moves and what cannot move, the sole architect in the creation of all the worlds, whose crest jewel is the moon; who were adorned by lofty staff-like arms which were embraced by the goddess of victory won in the scuffles of many battles, —

(Verse 1.) The glorious Vajrahasta [I.], of exalted conduct, protected the entire (*earth*) for forty-four years, after he, the very valiant one, had, himself single-handed by the prowess of his arm, conquered the hosts of his foes and united the earth, which had formerly been divided and enjoyed in five parts by five kings.

(L. 19.) His son king Guṇḍama [I.] protected the earth for three years; his younger brother Kāmārjavādēva [I.] for thirty-five years; his younger brother Vinayāditya for three years.

(V. 2.) Thereafter king Vajrahasta [II.] who was born of Kāmārjaya [I.], and who shone like a wishing-tree on earth, with radiant lustre,

(V. 3.) the incomparable head of liberal men, who gave to mendicants a thousand elephants, whose temples were sucked by bees attracted by the smell of the rut flowing (from them), he who was praised by kings, the glorious king Aniyāṅkabhīma, the ornament of the family of the G[a]ṇgas, enjoyed the earth for thirty-five years.

(V. 4.) His eldest son, who was like the son of the king of gods, king Kāmārjaya [II.] protected the whole earth for half a year, prosperous and resplendent, after he had conquered the circle of (*his*) foes.

(V. 5.) After him his younger brother who was comparable to the mind-born (Cupid), a blameless treasure of virtues, the king named Guṇḍama [II.], protected this whole circle of the earth for three years, after he had vanquished the host of (*his*) enemies with (*his*) mighty splendour.

(V. 6.) Then his brother from a different mother, king Madhu-Kāmārjaya, [protected this earth for nineteen years].

¹ Read *isānyā*.² Read *-dattāḥ vā*.³ Read *-silā*.⁴ Read *-śāśanika*.

iv b.

52 52
54 54
56 56
58 58

v a.

60 60
62 62
64 64
66 66
68 68

70 70
72 72
74 74

(V. 7-8.) Then the son, named the glorious Vajrahasta [III.], born from Kāmārpava [II.], the foremost of all virtuous men, the eldest son of king Vajrahasta [II.], whose pure and shining fame was praised by the chiefs of poets, and from Vinayamahādēvi, who had sprung from the family of the Vaidumbas, as Śrī from the milk-ocean,

(V. 9.) he who was anointed to protect the whole earth when the aggregate of Śaka years reached the number of the sky (0), the seasons (6) and the treasures (9), while the sun was standing in Taurus, under the Rōhiṇi *nakṣatra*, in the auspicious *lagna* of Dhanu, in the bright fortnight, on a Sunday, combined with the third (*tīthi*) ;

(V. 10.) whose subjects are always enjoying wealth without ailments, sins and misfortunes, while (*he*), whose prowess is praised, protects the earth on the right path in order to get the three objects of life accomplished simultaneously ;

(V. 11.) while the circle of the (eight) quarters is being filled with the fame, spotless as the light of the moon and procuring joy to the earth, of him (*who was*) the best of the G[ā]ṅga family, the mahouts of the quarters over and over again anoint (their) elephants on the surface of (their) frontal globes with masses of thick red-lead paste ;

(V. 12.) through love of which virtuous man Śrī and Sarasvatī, sitting in (*his*) bosom and lotus-like mouth (respectively), shine in concord,

(L. 49.) he, the king, the devout worshipper of Mahēśvara, the *Paramabhāṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja*, the lord of the three *Kaliṅgas*, the glorious king Vajrahasta, being in good health, issues the (following) order from Dantipura, having called together the people headed by the feudatories, preceded by the high ministers, who live at the king's feet,—

(L. 52.) Be it known to you (that), for the increase of the religious merit and fame of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, the well known Gōrasatta district (*viśaya*) with (its) thirty-five villages outside (*bāhira*) Tāmpavā village, circumscribed by the four boundaries, including water and land, free from all molestation, not to be entered by district officers (*chāṭas*) and *bhaṭas*, has been granted by Us, with libations of water, by means of a charter, after having made (it) into a copper-plate grant, according to the maxim of the covering of a hole in the ground (*bhūmi-chhidrapidhāna-nyāya*) to last as long as the moon, the sun, and the earth, on the ninth day of the month Mīna, on a Monday, to Iravana Śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, of the Kāśyapa *gotra*, the son of Śrī-Mānāditya Chotta, the son of Chotta Vādayarāja, who came from Petta-kallu, born of Rūpadēvi, the sun of the Vaidumba family,¹ and to Vira-Bhūriśrava (Bhūriśrava), who keeps far off from the wives of others, whose mind is set on truthfulness. Therefore, being obedient to him, the proper *bhāga* and other (*income*) should be brought to him, together with the *prasaṅgika* and the *keśetrakara*. Future kings [should preserve] this (*my*) gift, from reverence for the law of Manu, from time to time.

(L. 65.) The boundaries of the Gōrasatta district (*viśaya*) are (here) written : to the east Vistiraśila ; to the south-east the Vināyaka-vaṭa (tree) near the hills ; to the south the border hill of Taṅku-Bhaṭṭārikā ; to the south-west the Andhārāvāṇi hill ; to the west Kaśchaśila, on the bank of the Vamsadhārā ; to the north-west Amrūpāthara ; to the north Madhupapālī ; to the north-east Tālañjaraśila. [Here follows one of the customary verses].

(L. 72.) This charter was written by the illustrious *sandhivigrahā* Dhavala, the grant-writer (*śāsanika-kāyastha*) of Tāmpavā village. The Śaka year 987. Thus also written by the *kāraka* Mēṇṭōju.

¹ [It is difficult to reconcile the fact that Rūpadēvi, a lady, is called the 'Sun' of the Vaidumba family. Perhaps Vaidumbāditya is to be taken as a proper name.—H. E. S.]

No. 15.—TIRUVELLARAI INSCRIPTION OF DANTIVARMAN.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AITAB, B.A., OOTAGAMUND.*

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on some of the stones forming the margin of the well on the southern side of the Puṇḍarikākṣha-Perumāḷ temple at Tiruvellārai. This village is at a distance of 12 miles to the north of Trichinopoly and has several interesting ancient monuments. Among them may be mentioned (1) the rock-cut Śiva temple of Jambunātha² called in its inscriptions the Tiruvāpaikkal-Perumāṇḍigal, with an inscribed boulder in front;³ (2) the Viṣṇu temple of Puṇḍarikākṣha-Perumāḷ with another rock-cut cave⁴ on the southern side of its first prakāra; and (3) the well on which the subjoined inscription is engraved.⁵ Besides the above, there are the ruins of another Śiva temple in that part of the village where the Pallava well is situated. A big *liṅga* and a large sized Nandi are still to be seen in a field not far from the well.

The stones bearing the record under notice are not in proper order, but as none of them is missing, it has been possible to piece them together and make out the inscription completely. It is in an excellent state of preservation, having been engraved after the stones had been dressed for the purpose. The engraver seems to have taken great care as the record is almost free from any mistakes. The letters are cut deeply and the inscription is written in two sections of two lines each. The language of the record is Tamil prose and verse with an admixture of Sanskrit words and phrases written in Grantha characters.

The following peculiarities of the alphabet deserve notice. The vertical line to the right of *va* in *sva* reaches the full height of the top letter *sa*. The secondary *i* is written from the right to the left and touches the consonant on the right side only. The secondary *ā* is denoted by a short vertical stroke added to the right of the letter so as to touch it by a small horizontal line at the top. The length of the vowel *ā* and the *a* of the combined consonant *vā* are as distinctly marked as in the modern characters. *Vā* presents an early type. The bottom portion of *ḍu* is drawn out into a flourish as sometimes to completely cover the letter that precedes it. All the *ya*'s occurring in this inscription have a big loop at the beginning. The *ṣ* symbol

* No. 541 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.


¹ The inscriptions on the outer walls of this temple which may be considered not so old as the cave itself, belong to the time of Rājāśarivarman, Parāntaka I. and Rājendra-Chōla I. (Nos. 512 to 514 of 1905). The cave consists of a cell cut into the rock with two niches on either side. Of the two to the right, the first contains an image of Viṣṇu, while the second enshrines the god Gaṇeśa. In the two niches on the left side are put in stone images of a later date. The front part of the cave may be described as a verandah with four pillars cut out of the same rock.

² As many as 16 inscriptions have been copied from this boulder (Nos. 515 to 530 of 1905). They range in date from the time of a Pallava king whose inscription is partially built in by a modern platform raised in front of the shrine of the goddess, to those of the early Chōla sovereigns Rājāśarivarman, Parākāśarivarman, Parāntaka I. and Vikrama-Chōla. The texts of 13 of these records have been printed by the late Pandit Natesa Sastry (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXXIV, pp. 265 E.).

³ Ten inscriptions of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 (Nos. 531 to 540) are from this cave, the kings represented being Nandivarman, Rājāśarivarman, Parākāśarivarman, Rājārāja I., and Parākāśarivarman 'who took the head of the Pāṇḍya.' One of the inscriptions (No. 534 of 1905) dated in the 8th year of a Parākāśarivarman is interesting as it refers to gifts made by the queen of Uḍaiyār-Āṇaimēṇṇūjīnār (i.e. the king who died on an elephant's back) to the god Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and his consort Rukmiṇī of the big temple at Tiruvellārai. At present there is no shrine in the Puṇḍarikākṣha-Perumāḷ temple dedicated to Śrī-Kṛṣṇa but there is an image of that god found on the outer gōpera, right of entrance. We cannot be certain if this is the image referred to.

⁴ Nos. 541 and 542 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905 are engraved on stones forming the margin of this well.

touches the consonant that follows it. One graphic peculiarity of the record is that the loops of *ṇ* and *ṣ* are fully developed and the consonant *rai* resembles to a great extent the letter *ga*. The *pulli* (or *virāma*) is invariably marked by a slightly curved line cut on the top of the letters. It is wrongly marked on *pe* in *peruṅṇiṇaru* (l. 2, section 1) and on *pe* in *vaimmiṇṇi* (end of l. 2, section 2). The Sanskrit words and letters that occur in the inscription are: *svastī* and *śrī* at the beginning of the record, *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, *Dantivarman* and *Pallavati-lakṣmī* in line 1; *ratihī* of *rathippār* in line 2 and *śrī* at the commencement of the Tamil verse in section 2, line 1.

The object of the inscription is to record the construction of the well called *Mārppidugu-peruṅṇiṇaru* by one *Kamban-Araiyaṅ*, the younger brother of a certain *Viśaiyanallūṇ* of *Ālambākkam*. The work was commenced in the 4th year of Dantivarman, who belonged to the *Pallavatilata* (tilaka) family which is said to have sprung from the *Bhāradvāja-gōtra*, and completed in his 5th year. The capacity of the well accounts for the time taken in its construction. There are four entrances leading into the well and they are so constructed as to give it the shape of the *svastika* symbol .¹ The Tamil verse in section 2 is written in the *Aṭṭiyaviruttam* metre, each line containing six feet (*śīr*). It declares that no object in this world is permanent, that life is sure to decay, and that, therefore, if one commands wealth, he must, after taking what is required for his maintenance, utilise the remainder in doing works of charity.

An inscription dated in the 8th year (=A.D. 1262-3) of the Hoysala king *Vira-Rāmanāthadēva* found on the margin of the same well records that a merchant (*vaiyaṅ*) repaired it as it had suffered considerable damage from floods and other causes.² The same record refers to the well as having been built by a merchant. In the 13th century A.D. the builder of the well was believed to have been a private individual and not a chief, as the title *Araiyaṅ* appended to his name would lead one to believe.³ It is also interesting to learn that repairs were executed to it in A.D. 1262. It was perhaps then that the inscribed stones got out of order.

The proper names that occur in this record are of special interest. *Ālambākkam* may be identified with the village of the same name situated at a distance of 12 miles from Lālguḍi on the road to Ariyalūr. *Dantivarmamaṅgalam* and *Madhurāntaka-chaturvēdimāṅgalam* were its other names in ancient times, and it was situated in *Poygai-nādu* which was a subdivision of *Rājendraśīṅgavaḷaṇāḍu*.⁴ *Tiruvellarai* is said to have been a village in *Vaḍavai-nādu*, a district of *Rājāśraya-vaḷaṇāḍu*.⁵ The members of the village assembly of *Tiruvellarai* are referred to in two records of the Chōla king *Rājārāja I.* found in the *Rājaraṣeśvara*

¹ From each of the entrances, a flight of steps leads to the interior of the well. Midway between the entrance and the bottom of the well, on what may be described as the portal, is a piece of sculpture which was, in all probability, carved at the time when the well was constructed and hence synchronous with it. There are thus four groups of sculptures in all, on the four sides. The principal figures on the northern side are *Śiva* and *Pārvatī* seated on a pedestal with attendant deities, flanked on either side by a *śaṁḍi*. A number of female figures, probably the *saptamātṛis*, are found on the southern side. With an attendant deity on the right side, the god *Yōga-Narasimha* is figured on the eastern side in a sitting posture with legs folded and crossed and with something like a cloth passing round them. This group is flanked on the left by a lion while to the right is a *gāṇi*. I am not able to identify the images on the western side. Here are the figures of a warrior armed with a sword, a horse and a few other images.

² No. 542 of the Epigraphical collection for 1905 and *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, p. 63, paragraph 4.

³ In spite of this belief it is not impossible that the builder *Kamban-Araiyaṅ* was a chief who belonged to the *Mutraraiyaṅ* family.

⁴ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1909-10*, Part II., paragraphs 14 and 25.

⁵ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. Part III. p. 338.

temple at Tanjore and were required to supply two *brahmachāriyas* as temple-servants and two other persons as watchmen to that temple.¹

The well Mārppidugu-peruṅgiṟu should have been named either after the reigning king or a local chief under him. That it was not called after the builder is evident from the fact that he bore a different name. Nor do we know that Dantivarman had the surname Mārppidugu. It may be pointed out here that there was in ancient times a family of kings called Muttaraiyan ruling over a portion of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly districts and a part at least of the Pudukkōṭṭai State.² Some of the members of this family had for their surnames Perumbidugu, Viḍalviḍugu, etc. Śendalai, one of the places where their inscriptions have been found, is not far off from Ālambākkam whence the builder of the Tiruvellārai well hails. It may further be noticed that at Ālambākkam, there was, according to its inscriptions a big tank called Mārppidug-ēri. It is just possible that both the Mārppidug-ēri of Ālambākkam and the Mārppidugu-peruṅgiṟu of Tiruvellārai came into existence at the same time and were named after the same person who, to judge from the similarity of the name, might have been a member of the Muttaraiyan family and a feudatory of the Pallava king Dantivarman of our record.

From the Tamil work *Nāṭyaiprabandham*, it appears that the Viṣṇu temple at Tiruvellārai was in existence from an early period,³ as the Vaishṇava saints Periyālvār and Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār composed hymns in its praise. The latter saint mentions the village not less than four times in his compositions and there is not much doubt that one of these references, viz. *Vellāraiyṉ kallaraimēl*⁴ has to be taken to denote the rock-cut cave in the Paṇḍarikāksha-Perumāl temple. From the fact that Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār mentions in his hymn on Paramēśvara-ṟippaṅgar some of the battles where the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla gained victories over the Pāṇḍya sovereign and refers to another Pallava king Vayiramōḡan, it has been surmised that the Ālvār was a contemporary of the latter and lived in the period immediately following the reign of the former whose achievements were fresh in the saint's mind.⁵ Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār⁶ has thus been assigned to the 3rd quarter of the 8th century A.D. Accordingly, the cave in the Paṇḍarikāksha-Perumāl temple probably came into existence before that time. One of the earliest inscriptions in the cave belongs to the time of a Pallava tiṭaka king Nandivarman. This record mentions a certain Viśaiyanallōḷḡan, who is perhaps the same as that Viśaiyanallōḷḡan whose younger brother was Kamban-Araiyan, the builder of the well at Tiruvellārai. If this be the case, it may be concluded that Nandivarman was perhaps the predecessor of Dantivarman. At any rate he could not be far removed in point of time from the other.

¹ *Ibid.* pp. 326 and 338.

² Inscriptions of this family have been found at Śendalai and Tiruchchatturai in the Tanjore District where there was a village called Viḍalviḍugu-chaturvāḍimāḡalam. Tirumaiyam and Malaikkōyil in the Pudukkōṭṭai State also contain their records. The cave at Nāṟṭṭimālai was excavated by the son of Viḍalviḍugu-Muttaraiyan. A weight called *Viḍalviḍugu-kal* was in use at Uyyakkonḍān-Tirumalai near Trichinopoly.

³ From some of these stanzas, it appears that the god in the Viṣṇu temple was in a standing posture in ancient times also.

⁴ *Minnaiy-iru-tudarai Vellāraiyṉ-kallaraimēl* occurs in the *Periyatirumōḷi* of Tirumaṅgai-Ālvār.

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 293-4.

⁶ One other king referred to by this saint is the ancient Chōḷa Kō-Chcheṅḡaṅḡan who is mentioned both in the large Leyden and the Tiruvāḷvāḍu plates. Tamil literature speaks of this sovereign as having fought with the Chēra Kaṇakkāl-Irumborai whom he eventually took prisoner and confined in a place called Kuḍavāyil-kōṭṭam (*Parom* 74). The poet Poygaiyār celebrates the valour of this king in his *Kaṇavāḷi-nōṟpade*. *Parom* 48 and 49 contain stanzas composed by the same author in honour of another Chēra king Kō-Kkōḍu-māṟbaṅ who, if not identical with Kaṇakkāl-Irumborai, must have been a near relation of his and a contemporary of the Chōḷa Kō-Chcheṅḡaṅḡan. It is worthy of note that the *Periyaparaṇḡam* refers to the extensive building operations of this ancient Chōḷa king. The Śaiva saint Tiruḷḡaṅḡambāḍar alludes to the construction of the temple at Tiruvāḡaṅḡamāḷakkōyil and other places by the same king.

श्रीगुरुभ्यो नमः
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय

கனையுபலபகலகசுவாசக
எனக்கனையுபலபகலகசுவாசக

பெரிய நாயகன் நாயகன் நாயகன் நாயகன்
கனியெய்து பிழைத்து வந்தான்

முதுகூறுபுதுபித்தன்முதுகூறு
முதுகூறுபுதுபித்தன்முதுகூறு

കുറുപ്പുവെച്ചുപട്ടം

Second Section.

Second Section.

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ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 श्रीकृष्णार्चनम् ॥

King Dantivarman of the subjoined record is stated to have been born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gotra. In editing the Triplicane inscription of Dantivarman-Mahārāja, Mr. Venkayya remarked that he was perhaps the immediate successor of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and added in a note that his successors probably spoke of themselves as belonging to the "family of the Pallavatilaka." And *Pallavatilaka* is a shortened form of *Pallavakulatilaka* which was actually borne as a title by Dantivarman-Mahārāja of the Triplicane inscription.¹ Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a usurper as we know from the Kāśā-kudī plates. Subsequent kings (there are at least two known so far) claiming descent in the Pallava line, trace their ancestry apparently to Dantivarman of the Triplicane inscription as evidenced by the epithet *Pallavatilaka-kulōbbhava* prefixed to their names. The application of this epithet to the king of the present record necessitates our distinguishing him from Dantivarman-Mahārāja, "the ornament of the Pallava race." That such a distinction has to be made is also evident from the fact that this is not the only inscription which introduces this family. Not less than five records have, so far, been found where members belonging to the Pallavatilaka family are mentioned,² and it is therefore difficult to suppose that all the writers did not intend any difference between the terms *Pallavakula* and *Pallavatilakakula*.

From the Tiruvālaṅkādu grant of Rājendra-Chōla I., we know that Āditya I, father of Parāntaka I. (A.D. 907—947) fought with the Gaṅga-Pallava Aparājita.³ This king may be supposed to be the son of Nripatūṅgavikramavarman and his successor. In two records of the 18th and 22nd years of Nripatūṅga, Adigaḷ-Kambaṅ-Mārambāvai, queen of Nandivarman of the Pallavatilaka family makes grants and there is a much damaged inscription in the Airāvātēśvara temple at Niyamam apparently dated during the reign of a Chōla king also registering a grant made by the same queen.⁴ From these facts it may be concluded that, of the two kings of the Pallavatilaka family hitherto known, Nandivarman was either a contemporary of the Gaṅga-Pallava Nripatūṅgavikramavarman or lived prior to his time by a few years. As Dantivarman of the subjoined inscription has been shown to be closer in point of time to this Nandivarman, he may be assigned roughly to the beginning of the 9th century A.D.

TEXT.

First Section.

- 1 Svasti śri [i*] Bhāradvāja-gōtrattiṇ vaḷi-ttōṅgiya Pallava-tiḷata⁵-kulōrbhavaṇ
Dantivarmmarku yāṇḍu nāṅgāvad-eṇṇuttakkōṇḍa [ai]dāvaḍu murguvittāṇ
Āṭamb[ak]ka-Viśaiyanallāḷḷaṇ
- 2 tambi Kambaṅ Araiaṇ Tiruvellārai-Ttēnnūr-pporuṇ-giṇaṇ [i*] Idaṇ piyar
Mārppiṇḍugu-[pe]ruṇḍiṇaṇ-eṇḍadu |— Ida rutahippār⁶ ivv-ār-Mūvairatt-^{6a}
eḷunūṅṅavarum |—

Second Section.

- 1 Śri [i*] Kaṇḍār kāṇāv-ulagattir-kāḍaiṣeydu nilladēy⁷ paṇḍēy⁷ Paramaṇ
paḍaitta nāl pārttu niṅṇu naiyyādēy⁷
- 2 taṇḍār⁸ mūppu vand-nūnai-ttāḷara-ehcheydu nillāmuṇṇ-uṇḍell⁹-uṇḍu mikkaḍu
ulagamm-aṇiya [v]aimminēy⁷

¹ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 292.

² Nos. 16 of 1899, 300 and 303 of 1901 and 537 and 541 of 1905 of the Madras Epigraphical collection.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905-06*, p. 66, paragraph 10. * *Ibid.* for 1898-9, p. 7, paragraph 18.

⁴ *Tiḷata* is a *śaḍḥaṇ* of the Sanskrit *tilaka*.

⁵ Read *ratēkē*.

^{6a} Read *Mūvāyē*.

⁷ In these four instances the final *y* seems to have been inserted to represent the full sound produced in pronouncing the words.

⁸ *Taṇḍu* is a variant of the Sanskrit *ḍaṇḍa*.

⁹ The doubling of the consonant *l* is a mistake. The first of them has to be deleted.

TRANSLATION.

First Section.

Hail! Prosperity! In the fourth year (of the reign) of Dantivarman who was born in the Pallavatilaka family which had sprung from the Bhāradvāja-gōtra, Kamban Arsiyan, the younger brother of Viśaiyanallūṭṭāṅ of Ālambākkam, commenced (to build) the big well at Teppūr¹ in Tiruvellārai and completed (it) in the fifth (year of the same reign). Mārppidugu-perungṭaru is the name of this (well). The three-thousand and seven hundred² of this village shall protect this (charity).

Second Section.

Prosperity! Without being (passionately) attached to this world where men seen (today) are not seen (tomorrow); without giving (yourself) up to despair looking for the (final) day appointed by the Creator; and before your (limbs) become weak at the appearance of old age with its (appendage of a) stick; if you have (wealth) maintain (yourself) and devote (what remains to charity) so that (all) the world may know (it).

No. 16.—NEW SPECIAL TABLES FOR THE COMPUTATION OF HINDU DATES.

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Sanskrit Professor at Bonn, Germany.

The new Special Tables which I publish now are intended to supplement the General Tables in the same way as the old Special Tables do, which were published in Vol. I. above, p. 450 ff., i.e. they are intended to test, according to one of the principal *siddhāntas* named at the head of the several Tables, the approximate result calculated previously by the General Tables. To these new Tables the remark in § 4, p. 403 l. c. applies also. "The General Table is to be used first; and only when by that table the end of the *tithi* falls very near the beginning of the day, and the week day comes out in error by one day only, need the Special Tables for the several *siddhāntas* be tried to see if one of them will furnish the desired result."

The plan on which the new Tables have been constructed is the same as in the General Tables, as far as their object, the highest possible degree of accuracy, will allow. Therefore the new Tables (1) refer throughout to mean sunrise at Laṅkā, not, as the old Special Tables do, to the beginning of the Solar year; (2) they furnish the quantities on which the *tithi* depends, in decimals of the circle and not in degrees, minutes and seconds as is the case in the old Tables. These innovations render the working of the new Tables very easy and almost mechanical.

The Special Tables differ from the General Tables in two points; (1) They contain three columns headed *a*, *b*, *c* instead of the two in the General Tables headed '*Tithi*' and '*☾*'s anomaly. *a* denotes mean distance of Sun and Moon, expressed in five decimals of the circle. By Tables XVIII, XIV, XV *a* can be converted into *tithis*, *ghaṭikas*, and *palas*; *b* denotes the mean anomaly of the moon in four decimals of the circle; and *c* the mean anomaly of the Sun, also in

¹ The southern part of Tiruvellārai was probably called Teppūr in ancient times.

² The signatory in one of the inscriptions of Rājārāja I (A.D. 985-1013) found at Māmalaparam in the Chingleput District is a certain Tiruvadigaḷ Maṇikaṇṭhan, a native of Tiruvellārai. He calls himself as one of the 3,700 of that village (*South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 65). This seems to indicate that at an early period there was a body of 3,700 persons at Tiruvellārai to whom later members traced their descent. Reference to another such body of men is found in the expression *Tillai-mūṇḍigirar*.

four decimals. (2) To the sum of a (mean distance of Sun and Moon) two corrections (equations) must be applied, while in the General Tables only one equation is needed. The arguments of these equations are the sums of b and c , respectively, and they are to be looked out in the tables of equations under the several *siddhāntas*. In order to calculate the value of the equation for an argument not entered in the table, but lying between two table values, a column headed $\Delta 10$ has been inserted in the middle of these tables, which gives the increase or decrease of the equation for a difference of ten in the argument.

I now proceed to illustrate the working of the new Tables by a few examples.

First example.—Let it be proposed to verify the date: Kali-Yuga 4198, Chaitra *su. di.* 2 *renu*, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*. We first calculate the date according to the General Tables, and write down the calculation in the proper form (see above, Vol. I. p. 410).

| | | | | | |
|-----------|-----|------|-----|-----------------------|--------|
| 4100 K.Y. | (1) | 5-58 | 111 | Ind. ● | =20-43 |
| 98 years | (4) | 399 | 59 | Ind. <i>su. di.</i> 2 | =22-43 |

| | | | |
|-------------------|-----|-------|-----|
| 4198 K.Y. | (5) | 9-57 | 170 |
| 15th sol. Chaitra | (4) | 22-52 | 593 |

| | | |
|---------|------|-----|
| (2) | 2-09 | 763 |
| eq. 763 | =0 | |

2-09

Result: On the Monday (2) in question, the third *tithi* was running; it commenced on the preceding day (Sunday), about 5½ *ghaṭikās* before mean sunrise. Now in order to calculate the result according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, proceed as follows. Look out K. Y. 4100 or 41st century K. Y. in table I, 98 years in table II, and 15th Chaitra in table XIII (which is the same for all *Siddhāntas*) and sum up the quantities in the several columns (rejecting integers); thus—

| | w | a | b | c |
|------------------------|-----|-------|------|------|
| 41st century | (1) | 18563 | 6157 | 7863 |
| 98 years | (4) | 13299 | 571 | 9999 |
| 15th sol. Chaitra | (4) | 75053 | 5932 | 9500 |
| K. Y. 4198, 15 Chaitra | (2) | 6915 | 2660 | 7353 |

Now find the equation for b 2660 from table III, *viz.* 5, and the equation for c 7353 from table IV, *viz.* 3; then add these equations to a , *viz.* 6915 + 5 + 3 = 6923. Table XVIII gives 6667 = *su. di.* 2; the difference from a just found, 6923—6667 = 256; this is according to tables XIV and XV equal to 4 *ghaṭikās* (a = 226) and 32 *palas* (a = 30). Therefore, according to the *Sūrya-Siddhānta*, the 2nd *tithi* ended 4 *ghaṭikās* 32 *palas* before mean sunrise. This result is very nearly right, and we may in most cases rest satisfied with it. If the highest degree of accuracy be required we subtract the increase of a & b & c for 4 *ghaṭikās* 2 *palas* from tables XIV and XV to the result found before; *viz.* from 6915 22—

| | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----|----|---|------|------|------|
| 4 <i>ghaṭikās</i> | 226 | 24 | 2 | 6915 | 2660 | 7353 |
| 32 <i>palas</i> | 30 | 3 | — | —256 | 27 | 2 |
| | | | | | | |
| | 256 | 27 | 2 | 6659 | 2633 | 7351 |

Equation for $b=2633$ is 4; equation c for 7351 is 3; the sum of both equations=7 added to 6659 makes 6666, which falls short of 6667 by 1. Therefore the end of the *tithi* occurred one *pala* after the moment calculated or 4 *ghaṭikās* 31 *palas* before mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

Second example.—Computing the date K. Y. 4276 Bhādrapada *su. di* 13 *raavan*, our calculation by the General Tables stands thus (*l. c.* p. 411) :—

| | | | | |
|------------|-----|-------|-----|------------------------------|
| 4200 K. Y. | (1) | 2·19 | 699 | Ind. ● = 26·54 |
| 76 years | (5) | 1·27 | 454 | Ind. <i>su. di</i> 13 = 9·54 |
| | (6) | 3·46 | 153 | |
| 3rd Āśvina | (2) | 8·83 | 661 | |
| | (1) | 12·29 | 814 | |
| eq. 814 | = | 0·03 | | |
| | (1) | 12·32 | | = Sunday, <i>su. di</i> 13. |

Let it now be required to calculate the end of the 13th *tithi* according to the *Ārya-Siddhānta*. By the General Tables we find that this moment occurred about 40 *ghaṭikās* (=0·68 *tithi*, table IV) after mean sunrise at Laṅkā. The Tables for *Ārya-Siddhānta* furnish the following data :—

| | | | | |
|--------------------|-----|-------|------|------|
| 4200 K. Y. | (1) | 7236 | 1988 | 7848 |
| 76 years | (5) | 4208 | 4555 | 9 |
| 3 Āśvina | (2) | 28266 | 6615 | 4271 |
| | (1) | 39710 | 3158 | 2128 |
| 40 <i>ghaṭikās</i> | | 2257 | 242 | 18 |
| | | 41967 | 3400 | 2146 |

equation b for 3400 is 215, equation c for 2146 is 1178; their sum 1393 added to a 41967=43360. The difference from 43333, the value of 13th *tithi*, is a 27=25 *palas*, by which the end of the *tithi* occurred before the moment calculated. The exact time is therefore 39 *ghaṭikās* 35 *palas* after mean sunrise at Laṅkā.

Possible error.—As in the tables fractions are neglected or counted as 1, according as they are less or larger than $\frac{1}{2}$, the absolute error in every quantity may amount to $\pm 0·5$. Usually the plus and the minus of the different figures will compensate for each other, but in extreme cases the neglected fractions may sum up to $\pm 2·5$ or $\pm 3·5$, according as 5 or 7 a 's are summed up. This error, in time, would be 2, 7 and 3, 7 *palas*, or 1 minute 5 seconds and 1 m. 29 s., respectively.

SŪRYA-SIDDHĀNTA.

TABLE L.—For centuries (of the Kali-Yuga).

| cent. | $\frac{a}{2}$ | a | b | c | sol. corr. | |
|-------|---------------|-------|------|------|------------|--|
| | | | | | gh. p. | |
| 30 | 2 | 46261 | 2028 | 7854 | + 1 10 | For Sūrya-Siddhānta with b the last two figures of b must be augmented by: 42 in 4500 K. Y.
" 43 " 4600 "
" 43 " 4700 "
" 44 " 4800 "
" 45 " 4900 "
" 46 " 5000 " |
| 31 | 2 | 34960 | 7891 | 7857 | — 6 18 | |
| 32 | 2 | 23659 | 3754 | 7861 | —13 46 | |
| 33 | 2 | 12348 | 9616 | 7864 | —21 13 | |
| 34 | 2 | 1057 | 5479 | 7868 | —28 41 | |
| | | | | | | For mean Distance \odot — \odot add 2006 to a . |
| 35 | 1 | 86370 | 979 | 7843 | +23 52 | For mean Longitude of the Sun add to c :
2145 between 3000 and 3300
2146 " 3400 " 4400
2147 " 4500 " 5000 |
| 36 | 1 | 75068 | 6842 | 7847 | +16 24 | |
| 37 | 1 | 63767 | 2705 | 7850 | + 8 56 | |
| 38 | 1 | 52466 | 8568 | 7853 | + 1 29 | |
| 39 | 1 | 41165 | 4431 | 7857 | — 5 59 | |
| | | | | | | For true Longitude of the Sun add 2206 to c , and subtract tenth part of equation c . |
| 40 | 1 | 29864 | 294 | 7860 | —13 27 | |
| 41 | 1 | 18563 | 6157 | 7863 | —20 54 | |
| 42 | 1 | 7262 | 2020 | 7867 | —28 22 | |
| 43 | 0 | 92574 | 7520 | 7842 | +24 10 | |
| 44 | 0 | 81273 | 3393 | 7846 | +16 43 | |
| 45 | 0 | 69972 | 9246 | 7849 | + 9 15 | |
| 46 | 0 | 58671 | 5109 | 7853 | + 1 47 | |
| 47 | 0 | 47370 | 972 | 7856 | — 5 40 | |
| 48 | 0 | 36069 | 6835 | 7859 | —13 8 | |
| 49 | 0 | 24768 | 2698 | 7863 | —20 36 | |
| 50 | 6 | 10080 | 8198 | 7838 | +31 57 | |

TABLE II.—*Sarya-Siddhanta: Years of the century.*

| year | a | b | c | corr. | year | a | b | c | corr. |
|------|---|-------|------|-------------|------|---|-------|------|-------------|
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | gh. 0 p. 0 | 50 | 0 | 44349 | 7931 | 2 — 3 44 |
| 1 | 1 | 36006 | 2464 | 9993 +15 32 | 51 | 1 | 80356 | 395 | 9995 +11 47 |
| 2 | 2 | 72013 | 4928 | 9986 +31 3 | 52 | 2 | 16362 | 2860 | 9987 +27 12 |
| 3 | 4 | 11406 | 7756 | 6 —13 25 | 53 | 4 | 55755 | 5687 | 8 —17 10 |
| 4 | 5 | 47412 | 220 | 9999 + 2 6 | 54 | 5 | 91762 | 8151 | 1 — 1 38 |
| 5 | 6 | 83419 | 2684 | 9992 +17 38 | 55 | 6 | 27768 | 616 | 9994 +13 54 |
| 6 | 0 | 19426 | 5148 | 9985 +33 9 | 56 | 0 | 63775 | 3080 | 9987 +29 25 |
| 7 | 2 | 58818 | 7976 | 5 —11 19 | 57 | 2 | 3168 | 5907 | 7 —15 3 |
| 8 | 3 | 94825 | 440 | 9998 + 4 12 | 58 | 3 | 39174 | 8371 | 0 — 0 28 |
| 9 | 4 | 30831 | 2904 | 9991 +19 44 | 59 | 4 | 75181 | 836 | 9993 +16 0 |
| 10 | 5 | 66838 | 5368 | 9984 +35 15 | 60 | 5 | 11187 | 3300 | 9986 +31 31 |
| 11 | 0 | 6231 | 8196 | 4 — 9 13 | 61 | 0 | 50580 | 6127 | 6 —12 57 |
| 12 | 1 | 42237 | 660 | 9997 + 6 18 | 62 | 1 | 86587 | 8591 | 9999 + 2 34 |
| 13 | 2 | 78244 | 3124 | 9990 +21 50 | 63 | 2 | 22593 | 1056 | 9992 +18 6 |
| 14 | 4 | 17637 | 5951 | 10 —22 39 | 64 | 3 | 58600 | 3520 | 9985 +33 37 |
| 15 | 5 | 53643 | 8416 | 3 — 7 7 | 65 | 5 | 97993 | 6347 | 5 —10 51 |
| 16 | 6 | 89650 | 880 | 9996 + 8 24 | 66 | 6 | 33999 | 8811 | 9998 + 4 41 |
| 17 | 0 | 25657 | 3344 | 9989 +23 56 | 67 | 0 | 70006 | 1278 | 9991 +20 12 |
| 18 | 2 | 65049 | 6171 | 9 —20 32 | 68 | 1 | 6012 | 3740 | 9984 +35 44 |
| 19 | 3 | 1056 | 8636 | 2 — 5 1 | 69 | 3 | 45405 | 6567 | 4 — 8 45 |
| 20 | 4 | 37062 | 1100 | 9995 +10 30 | 70 | 4 | 81412 | 9031 | 9997 + 6 47 |
| 21 | 5 | 73069 | 3564 | 9988 +26 2 | 71 | 5 | 17418 | 1496 | 9990 +22 18 |
| 22 | 0 | 12462 | 6391 | 8 —16 26 | 72 | 0 | 56811 | 4323 | 10 —22 10 |
| 23 | 1 | 43458 | 8856 | 1 — 2 55 | 73 | 1 | 92818 | 6787 | 3 — 6 39 |
| 24 | 2 | 84475 | 1320 | 9994 +12 37 | 74 | 2 | 28824 | 9251 | 9996 + 8 53 |
| 25 | 3 | 20482 | 3784 | 9987 +28 8 | 75 | 3 | 64831 | 1716 | 9989 +24 24 |
| 26 | 5 | 59874 | 6611 | 7 —16 20 | 76 | 5 | 4224 | 4543 | 9 —20 4 |
| 27 | 6 | 95881 | 9076 | 0 — 0 49 | 77 | 6 | 40230 | 7007 | 2 — 4 33 |
| 28 | 0 | 31887 | 1540 | 9993 +14 43 | 78 | 0 | 76237 | 9471 | 9995 +10 59 |
| 29 | 1 | 67894 | 4004 | 9986 +30 14 | 79 | 1 | 12243 | 1936 | 9988 +26 30 |
| 30 | 3 | 7287 | 6831 | 6 —14 14 | 80 | 3 | 51636 | 4763 | 8 —17 58 |
| 31 | 4 | 43293 | 9296 | 9999 + 1 17 | 81 | 4 | 87643 | 7227 | 1 — 2 27 |
| 32 | 5 | 79300 | 1760 | 9992 +16 49 | 82 | 5 | 23649 | 9691 | 9994 +13 5 |
| 33 | 6 | 15307 | 4224 | 9985 +32 20 | 83 | 6 | 59656 | 2156 | 9987 +28 36 |
| 34 | 1 | 54699 | 7051 | 6 —12 8 | 84 | 1 | 99042 | 4983 | 7 —15 52 |
| 35 | 2 | 90706 | 9616 | 9998 + 3 13 | 85 | 2 | 35055 | 7447 | 0 — 0 21 |
| 36 | 3 | 26712 | 1980 | 9991 +18 55 | 86 | 3 | 71062 | 9911 | 9993 +15 11 |
| 37 | 4 | 62719 | 4444 | 9984 +34 26 | 87 | 4 | 7068 | 2376 | 9986 +30 42 |
| 38 | 6 | 2112 | 7271 | 5 —10 2 | 88 | 6 | 46461 | 5203 | 6 —13 46 |
| 39 | 0 | 38118 | 9736 | 9997 + 5 29 | 89 | 0 | 82468 | 7667 | 9999 + 1 45 |
| 40 | 1 | 74125 | 2200 | 9990 +21 1 | 90 | 1 | 18474 | 181 | 9992 +17 17 |
| 41 | 2 | 10132 | 4664 | 9983 +36 32 | 91 | 2 | 54481 | 2596 | 9985 +32 49 |
| 42 | 4 | 49524 | 7491 | 4 — 7 56 | 92 | 4 | 93874 | 5423 | 5 —11 40 |
| 43 | 5 | 85531 | 9956 | 9996 + 7 35 | 93 | 5 | 29880 | 7887 | 9998 + 3 52 |
| 44 | 6 | 21537 | 2420 | 9989 +23 7 | 94 | 6 | 65887 | 351 | 9991 +19 23 |
| 45 | 1 | 60930 | 5247 | 10 —21 22 | 95 | 0 | 1893 | 2816 | 9984 +34 55 |
| 46 | 2 | 96937 | 7711 | 3 — 5 50 | 96 | 2 | 41286 | 5643 | 4 — 9 34 |
| 47 | 3 | 32943 | 176 | 9995 + 9 41 | 97 | 3 | 77293 | 8107 | 9997 + 5 58 |
| 48 | 4 | 68950 | 2640 | 9988 +25 13 | 98 | 4 | 13299 | 571 | 9990 +21 29 |
| 49 | 6 | 8343 | 5467 | 9 —19 16 | 99 | 5 | 49306 | 3036 | 9983 +37 1 |

TABLE III.—*Sarya-Siddhanta*.

Equation *b*.

| argument : <i>b</i> | | equation. | Δ 10. | equation. | argument : <i>b</i> | |
|---------------------|------|-----------|--------------|-----------|---------------------|------|
| 0 | 5000 | 1402 | 8.92 | 1402 | 0 | 5000 |
| 104 | 4896 | 1307 | 8.83 | 1495 | 9896 | 5104 |
| 208 | 4792 | 1215 | 8.74 | 1587 | 9792 | 5208 |
| 313 | 4687 | 1124 | 8.64 | 1678 | 9687 | 5313 |
| 417 | 4583 | 1035 | 8.54 | 1767 | 9583 | 5417 |
| 521 | 4479 | 947 | 8.35 | 1855 | 9479 | 5521 |
| 625 | 4375 | 861 | 8.06 | 1941 | 9375 | 5625 |
| 729 | 4271 | 777 | 7.78 | 2025 | 9271 | 5729 |
| 833 | 4167 | 696 | 7.40 | 2106 | 9167 | 5833 |
| 938 | 4062 | 619 | 7.20 | 2183 | 9062 | 5938 |
| 1042 | 3958 | 546 | 6.81 | 2258 | 8958 | 6042 |
| 1146 | 3854 | 473 | 6.53 | 2329 | 8854 | 6146 |
| 1250 | 3750 | 407 | 6.04 | 2393 | 8750 | 6250 |
| 1354 | 3646 | 344 | 5.57 | 2458 | 8646 | 6354 |
| 1458 | 3542 | 286 | 5.09 | 2516 | 8542 | 6458 |
| 1562 | 3438 | 233 | 4.60 | 2569 | 8438 | 6562 |
| 1667 | 3333 | 185 | 4.13 | 2617 | 8333 | 6667 |
| 1771 | 3229 | 142 | 3.64 | 2660 | 8229 | 6771 |
| 1875 | 3125 | 104 | 3.07 | 2698 | 8125 | 6875 |
| 1979 | 3021 | 72 | 2.60 | 2730 | 8021 | 6979 |
| 2083 | 2917 | 45 | 1.81 | 2757 | 7917 | 7083 |
| 2187 | 2813 | 25 | 1.44 | 2777 | 7813 | 7187 |
| 2292 | 2708 | 10 | 0.77 | 2792 | 7708 | 7292 |
| 2396 | 2604 | 2 | 0.38 | 2800 | 7604 | 7396 |
| 2500 | 2500 | 0 | | 2804 | 7500 | 7500 |

TABLE IV.—*Sarya-Siddhanta*.

Equation *c*.

| argument: <i>c</i> | | equation. | Δ 10. | equation. | argument: <i>c</i> | |
|--------------------|------|-----------|--------------|-----------|--------------------|------|
| 0 | 5000 | 604 | 3.84 | 604 | 0 | 5000 |
| 104 | 4896 | 644 | 3.84 | 564 | 9896 | 5104 |
| 208 | 4792 | 684 | 3.84 | 524 | 9792 | 5208 |
| 313 | 4687 | 724 | 3.74 | 484 | 9687 | 5313 |
| 417 | 4583 | 763 | 3.65 | 445 | 9583 | 5417 |
| 521 | 4479 | 801 | 3.65 | 407 | 9479 | 5521 |
| 625 | 4375 | 839 | 3.65 | 369 | 9375 | 5625 |
| 729 | 4271 | 875 | 3.45 | 333 | 9271 | 5729 |
| 833 | 4167 | 910 | 3.36 | 298 | 9167 | 5833 |
| 938 | 4062 | 943 | 3.17 | 265 | 9062 | 5938 |
| 1042 | 3958 | 975 | 3.07 | 233 | 8958 | 6042 |
| 1146 | 3854 | 1006 | 2.88 | 202 | 8854 | 6146 |
| 1250 | 3750 | 1034 | 2.69 | 174 | 8750 | 6250 |
| 1354 | 3646 | 1061 | 2.60 | 147 | 8646 | 6354 |
| 1458 | 3542 | 1086 | 2.40 | 122 | 8542 | 6458 |
| 1562 | 3438 | 1108 | 2.11 | 100 | 8438 | 6562 |
| 1667 | 3333 | 1129 | 2.01 | 79 | 8333 | 6667 |
| 1771 | 3229 | 1147 | 1.79 | 61 | 8229 | 6771 |
| 1875 | 3125 | 1163 | 1.54 | 45 | 8125 | 6875 |
| 1979 | 3021 | 1174 | 1.34 | 31 | 8021 | 6979 |
| 2083 | 2917 | 1185 | 1.02 | 20 | 7917 | 7083 |
| 2187 | 2813 | 1197 | 0.86 | 11 | 7813 | 7187 |
| 2292 | 2708 | 1203 | 0.58 | 5 | 7708 | 7292 |
| 2396 | 2604 | 1206 | 0.29 | 2 | 7604 | 7396 |
| 2500 | 2500 | 1208 | 0.20 | 0 | 7500 | 7500 |

ĀRYA-SIDDHĀNTA.

TABLE V.—Centuries of Kali-Yuga.

A.—Original Ārya-Siddhānta.

| cent. | <i>m</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> | sol. corr. | |
|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|------|
| 36 | 1 | 76166 | 6718 | 7826 | gh. +15 | p. 0 |
| 37 | 1 | 63891 | 2580 | 7830 | + 7 | 5 |
| 38 | 1 | 52615 | 8442 | 7834 | — 0 | 50 |
| 39 | 1 | 41340 | 4304 | 7837 | — 8 | 45 |
| 40 | 1 | 30064 | 166 | 7841 | —16 | 40 |
| 41 | 1 | 19789 | 6028 | 7845 | —24 | 35 |
| 42 | 1 | 7515 | 1890 | 7848 | —32 | 30 |

B.—The same with Lalla's corrections.

| cent. | <i>m</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> | sol. corr. | |
|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|------------|------|
| 36 | 1 | 76166 | 6718 | 7826 | gh. +15 | p. 0 |
| 37 | 1 | 63844 | 2596 | 7830 | + 7 | 5 |
| 38 | 1 | 52523 | 8475 | 7834 | — 0 | 50 |
| 39 | 1 | 41201 | 4353 | 7837 | — 8 | 45 |
| 40 | 1 | 29880 | 232 | 7841 | —16 | 40 |
| 41 | 1 | 18558 | 6110 | 7844 | —24 | 35 |
| 42 | 1 | 7236 | 1988 | 7848 | —32 | 30 |
| 43 | 0 | 92528 | 7504 | 7824 | +19 | 35 |
| 44 | 0 | 81206 | 3383 | 7828 | +11 | 40 |
| 45 | 0 | 69884 | 9261 | 7832 | + 3 | 45 |
| 46 | 0 | 58563 | 5140 | 7835 | — 4 | 10 |
| 47 | 0 | 47241 | 1018 | 7840 | —12 | 50 |
| 48 | 0 | 35919 | 6896 | 7843 | —20 | 0 |
| 49 | 0 | 24597 | 2775 | 7847 | —27 | 55 |
| 50 | 6 | 9890 | 8291 | 7823 | +24 | 10 |

For mean Distance (—☉ add 1987 to *a*.

For mean Longitude of the Sun add 2167 to *c*.

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2227 to *c* and subtract tenth part of equation *c*.

TABLE VI.—*Ārya-Siddhānta: Years of the Century.*

| year | a | α | β | ε | sol. corr. | year | a | α | β | ε | sol. corr. |
|------|---|-------|------|------|------------|------|---|-------|------|------|------------|
| | | | | | gh. p. | | | | | | gh. p. |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 50 | 0 | 44330 | 7939 | 2 | -2 58 |
| 1 | 1 | 36006 | 2464 | 9993 | +15 31 | 51 | 1 | 80345 | 404 | 9995 | +11 34 |
| 2 | 2 | 72013 | 4928 | 9986 | +31 2 | 52 | 2 | 16312 | 2868 | 9988 | +27 5 |
| 3 | 3 | 11405 | 7756 | 61 | -13 26 | 53 | 3 | 55744 | 5695 | 8 | -17 24 |
| 4 | 4 | 47412 | 220 | 9999 | + 2 5 | 54 | 4 | 91751 | 8160 | 1 | - 1 53 |
| 5 | 5 | 83418 | 2685 | 9992 | +17 36 | 55 | 5 | 27757 | 624 | 9994 | +13 39 |
| 6 | 0 | 19424 | 5149 | 9985 | +33 7 | 56 | 0 | 63763 | 3089 | 9987 | +29 10 |
| 7 | 1 | 58817 | 7977 | 5 | -11 21 | 57 | 1 | 3156 | 5916 | 7 | -15 19 |
| 8 | 2 | 94823 | 441 | 9998 | + 4 10 | 58 | 2 | 39162 | 8380 | 6 | + 0 12 |
| 9 | 3 | 30830 | 2906 | 9991 | +19 41 | 59 | 3 | 75169 | 845 | 9993 | +15 44 |
| 10 | 4 | 66836 | 5370 | 9984 | +35 12 | 60 | 4 | 11175 | 3309 | 9986 | +31 15 |
| 11 | 5 | 6928 | 8197 | 4 | - 9 16 | 61 | 5 | 50568 | 6136 | 6 | -13 14 |
| 12 | 0 | 42235 | 662 | 9997 | + 6 15 | 62 | 0 | 86574 | 8601 | 9990 | + 2 17 |
| 13 | 1 | 78241 | 3126 | 9990 | +21 46 | 63 | 1 | 22580 | 1065 | 9992 | +17 49 |
| 14 | 2 | 17634 | 5953 | 10 | -22 43 | 64 | 2 | 58587 | 3530 | 9985 | +30 20 |
| 15 | 3 | 53640 | 8418 | 3 | - 7 11 | 65 | 3 | 97979 | 6357 | 5 | -11 9 |
| 16 | 4 | 89646 | 882 | 9996 | + 8 20 | 66 | 4 | 33063 | 2822 | 9998 | + 4 12 |
| 17 | 5 | 25653 | 3347 | 9989 | +23 51 | 67 | 5 | 67992 | 1256 | 9991 | +10 34 |
| 18 | 0 | 65045 | 6174 | 9 | -20 37 | 68 | 0 | 30000 | 7770 | 9984 | +25 35 |
| 19 | 1 | 1052 | 8639 | 2 | - 5 6 | 69 | 1 | 45391 | 6378 | 4 | - 9 4 |
| 20 | 2 | 37058 | 1103 | 9995 | +10 25 | 70 | 2 | 81397 | 9042 | 9997 | + 6 27 |
| 21 | 3 | 73064 | 3567 | 9988 | +25 56 | 71 | 3 | 17404 | 1507 | 9990 | +21 59 |
| 22 | 4 | 12457 | 6395 | 8 | -18 33 | 72 | 4 | 56796 | 4334 | 10 | -22 30 |
| 23 | 5 | 48464 | 8859 | 1 | - 3 1 | 73 | 5 | 92803 | 6799 | 3 | - 0 59 |
| 24 | 0 | 84470 | 1324 | 9994 | +12 30 | 74 | 0 | 28800 | 9263 | 9996 | + 8 32 |
| 25 | 1 | 20476 | 3788 | 9987 | +28 1 | 75 | 1 | 64816 | 1727 | 9989 | +24 4 |
| 26 | 2 | 59869 | 6615 | 7 | -16 28 | 76 | 2 | 4208 | 4555 | 9 | -20 25 |
| 27 | 3 | 95875 | 9080 | 0 | - 0 56 | 77 | 3 | 40215 | 7019 | 2 | - 4 34 |
| 28 | 4 | 31882 | 1544 | 9993 | +14 35 | 78 | 4 | 76221 | 9484 | 9995 | +10 37 |
| 29 | 5 | 67888 | 4009 | 9986 | +30 6 | 79 | 5 | 12227 | 1948 | 9988 | +26 9 |
| 30 | 0 | 7281 | 6836 | 7 | -14 23 | 80 | 0 | 51620 | 4773 | 8 | -18 20 |
| 31 | 1 | 43287 | 9301 | 9999 | + 1 9 | 81 | 1 | 87626 | 7240 | 1 | - 2 40 |
| 32 | 2 | 79293 | 1765 | 9992 | +16 40 | 82 | 2 | 23633 | 9704 | 9994 | +12 43 |
| 33 | 3 | 15300 | 4229 | 9985 | +32 11 | 83 | 3 | 59639 | 2169 | 9987 | +28 14 |
| 34 | 4 | 54692 | 7057 | 6 | -12 18 | 84 | 4 | 99032 | 4996 | 7 | -16 15 |
| 35 | 5 | 90699 | 9521 | 9999 | + 3 13 | 85 | 5 | 35038 | 7360 | 9 | - 0 44 |
| 36 | 0 | 26705 | 1986 | 9991 | +18 45 | 86 | 0 | 71044 | 9925 | 9993 | +14 47 |
| 37 | 1 | 62711 | 4450 | 9984 | +34 16 | 87 | 1 | 7051 | 2389 | 9986 | +30 19 |
| 38 | 2 | 2104 | 7277 | 5 | -10 13 | 88 | 2 | 46443 | 5217 | 6 | -14 10 |
| 39 | 3 | 38110 | 9742 | 9998 | + 5 19 | 89 | 3 | 82450 | 7681 | 9999 | + 1 21 |
| 40 | 4 | 74117 | 2206 | 9990 | +20 50 | 90 | 4 | 18456 | 145 | 9992 | +16 52 |
| 41 | 5 | 10123 | 4671 | 9983 | +36 21 | 91 | 5 | 54462 | 2610 | 9985 | +32 24 |
| 42 | 0 | 49516 | 7498 | 4 | - 8 8 | 92 | 0 | 93865 | 5437 | 6 | -12 5 |
| 43 | 1 | 85522 | 9962 | 9997 | + 7 24 | 93 | 1 | 29361 | 7032 | 9998 | + 2 26 |
| 44 | 2 | 21528 | 2427 | 9990 | +22 55 | 94 | 2 | 65866 | 396 | 9991 | +18 57 |
| 45 | 3 | 60921 | 5254 | 10 | -21 23 | 95 | 3 | 1874 | 2837 | 9984 | +34 29 |
| 46 | 4 | 96927 | 7719 | 3 | - 6 3 | 96 | 4 | 47917 | 5038 | 5 | -10 0 |
| 47 | 5 | 32934 | 183 | 9996 | + 9 28 | 97 | 5 | 77273 | 8122 | 9997 | + 4 31 |
| 48 | 0 | 68940 | 2647 | 9989 | +25 0 | 98 | 0 | 13280 | 187 | 9990 | +21 2 |
| 49 | 1 | 8333 | 5475 | 9 | -19 29 | 99 | 1 | 49236 | 3661 | 9983 | +35 34 |

TABLE VIII.—*Ārya-Siddhānta* :

Equation c.

| argument : c. | | equation | Δ 10 | equation | argument : c | |
|---------------|------|----------|-------------|----------|--------------|------|
| 0 | 5000 | 597 | 3.74 | 597 | 0 | 5000 |
| 104 | 4896 | 636 | 3.74 | 636 | 9896 | 5104 |
| 208 | 4792 | 675 | 3.74 | 675 | 9792 | 5208 |
| 313 | 4687 | 713 | 3.64 | 713 | 9687 | 5313 |
| 417 | 4583 | 752 | 3.64 | 752 | 9583 | 5417 |
| | | | 3.55 | | | |
| 521 | 4479 | 789 | 3.46 | 789 | 9479 | 5521 |
| 625 | 4375 | 825 | 3.46 | 825 | 9375 | 5625 |
| 729 | 4271 | 861 | 3.46 | 861 | 9271 | 5729 |
| 833 | 4167 | 895 | 3.26 | 895 | 9167 | 5833 |
| 938 | 4062 | 929 | 3.26 | 929 | 9062 | 5938 |
| | | | 2.98 | | | |
| 1042 | 3958 | 960 | 2.88 | 960 | 8958 | 6042 |
| 1146 | 3854 | 990 | 2.78 | 990 | 8854 | 6146 |
| 1250 | 3750 | 1019 | 2.78 | 1019 | 8750 | 6250 |
| 1354 | 3646 | 1046 | 2.59 | 1046 | 8646 | 6354 |
| 1458 | 3542 | 1071 | 2.40 | 1071 | 8542 | 6458 |
| | | | 2.11 | | | |
| 1562 | 3438 | 1098 | 2.02 | 1098 | 8438 | 6562 |
| 1667 | 3333 | 1114 | 1.78 | 1114 | 8333 | 6667 |
| 1771 | 3229 | 1132 | 1.63 | 1132 | 8229 | 6771 |
| 1875 | 3125 | 1149 | 1.63 | 1149 | 8125 | 6875 |
| 1979 | 3021 | 1162 | 1.25 | 1162 | 8021 | 6979 |
| | | | 0.96 | | | |
| 2083 | 2917 | 1174 | 0.77 | 1174 | 7917 | 7083 |
| 2187 | 2813 | 1182 | 0.77 | 1182 | 7813 | 7187 |
| 2292 | 2708 | 1189 | 0.66 | 1189 | 7708 | 7292 |
| 2396 | 2604 | 1193 | 0.38 | 1193 | 7604 | 7396 |
| 2500 | 2500 | 1194 | 0.10 | 1194 | 7500 | 7500 |

TABLE VII.—*Ārya-Siddhānta* :

Equation b.

| argument : d. | | equation | Δ 10 | equation | argument : d | |
|---------------|------|----------|-------------|----------|--------------|------|
| 0 | 5000 | 1300 | 8.74 | 1300 | 0 | 5000 |
| 104 | 4896 | 1299 | 8.74 | 1481 | 9896 | 5104 |
| 208 | 4792 | 1208 | 8.64 | 1572 | 9792 | 5208 |
| 313 | 4687 | 1118 | 8.54 | 1662 | 9687 | 5313 |
| 417 | 4583 | 1029 | 8.54 | 1751 | 9583 | 5417 |
| | | | 8.35 | | | |
| 521 | 4479 | 942 | 8.16 | 1838 | 9479 | 5521 |
| 625 | 4375 | 857 | 7.97 | 1928 | 9375 | 5625 |
| 729 | 4271 | 774 | 7.68 | 2006 | 9271 | 5729 |
| 833 | 4167 | 694 | 7.59 | 2086 | 9167 | 5833 |
| 938 | 4062 | 626 | 7.10 | 2164 | 9062 | 5938 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1042 | 3958 | 542 | 6.72 | 2238 | 8958 | 6042 |
| 1146 | 3854 | 472 | 6.43 | 2308 | 8854 | 6146 |
| 1250 | 3750 | 405 | 6.05 | 2375 | 8750 | 6250 |
| 1354 | 3646 | 343 | 5.57 | 2437 | 8646 | 6354 |
| 1458 | 3542 | 285 | 5.09 | 2495 | 8542 | 6458 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1562 | 3438 | 232 | 4.61 | 2548 | 8438 | 6562 |
| 1667 | 3333 | 184 | 4.03 | 2596 | 8333 | 6667 |
| 1771 | 3229 | 152 | 3.64 | 2638 | 8229 | 6771 |
| 1875 | 3125 | 104 | 3.07 | 2676 | 8125 | 6875 |
| 1979 | 3021 | 72 | 2.69 | 2708 | 8021 | 6979 |
| | | | | | | |
| 2083 | 2917 | 46 | 2.02 | 2734 | 7917 | 7083 |
| 2187 | 2813 | 25 | 1.44 | 2755 | 7813 | 7187 |
| 2292 | 2708 | 10 | 0.77 | 2770 | 7708 | 7292 |
| 2396 | 2604 | 2 | 0.19 | 2778 | 7604 | 7396 |
| 2500 | 2500 | 0 | | 2780 | 7500 | 7500 |

BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA AND SIDDHĀNTA-ŚIRŌMAṆI.

TABLE IX.—Centuries of Kali-Yuga.

A.—BRAHMA-SIDDHĀNTA.

| cent. | <i>m</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> | sol. corr. |
|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|--|
| 37 | 1 | 63840 | 2581 | 7857 | ^{gh.}
+13 ^{p.}
7 |
| 38 | 1 | 52564 | 8469 | 7861 | + 3 45 |
| 39 | 1 | 41287 | 4358 | 7866 | — 5 37 |
| 40 | 1 | 30010 | 247 | 7870 | —14 59 |
| 41 | 1 | 18734 | 6135 | 7874 | —24 22 |
| 42 | 1 | 7458 | 2024 | 7878 | —33 44 |
| 43 | 0 | 92795 | 7550 | 7855 | +16 53 |

B.—SIDDHĀNTA-ŚIRŌMAṆI.

| cent. | <i>m</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>b</i> | <i>c</i> | sol. corr. |
|-------|----------|----------|----------|----------|---|
| 42 | 1 | 7263 | 1995 | 7849 | ^{gh.}
—33 ^{p.}
44 |
| 43 | 0 | 92595 | 7520 | 7825 | +16 53 |
| 44 | 0 | 81114 | 3408 | 7828 | + 7 31 |
| 45 | 0 | 70033 | 9296 | 7832 | — 1 52 |
| 46 | 0 | 58752 | 5184 | 7836 | —11 14 |
| 47 | 0 | 47471 | 1072 | 7839 | —20 37 |
| 48 | 0 | 36190 | 6960 | 7841 | —29 59 |
| 49 | 0 | 24909 | 2848 | 7846 | —39 22 |
| 50 | 6 | 10241 | 8373 | 7822 | +11 16 |

For mean Distance (—⊙ add 1999 to *a*.

For mean Longitude of the Sun add to *c*: 2164 before 4100 K. Y. and 2165 after 4100 K. Y.

For true Longitude of the Sun add 2224 to *c* and subtract tenth part of equation *c*.

NOTE.—The beginning of the Solar month according to the Brahma-Siddhānta and the Siddhānta-Śirōmaṇi is earlier by one day than according to the other Siddhāntas.

TABLE X.—*Brahma-Siddhanta and Siddhanta-Śiromaṣi; Years of the Century.*

NOTE.—The Table is correct for Siddhanta-Śiromaṣi; for Brahma-Siddhanta the table value of a must be augmented: by 1 after the year 7, by 2 after 23, by 3 after 37, by 4 after 51, by 5 after 65, by 6 after 80, by 7 after 94.

| year. | m | a | b | c | sol. corr. | | year | m | a | b | c | sol. corr. | |
|-------|-----|-------|------|------|------------|----|------|-----|-------|------|------|------------|----|
| | | | | | gh. | p. | | | | | | gh. | p. |
| 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | | 0 | 50 | 0 | 40359 | 7044 | 2 | — 4 | 41 |
| 1 | 1 | 36006 | 2465 | 9993 | +15 | 30 | 51 | 1 | 80366 | 408 | 9994 | +10 | 49 |
| 2 | 2 | 72013 | 4929 | 9986 | +31 | 1 | 52 | 2 | 16373 | 2873 | 9987 | +26 | 19 |
| 3 | 4 | 11406 | 7756 | 6 | —13 | 29 | 53 | 4 | 55706 | 5706 | 8 | — 8 | 10 |
| 4 | 5 | 47443 | 221 | 9999 | + 2 | 2 | 54 | 5 | 91773 | 8165 | 1 | — 2 | 40 |
| 5 | 6 | 83420 | 2685 | 9992 | +17 | 32 | 55 | 6 | 27779 | 629 | 9993 | +12 | 51 |
| 6 | 0 | 19427 | 5150 | 9985 | +33 | 2 | 56 | 0 | 63786 | 3094 | 9986 | +28 | 21 |
| 7 | 2 | 58820 | 7977 | 5 | —11 | 27 | 57 | 2 | 3179 | 5921 | 7 | —16 | 9 |
| 8 | 3 | 94827 | 442 | 9998 | + 4 | 3 | 58 | 3 | 39186 | 8386 | 0 | — 0 | 38 |
| 9 | 4 | 30833 | 2906 | 9991 | +19 | 33 | 59 | 4 | 75193 | 850 | 9993 | +14 | 52 |
| 10 | 5 | 66840 | 5371 | 9984 | +35 | 3 | 60 | 5 | 11199 | 3315 | 9985 | +30 | 22 |
| 11 | 0 | 6233 | 8198 | 4 | — 9 | 26 | 61 | 0 | 56593 | 6142 | 6 | —14 | 7 |
| 12 | 1 | 42249 | 663 | 9997 | + 6 | 4 | 62 | 1 | 80599 | 8607 | 9999 | + 1 | 23 |
| 13 | 2 | 78247 | 3127 | 9990 | +21 | 35 | 63 | 2 | 22606 | 1071 | 9992 | +16 | 54 |
| 14 | 4 | 17449 | 2655 | 16 | —21 | 33 | 64 | 3 | 58613 | 3533 | 9981 | +32 | 24 |
| 15 | 5 | 33649 | 8419 | 3 | — 7 | 24 | 65 | 5 | 98006 | 6363 | 5 | —12 | 6 |
| 16 | 6 | 89653 | 884 | 9996 | + 8 | 6 | 66 | 6 | 34013 | 8828 | 9998 | + 3 | 25 |
| 17 | 0 | 25660 | 3348 | 9989 | +23 | 36 | 67 | 0 | 70019 | 1292 | 9991 | +18 | 55 |
| 18 | 2 | 65053 | 6176 | 9 | —20 | 53 | 68 | 1 | 6026 | 3757 | 9983 | +34 | 25 |
| 19 | 3 | 1060 | 8640 | 2 | — 5 | 23 | 69 | 3 | 45417 | 6584 | 4 | —19 | 4 |
| 20 | 4 | 37066 | 1195 | 9995 | +10 | 7 | 70 | 4 | 81426 | 9049 | 9997 | + 5 | 26 |
| 21 | 5 | 73073 | 3569 | 9988 | +25 | 38 | 71 | 5 | 17433 | 1513 | 9990 | +20 | 57 |
| 22 | 0 | 12466 | 6397 | 8 | —18 | 52 | 72 | 0 | 56826 | 4341 | 10 | —23 | 33 |
| 23 | 1 | 48473 | 8861 | 1 | — 3 | 21 | 73 | 1 | 82832 | 6805 | 2 | — 8 | 3 |
| 24 | 2 | 84480 | 1326 | 9994 | +12 | 9 | 74 | 2 | 28839 | 9270 | 9996 | + 7 | 28 |
| 25 | 3 | 20487 | 3790 | 9987 | +27 | 39 | 75 | 3 | 64846 | 1734 | 9989 | +22 | 58 |
| 26 | 5 | 59880 | 6618 | 7 | —16 | 51 | 76 | 5 | 4239 | 4562 | 9 | —21 | 32 |
| 27 | 6 | 95886 | 9082 | 0 | — 1 | 20 | 77 | 6 | 40246 | 7026 | 2 | — 6 | 1 |
| 28 | 0 | 31893 | 1547 | 9993 | +14 | 10 | 78 | 0 | 76253 | 9491 | 9995 | + 9 | 29 |
| 29 | 1 | 67900 | 4011 | 9986 | +29 | 41 | 79 | 1 | 12260 | 1955 | 9988 | +25 | 0 |
| 30 | 3 | 7293 | 6839 | 6 | —14 | 49 | 80 | 3 | 51652 | 4785 | 8 | —19 | 30 |
| 31 | 4 | 43909 | 9303 | 9999 | + 0 | 42 | 81 | 4 | 87659 | 7247 | 1 | — 4 | 0 |
| 32 | 5 | 79306 | 1768 | 9992 | +16 | 12 | 82 | 5 | 23666 | 9712 | 9994 | +11 | 31 |
| 33 | 6 | 15313 | 4232 | 9985 | +31 | 42 | 83 | 6 | 59073 | 2176 | 9987 | +27 | 1 |
| 34 | 1 | 54706 | 7060 | 5 | —12 | 57 | 84 | 1 | 99066 | 5364 | 7 | —17 | 29 |
| 35 | 2 | 90713 | 9524 | 9998 | + 2 | 43 | 85 | 2 | 35072 | 7468 | 0 | — 1 | 58 |
| 36 | 3 | 26720 | 1989 | 9991 | +18 | 13 | 86 | 3 | 71079 | 9933 | 9993 | +13 | 32 |
| 37 | 4 | 62726 | 4453 | 9984 | +33 | 44 | 87 | 4 | 7086 | 2397 | 9986 | +29 | 3 |
| 38 | 6 | 2119 | 7281 | 4 | —10 | 46 | 88 | 6 | 46489 | 5225 | 6 | —15 | 27 |
| 39 | 0 | 38126 | 9745 | 9997 | + 4 | 45 | 89 | 0 | 82486 | 7689 | 9999 | + 0 | 3 |
| 40 | 1 | 74133 | 2210 | 9990 | +26 | 15 | 90 | 1 | 18492 | 154 | 9992 | +15 | 34 |
| 41 | 2 | 10140 | 4674 | 9983 | +35 | 45 | 91 | 2 | 34499 | 2618 | 9985 | +31 | 4 |
| 42 | 4 | 49533 | 7592 | 3 | — 8 | 44 | 92 | 4 | 98992 | 5446 | 5 | —13 | 26 |
| 43 | 5 | 85540 | 9966 | 9996 | + 6 | 46 | 93 | 5 | 29899 | 7910 | 9998 | + 2 | 5 |
| 44 | 6 | 21546 | 2431 | 9989 | +22 | 16 | 94 | 6 | 65906 | 375 | 9991 | +17 | 35 |
| 45 | 1 | 60939 | 5258 | 10 | —22 | 18 | 95 | 0 | 1912 | 2839 | 9984 | +23 | 6 |
| 46 | 2 | 96946 | 7723 | 2 | — 6 | 44 | 96 | 2 | 41306 | 2667 | 4 | —11 | 24 |
| 47 | 3 | 32953 | 187 | 9995 | + 8 | 47 | 97 | 3 | 75312 | 8131 | 9997 | + 4 | 6 |
| 48 | 4 | 68960 | 2652 | 9988 | +24 | 18 | 98 | 4 | 13319 | 596 | 9990 | +19 | 37 |
| 49 | 6 | 8353 | 5479 | 9 | —20 | 12 | 99 | 6 | 49326 | 3060 | 9983 | +35 | 7 |

TABLE XI.—*Brahma-Siddhānta and Siddhānta-Sirōmāṇi.*

EQUATION b.

| argument: <i>b</i> . | | equation. | Δ 10. | equation. | argument: <i>b</i> . | |
|----------------------|------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|------|
| 0 | 5000 | | | | 0 | 5000 |
| 104 | 4896 | 1395 | 8.74 | 1395 | 9896 | 5104 |
| 208 | 4792 | 1304 | 8.73 | 1486 | 9792 | 5208 |
| 313 | 4637 | 1212 | 8.64 | 1378 | 9687 | 5313 |
| 417 | 4583 | 1122 | 8.54 | 1668 | 9583 | 5417 |
| | | 1033 | 8.35 | 1757 | | |
| 521 | 4479 | 946 | 8.25 | 1843 | 9479 | 5521 |
| 625 | 4375 | 861 | 7.97 | 1929 | 9375 | 5625 |
| 729 | 4271 | 772 | 7.76 | 2012 | 9271 | 5729 |
| 833 | 4167 | 697 | 7.50 | 2093 | 9167 | 5833 |
| 938 | 4062 | 610 | 7.01 | 2171 | 9062 | 5938 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1042 | 3958 | 546 | 6.91 | 2244 | 8958 | 6042 |
| 1146 | 3854 | 474 | 6.43 | 2316 | 8854 | 6146 |
| 1250 | 3750 | 407 | 5.95 | 2383 | 8750 | 6250 |
| 1354 | 3646 | 345 | 5.57 | 2445 | 8646 | 6354 |
| 1458 | 3542 | 287 | 5.09 | 2503 | 8542 | 6458 |
| | | | | | | |
| 1562 | 3438 | 234 | 4.61 | 2556 | 8438 | 6562 |
| 1667 | 3333 | 186 | 4.13 | 2604 | 8333 | 6667 |
| 1771 | 3229 | 143 | 3.64 | 2647 | 8229 | 6771 |
| 1875 | 3125 | 105 | 3.07 | 2690 | 8125 | 6875 |
| 1979 | 3021 | 73 | 2.49 | 2717 | 8021 | 6979 |
| | | | | | | |
| 2083 | 2917 | 47 | 2.02 | 2743 | 7917 | 7083 |
| 2187 | 2813 | 26 | 1.44 | 2764 | 7813 | 7187 |
| 2292 | 2708 | 11 | 0.86 | 2779 | 7708 | 7292 |
| 2396 | 2604 | 2 | 0.19 | 2788 | 7604 | 7396 |
| 2500 | 2500 | 0 | | 2790 | 7500 | 7500 |

 TABLE XII.—*Brahma-Siddhānta and Siddhānta-Sirōmāṇi.*

EQUATION c.

| argument: <i>c</i> . | | equation. | Δ 10. | equation. | argument: <i>c</i> . | |
|----------------------|------|-----------|--------------|-----------|----------------------|------|
| 0 | 5000 | | | | 0 | 5000 |
| 104 | 4896 | 604 | 3.75 | 604 | 9896 | 5104 |
| 208 | 4792 | 643 | 3.65 | 565 | 9792 | 5208 |
| 313 | 4637 | 683 | 3.75 | 525 | 9687 | 5313 |
| 417 | 4583 | 722 | 3.65 | 486 | 9583 | 5417 |
| | | 760 | | 448 | | |
| 521 | 4479 | 798 | 3.65 | | 9479 | 5521 |
| 625 | 4375 | 835 | 3.56 | 410 | 9375 | 5625 |
| 729 | 4271 | 871 | 3.46 | 373 | 9271 | 5729 |
| 833 | 4167 | 908 | 3.36 | 337 | 9167 | 5833 |
| 938 | 4062 | 940 | 3.26 | 302 | 9062 | 5938 |
| | | | 3.07 | 265 | | |
| 1042 | 3958 | 972 | 2.88 | 236 | 8958 | 6042 |
| 1146 | 3854 | 1002 | 2.78 | 206 | 8854 | 6146 |
| 1250 | 3750 | 1031 | 2.59 | 177 | 8750 | 6250 |
| 1354 | 3646 | 1058 | 2.40 | 160 | 8646 | 6354 |
| 1458 | 3542 | 1083 | | 125 | 8542 | 6458 |
| | | | 2.21 | | | |
| 1562 | 3438 | 1108 | 2.02 | 102 | 8438 | 6562 |
| 1667 | 3333 | 1127 | 1.83 | 81 | 8333 | 6667 |
| 1771 | 3229 | 1146 | 1.53 | 62 | 8229 | 6771 |
| 1875 | 3125 | 1162 | 1.34 | 46 | 8125 | 6875 |
| 1979 | 3021 | 1176 | | 32 | 8021 | 6979 |
| | | | 1.15 | | | |
| 2083 | 2917 | 1188 | 0.86 | 20 | 7917 | 7083 |
| 2187 | 2813 | 1197 | 0.58 | 11 | 7813 | 7187 |
| 2292 | 2708 | 1203 | 0.38 | 5 | 7708 | 7292 |
| 2396 | 2604 | 1207 | 0.10 | 1 | 7604 | 7396 |
| 2500 | 2500 | 1208 | | 0 | 7500 | 7500 |

TABLE XIII.
For the months and days.

| CHAITRA OR PRASHADIA YEAR. | | | | | | | | | | VADIKHA | | | | | | | | | | JYAIṢṬHA | | | | | | | | | | ĀSHVĪNA | | | | | | | | | | BHADRA | | | | | | | | | | VISHVĀKARĀ | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|---|-------|------|------|-----|---|-------|------|------|---------|---|-------|-------|------|-----|---|-------|------|------|----------|-----|--------|------|------|----|---|-------|------|------|---------|---|---|-----|---|---|---|---|---|--|--------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|------------|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| 1 | | | | | | | | | | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 3 | | | | | | | | | | 4 | | | | | | | | | | 5 | | | | | | | | | | 6 | | | | | | | | | |
| day | w | o | z | e | day | w | s | b | c | day | w | s | b | c | day | w | a | n | b | c | day | w | a | n | b | c | day | w | a | n | b | c | day | w | a | n | b | c | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 0 | 2 | 86251 | 8084 | 9086 | 0 | 4 | 80841 | 8011 | 9018 | 0 | 0 | 94817 | 102 | 707 | 0 | 3 | 99703 | 1413 | 1615 | 0 | 0 | 8155 | 3025 | 3491 | 0 | 3 | 13131 | 4376 | 5840 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1 | 3 | 91838 | 8387 | 9184 | 1 | 5 | 92327 | 9274 | 9945 | 1 | 1 | 96203 | 525 | 794 | 1 | 4 | 3179 | 1775 | 1643 | 1 | 1 | 11541 | 3388 | 2519 | 1 | 4 | 16517 | 4039 | 5397 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 2 | 4 | 93024 | 8760 | 9151 | 2 | 6 | 94614 | 9837 | 9973 | 2 | 2 | 1390 | 887 | 821 | 2 | 5 | 6566 | 2136 | 1670 | 2 | 2 | 14028 | 3751 | 2546 | 2 | 5 | 19004 | 5002 | 5395 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 3 | 5 | 96410 | 9113 | 9179 | 3 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 4976 | 1290 | 949 | 3 | 6 | 9053 | 2801 | 1697 | 3 | 3 | 18344 | 4114 | 2574 | 3 | 6 | 23200 | 5304 | 5423 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 4 | 6 | 9707 | 9475 | 9306 | 4 | 1 | 4386 | 363 | 37 | 4 | 4 | 6962 | 1613 | 876 | 4 | 4 | 13398 | 3864 | 1725 | 4 | 4 | 21706 | 4477 | 3601 | 4 | 6 | 26076 | 5727 | 5450 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 5 | 0 | 9183 | 9808 | 9353 | 5 | 2 | 0773 | 796 | 55 | 5 | 5 | 11749 | 1976 | 903 | 5 | 1 | 16724 | 3227 | 1752 | 5 | 5 | 25087 | 4640 | 2628 | 5 | 1 | 30063 | 6090 | 5477 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 6 | 1 | 8569 | 901 | 9361 | 6 | 3 | 10110 | 1689 | 82 | 6 | 6 | 15135 | 2339 | 931 | 6 | 2 | 20111 | 3589 | 1790 | 6 | 6 | 28473 | 5203 | 2656 | 6 | 2 | 35449 | 6456 | 8504 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 7 | 2 | 11956 | 564 | 9283 | 7 | 4 | 13545 | 1453 | 110 | 7 | 0 | 18221 | 2703 | 966 | 7 | 3 | 28497 | 3953 | 1807 | 7 | 0 | 31850 | 5568 | 2683 | 7 | 9 | 36635 | 6816 | 3533 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 8 | 3 | 12648 | 927 | 9516 | 8 | 5 | 16005 | 1815 | 137 | 8 | 1 | 21007 | 3065 | 960 | 8 | 4 | 26983 | 4515 | 1834 | 8 | 1 | 35346 | 5929 | 2710 | 8 | 4 | 40221 | 7179 | 3559 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 9 | 4 | 12728 | 1391 | 9543 | 9 | 6 | 20318 | 2172 | 164 | 9 | 3 | 26294 | 3426 | 1013 | 9 | 2 | 32632 | 4973 | 1892 | 9 | 2 | 38632 | 6293 | 2756 | 9 | 5 | 43608 | 7542 | 3586 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 10 | 5 | 13115 | 1653 | 9570 | 10 | 0 | 23704 | 3540 | 192 | 10 | 3 | 29850 | 3791 | 1040 | 10 | 6 | 35656 | 5641 | 1880 | 10 | 3 | 43018 | 6634 | 2765 | 10 | 6 | 46994 | 7905 | 3614 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 11 | 6 | 13501 | 2016 | 9608 | 11 | 1 | 27086 | 3903 | 219 | 11 | 4 | 32906 | 4174 | 1068 | 11 | 0 | 37943 | 5404 | 1916 | 11 | 4 | 45405 | 7017 | 2793 | 11 | 0 | 50380 | 8208 | 3641 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 12 | 0 | 13867 | 2379 | 9425 | 12 | 2 | 30477 | 4266 | 246 | 12 | 5 | 35453 | 4517 | 1095 | 12 | 1 | 40429 | 5707 | 1944 | 12 | 5 | 46791 | 7380 | 2830 | 12 | 1 | 53767 | 8521 | 3669 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 13 | 1 | 13774 | 2742 | 9452 | 13 | 3 | 33860 | 5029 | 274 | 13 | 6 | 38639 | 4679 | 1129 | 13 | 2 | 45615 | 6130 | 1971 | 13 | 6 | 53177 | 7743 | 2847 | 13 | 2 | 57183 | 8994 | 3696 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 14 | 2 | 13600 | 3105 | 9480 | 14 | 4 | 37949 | 5992 | 301 | 14 | 0 | 43295 | 5342 | 1150 | 14 | 3 | 47801 | 6493 | 1990 | 14 | 0 | 55663 | 8106 | 2875 | 14 | 3 | 60589 | 9307 | 3723 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 15 | 3 | 13946 | 3477 | 9507 | 15 | 5 | 40636 | 4855 | 329 | 15 | 1 | 45612 | 5695 | 1177 | 15 | 4 | 50388 | 6806 | 2030 | 15 | 1 | 58050 | 8439 | 2902 | 15 | 4 | 63930 | 9719 | 3751 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 16 | 4 | 14382 | 3850 | 9535 | 16 | 6 | 44022 | 4718 | 356 | 16 | 3 | 48696 | 5908 | 1205 | 16 | 5 | 53674 | 7319 | 2053 | 16 | 2 | 63356 | 8883 | 2929 | 16 | 5 | 67313 | 1097 | 3778 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 17 | 5 | 14819 | 4193 | 9562 | 17 | 0 | 47403 | 5081 | 383 | 17 | 3 | 52384 | 6351 | 1232 | 17 | 6 | 57809 | 7852 | 2081 | 17 | 3 | 65722 | 9195 | 2967 | 17 | 6 | 70496 | 1205 | 3805 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 18 | 6 | 15265 | 4554 | 9589 | 18 | 1 | 50785 | 5444 | 411 | 18 | 4 | 55771 | 6594 | 1259 | 18 | 0 | 60747 | 7944 | 2108 | 18 | 4 | 69109 | 9538 | 2984 | 18 | 0 | 74055 | 1308 | 3833 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 19 | 0 | 15591 | 4919 | 9617 | 19 | 2 | 54181 | 5807 | 438 | 19 | 5 | 59157 | 7057 | 1287 | 19 | 1 | 64193 | 8307 | 2135 | 19 | 5 | 72495 | 9921 | 3011 | 19 | 1 | 77471 | 1411 | 3860 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 20 | 1 | 15918 | 5283 | 9644 | 20 | 3 | 57567 | 6170 | 465 | 20 | 6 | 63543 | 7420 | 1314 | 20 | 2 | 67518 | 8876 | 2163 | 20 | 6 | 75881 | 1054 | 3038 | 20 | 2 | 80807 | 1524 | 3888 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 21 | 2 | 16244 | 5645 | 9671 | 21 | 4 | 60954 | 6533 | 490 | 21 | 0 | 65930 | 7753 | 1342 | 21 | 3 | 70905 | 9038 | 2190 | 21 | 0 | 79268 | 1147 | 3066 | 21 | 3 | 84244 | 1697 | 3915 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 22 | 3 | 16570 | 6008 | 9698 | 22 | 5 | 64340 | 6895 | 520 | 22 | 1 | 69916 | 8145 | 1369 | 22 | 4 | 74292 | 9390 | 2218 | 22 | 1 | 82664 | 1269 | 3094 | 22 | 4 | 87680 | 2200 | 3942 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 23 | 4 | 16897 | 6371 | 9726 | 23 | 6 | 67736 | 7258 | 549 | 23 | 2 | 73702 | 8509 | 1396 | 23 | 5 | 77678 | 9759 | 2245 | 23 | 2 | 86040 | 1372 | 3121 | 23 | 5 | 91016 | 2623 | 3970 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 24 | 5 | 17224 | 6734 | 9753 | 24 | 0 | 71113 | 7631 | 575 | 24 | 3 | 78659 | 8872 | 1424 | 24 | 6 | 83044 | 1122 | 2272 | 24 | 3 | 90407 | 1735 | 3148 | 24 | 6 | 94403 | 2980 | 3997 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 25 | 6 | 17551 | 7097 | 9781 | 25 | 1 | 74409 | 7984 | 602 | 25 | 4 | 79478 | 9294 | 1451 | 25 | 0 | 84451 | 1485 | 2300 | 25 | 4 | 92813 | 2068 | 3176 | 25 | 0 | 97789 | 3349 | 4025 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 26 | 7 | 17878 | 7450 | 9808 | 26 | 2 | 77585 | 8347 | 630 | 26 | 5 | 82801 | 9597 | 1478 | 26 | 1 | 87897 | 1648 | 2327 | 26 | 5 | 96199 | 2461 | 3203 | 26 | 1 | 10175 | 4072 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 27 | 1 | 18205 | 7812 | 9836 | 27 | 3 | 81272 | 8710 | 657 | 27 | 6 | 86248 | 10000 | 1506 | 27 | 2 | 91293 | 1911 | 2354 | 27 | 6 | 100486 | 2584 | 3231 | 27 | 2 | 10524 | 4674 | 4079 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 28 | 2 | 18532 | 8165 | 9863 | 28 | 4 | 84638 | 9079 | 684 | 28 | 0 | 90424 | 10329 | 1533 | 28 | 3 | 94610 | 1674 | 2382 | 28 | 0 | 10272 | 3187 | 3259 | 28 | 3 | 10748 | 4437 | 4107 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 29 | 3 | 18859 | 8518 | 9890 | 29 | 5 | 88044 | 9436 | 712 | 29 | 1 | 95020 | 10647 | 1561 | 29 | 4 | 97996 | 1837 | 2409 | 29 | 1 | 10508 | 3350 | 3286 | 29 | 4 | 11294 | 4600 | 4134 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 30 | 4 | 19186 | 8871 | 9917 | 30 | 6 | 91431 | 9799 | 739 | 30 | 2 | 96406 | 10969 | 1588 | 30 | 5 | 10382 | 2290 | 2437 | 30 | 2 | 10745 | 3613 | 3313 | 30 | 5 | 11470 | 5168 | 4161 | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE XIII.
For the months and days.

| 7
शुक्र. | | | 8
क्रिष्ण. | | | 9
मङ्गल. | | | 10
बुध. | | | 11
गुरु. | | | 12
शुक्र. | | |
|-------------|----|-------|---------------|----|-------|-------------|----|-------|------------|----|-------|-------------|----|--------|--------------|----|-------|
| day | to | a | day | to | a | day | to | a | day | to | a | day | to | a | day | to | a |
| 0 | 6 | 18108 | 0 | 2 | 20063 | 0 | 4 | 21672 | 0 | 5 | 22576 | 0 | 6 | 21079 | 0 | 1 | 22003 |
| 1 | 0 | 21408 | 1 | 3 | 20409 | 1 | 5 | 22940 | 1 | 6 | 20202 | 1 | 0 | 24405 | 1 | 2 | 20453 |
| 2 | 1 | 22579 | 2 | 4 | 22655 | 2 | 6 | 31445 | 2 | 0 | 22618 | 2 | 1 | 27801 | 2 | 3 | 22441 |
| 3 | 2 | 22265 | 3 | 5 | 22242 | 3 | 0 | 31801 | 3 | 1 | 33055 | 3 | 2 | 31208 | 3 | 4 | 22827 |
| 4 | 3 | 21683 | 4 | 6 | 22625 | 4 | 1 | 32218 | 4 | 2 | 30421 | 4 | 3 | 34654 | 4 | 5 | 23214 |
| 5 | 4 | 22098 | 5 | 7 | 22641 | 5 | 2 | 31604 | 5 | 3 | 20807 | 5 | 4 | 38010 | 5 | 6 | 22000 |
| 6 | 5 | 22425 | 6 | 8 | 22654 | 6 | 3 | 31000 | 6 | 4 | 21003 | 6 | 5 | 41207 | 6 | 0 | 22004 |
| 7 | 6 | 21811 | 7 | 9 | 22667 | 7 | 4 | 30377 | 7 | 5 | 20380 | 7 | 6 | 44783 | 7 | 1 | 20373 |
| 8 | 0 | 21807 | 8 | 10 | 22679 | 8 | 5 | 21763 | 8 | 6 | 20006 | 8 | 0 | 49109 | 8 | 2 | 20759 |
| 9 | 1 | 21804 | 9 | 11 | 22690 | 9 | 6 | 21149 | 9 | 7 | 19352 | 9 | 1 | 51556 | 9 | 3 | 21145 |
| 10 | 2 | 21801 | 10 | 12 | 22701 | 10 | 7 | 20535 | 10 | 8 | 18188 | 10 | 2 | 54042 | 10 | 4 | 21532 |
| 11 | 3 | 21798 | 11 | 1 | 22712 | 11 | 8 | 20000 | 11 | 9 | 16985 | 11 | 3 | 56538 | 11 | 5 | 21918 |
| 12 | 4 | 21795 | 12 | 2 | 22723 | 12 | 9 | 19377 | 12 | 10 | 15880 | 12 | 4 | 59035 | 12 | 6 | 22304 |
| 13 | 5 | 21792 | 13 | 3 | 22734 | 13 | 10 | 18760 | 13 | 11 | 14883 | 13 | 5 | 61531 | 13 | 7 | 22690 |
| 14 | 6 | 21789 | 14 | 4 | 22745 | 14 | 11 | 18143 | 14 | 12 | 13886 | 14 | 6 | 64028 | 14 | 8 | 23076 |
| 15 | 7 | 21786 | 15 | 5 | 22756 | 15 | 12 | 17523 | 15 | 13 | 12889 | 15 | 7 | 66525 | 15 | 9 | 23462 |
| 16 | 8 | 21783 | 16 | 6 | 22767 | 16 | 13 | 16900 | 16 | 14 | 11892 | 16 | 8 | 69022 | 16 | 10 | 23848 |
| 17 | 9 | 21780 | 17 | 7 | 22778 | 17 | 14 | 16277 | 17 | 15 | 10895 | 17 | 9 | 71519 | 17 | 11 | 24234 |
| 18 | 10 | 21777 | 18 | 8 | 22789 | 18 | 15 | 15652 | 18 | 16 | 9888 | 18 | 10 | 74016 | 18 | 12 | 24620 |
| 19 | 11 | 21774 | 19 | 9 | 22800 | 19 | 16 | 15027 | 19 | 17 | 8891 | 19 | 11 | 76517 | 19 | 13 | 25006 |
| 20 | 12 | 21771 | 20 | 10 | 22811 | 20 | 17 | 14402 | 20 | 18 | 7894 | 20 | 12 | 79018 | 20 | 14 | 25392 |
| 21 | 1 | 21768 | 21 | 11 | 22822 | 21 | 18 | 13777 | 21 | 19 | 6897 | 21 | 13 | 81519 | 21 | 15 | 25778 |
| 22 | 2 | 21765 | 22 | 12 | 22833 | 22 | 19 | 13152 | 22 | 20 | 5900 | 22 | 14 | 84020 | 22 | 16 | 26164 |
| 23 | 3 | 21762 | 23 | 1 | 22844 | 23 | 20 | 12527 | 23 | 21 | 4903 | 23 | 15 | 86521 | 23 | 17 | 26550 |
| 24 | 4 | 21759 | 24 | 2 | 22855 | 24 | 21 | 11902 | 24 | 22 | 3906 | 24 | 16 | 89022 | 24 | 18 | 26936 |
| 25 | 5 | 21756 | 25 | 3 | 22866 | 25 | 22 | 11277 | 25 | 23 | 2909 | 25 | 17 | 91523 | 25 | 19 | 27322 |
| 26 | 6 | 21753 | 26 | 4 | 22877 | 26 | 23 | 10652 | 26 | 24 | 1912 | 26 | 18 | 94024 | 26 | 20 | 27708 |
| 27 | 7 | 21750 | 27 | 5 | 22888 | 27 | 24 | 10027 | 27 | 25 | 912 | 27 | 19 | 96525 | 27 | 21 | 28094 |
| 28 | 8 | 21747 | 28 | 6 | 22899 | 28 | 25 | 9402 | 28 | 26 | 1 | 28 | 20 | 99026 | 28 | 22 | 28480 |
| 29 | 9 | 21744 | 29 | 7 | 22910 | 29 | 26 | 8777 | 29 | 27 | 1 | 29 | 21 | 101527 | 29 | 23 | 28866 |
| 30 | 10 | 21741 | 30 | 8 | 22921 | 30 | 27 | 8152 | 30 | 28 | 1 | 30 | 22 | 104028 | 30 | 24 | 29252 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

TABLE XIII.
(Continued from p. 177.)13
CHITRA.

| day | v | a | b | c |
|--------------------------------|---|--------|-------|-------|
| 0 | 3 | 34369 | 488 | 9069 |
| 1 | 4 | 27640 | 851 | 9117 |
| 2 | 5 | 31633 | 1214 | 9144 |
| 3 | 6 | 34419 | 1577 | 9173 |
| 4 | 0 | 37803 | 1949 | 9193 |
| 5 | 1 | 41192 | 2303 | 9226 |
| 6 | 2 | 44576 | 2635 | 9254 |
| 7 | 3 | 47934 | 3028 | 9281 |
| 8 | 4 | 51349 | 3391 | 9308 |
| 9 | 5 | 54785 | 3734 | 9336 |
| 10 | 6 | 58121 | 4117 | 9363 |
| 11 | 0 | 61507 | 4489 | 9391 |
| 12 | 1 | 64894 | 4843 | 9418 |
| 13 | 2 | 68280 | 5200 | 9445 |
| 14 | 3 | 71666 | 5569 | 9473 |
| 15 | 4 | 75053 | 5932 | 9500 |
| 16 | 5 | 78439 | 6295 | 9527 |
| 17 | 6 | 81825 | 6658 | 9555 |
| 18 | 0 | 85212 | 7020 | 9582 |
| 19 | 1 | 88598 | 7384 | 9610 |
| 20 | 2 | 91984 | 7746 | 9637 |
| 21 | 3 | 95371 | 8109 | 9664 |
| 22 | 4 | 98757 | 8473 | 9692 |
| 23 | 5 | 102143 | 8835 | 9719 |
| 24 | 6 | 105530 | 9198 | 9747 |
| 25 | 0 | 108916 | 9561 | 9774 |
| 26 | 1 | 112302 | 9924 | 9801 |
| 27 | 2 | 115689 | 10287 | 9829 |
| 28 | 3 | 119075 | 10650 | 9856 |
| 29 | 4 | 122461 | 10913 | 9883 |
| VALANTHA OF
FOLLOWING YEAR. | | | | |
| 0 | 5 | 125848 | 11275 | 9911 |
| 1 | 6 | 129234 | 11538 | 9938 |
| 2 | 0 | 132620 | 11801 | 9965 |
| 3 | 1 | 136007 | 12064 | 9993 |
| 4 | 2 | 139393 | 12327 | 10020 |

TABLE XIV.—For *Chaitika*.

| gh | a | b | c | gh | a | b | c |
|----|------|-----|----|----|------|-----|----|
| 1 | 56 | 6 | 0 | 31 | 1750 | 187 | 14 |
| 2 | 113 | 12 | 0 | 32 | 1802 | 194 | 15 |
| 3 | 169 | 18 | 1 | 33 | 1852 | 200 | 15 |
| 4 | 225 | 24 | 2 | 34 | 1919 | 206 | 16 |
| 5 | 282 | 30 | 2 | 35 | 1973 | 212 | 16 |
| 6 | 339 | 36 | 3 | 36 | 2032 | 218 | 16 |
| 7 | 395 | 42 | 3 | 37 | 2088 | 224 | 17 |
| 8 | 451 | 48 | 4 | 38 | 2145 | 230 | 17 |
| 9 | 508 | 54 | 4 | 39 | 2201 | 236 | 18 |
| 10 | 564 | 60 | 5 | 40 | 2257 | 242 | 18 |
| 11 | 621 | 66 | 5 | 41 | 2314 | 248 | 19 |
| 12 | 677 | 73 | 5 | 42 | 2370 | 254 | 19 |
| 13 | 734 | 79 | 6 | 43 | 2427 | 260 | 20 |
| 14 | 790 | 85 | 6 | 44 | 2483 | 265 | 20 |
| 15 | 847 | 91 | 7 | 45 | 2540 | 272 | 21 |
| 16 | 903 | 97 | 7 | 46 | 2596 | 276 | 21 |
| 17 | 959 | 103 | 8 | 47 | 2653 | 284 | 22 |
| 18 | 1016 | 109 | 8 | 48 | 2709 | 290 | 22 |
| 19 | 1072 | 115 | 9 | 49 | 2765 | 296 | 22 |
| 20 | 1129 | 121 | 9 | 50 | 2822 | 302 | 23 |
| 21 | 1185 | 127 | 0 | 51 | 2878 | 308 | 23 |
| 22 | 1242 | 133 | 10 | 52 | 2935 | 314 | 24 |
| 23 | 1298 | 139 | 10 | 53 | 2991 | 321 | 24 |
| 24 | 1354 | 145 | 11 | 54 | 3048 | 327 | 25 |
| 25 | 1411 | 151 | 11 | 55 | 3104 | 333 | 25 |
| 26 | 1467 | 157 | 12 | 56 | 3151 | 339 | 26 |
| 27 | 1524 | 163 | 12 | 57 | 3207 | 345 | 26 |
| 28 | 1580 | 169 | 13 | 58 | 3273 | 351 | 27 |
| 29 | 1637 | 175 | 13 | 59 | 3329 | 357 | 27 |
| 30 | 1693 | 181 | 14 | 60 | 3385 | 363 | 27 |

TABLE XV.—For *Palas*.

| palas | a | b | palas | a | b |
|-------|----|---|-------|----|---|
| 1 | 1 | 0 | 31 | 29 | 3 |
| 2 | 2 | 0 | 32 | 30 | 3 |
| 3 | 3 | 0 | 33 | 31 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 | 0 | 34 | 32 | 3 |
| 5 | 5 | 0 | 35 | 33 | 3 |
| 6 | 6 | 1 | 36 | 34 | 4 |
| 7 | 7 | 1 | 37 | 35 | 4 |
| 8 | 8 | 1 | 38 | 36 | 4 |
| 9 | 9 | 1 | 39 | 37 | 4 |
| 10 | 10 | 1 | 40 | 38 | 4 |
| 11 | 11 | 1 | 41 | 39 | 4 |
| 12 | 12 | 1 | 42 | 40 | 4 |
| 13 | 13 | 1 | 43 | 41 | 4 |
| 14 | 14 | 1 | 44 | 42 | 4 |
| 15 | 15 | 1 | 45 | 43 | 4 |
| 16 | 16 | 2 | 46 | 44 | 5 |
| 17 | 17 | 2 | 47 | 45 | 5 |
| 18 | 18 | 2 | 48 | 46 | 5 |
| 19 | 19 | 2 | 49 | 47 | 5 |
| 20 | 20 | 2 | 50 | 48 | 5 |
| 21 | 21 | 2 | 51 | 49 | 5 |
| 22 | 22 | 2 | 52 | 50 | 5 |
| 23 | 23 | 2 | 53 | 51 | 5 |
| 24 | 24 | 2 | 54 | 52 | 5 |
| 25 | 25 | 3 | 55 | 53 | 6 |
| 26 | 26 | 3 | 56 | 54 | 6 |
| 27 | 27 | 3 | 57 | 55 | 6 |
| 28 | 28 | 3 | 58 | 56 | 6 |
| 29 | 29 | 4 | 59 | 57 | 6 |
| 30 | 30 | 4 | 60 | 58 | 6 |

TABLE XVI.—For converting Decimals of the circle into Degrees, Minutes and Seconds.

| 1st
Decim. | " | 2nd
Decim. | " " | 3rd
Decimal. | " " " | 4th
Decimal. | " " | 5th
Decimal. | " " |
|---------------|-----|---------------|--------|-----------------|----------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|------|
| 0.1 | 36 | 0.01 | 3 36 | 0.001 | 0 21 36 | 0.0001 | 2 10 | 0.00001 | 0 13 |
| 0.2 | 72 | 0.02 | 7 12 | 0.002 | 0 43 12 | 0.0002 | 4 19 | 0.00002 | 0 26 |
| 0.3 | 108 | 0.03 | 10 48 | 0.003 | 1 4 48 | 0.0003 | 6 29 | 0.00003 | 0 39 |
| 0.4 | 144 | 0.04 | 14 24 | 0.004 | 1 26 24 | 0.0004 | 8 38 | 0.00004 | 0 52 |
| 0.5 | 180 | 0.05 | 18 ... | 0.005 | 1 48 ... | 0.0005 | 10 48 | 0.00005 | 1 5 |
| 0.6 | 216 | 0.06 | 21 36 | 0.006 | 2 9 36 | 0.0006 | 12 58 | 0.00006 | 1 18 |
| 0.7 | 252 | 0.07 | 25 12 | 0.007 | 2 31 12 | 0.0007 | 15 7 | 0.00007 | 1 31 |
| 0.8 | 288 | 0.08 | 28 48 | 0.008 | 2 52 48 | 0.0008 | 17 17 | 0.00008 | 1 44 |
| 0.9 | 324 | 0.09 | 32 24 | 0.009 | 3 14 24 | 0.0009 | 19 26 | 0.00009 | 1 57 |

TABLE XVIII.—Tithi Table.

(Argument A = a corrected
by eq. b and eq. c.)

TABLE XVII.—For converting Degrees, Minutes and Seconds
into Decimals of the circle.

| Degrees. | | Minutes. | | Seconds. | |
|----------|-----------|----------|----------|----------|----------|
| 1 | 0.0027778 | 1 | 0.000046 | 1 | 0.000001 |
| 2 | 0.0055556 | 2 | 0.000093 | 2 | 0.000002 |
| 3 | 0.0083333 | 3 | 0.000139 | 3 | 0.000003 |
| 4 | 0.0111111 | 4 | 0.000185 | 4 | 0.000004 |
| 5 | 0.0138889 | 5 | 0.000231 | 5 | 0.000005 |
| 6 | 0.0166667 | 6 | 0.000278 | 6 | 0.000006 |
| 7 | 0.0194444 | 7 | 0.000324 | 7 | 0.000007 |
| 8 | 0.0222222 | 8 | 0.000370 | 8 | 0.000008 |
| 9 | 0.0250000 | 9 | 0.000417 | 9 | 0.000009 |
| 10 | 0.0277778 | 10 | 0.000463 | 10 | 0.000010 |
| 20 | 0.0555556 | 20 | 0.000926 | 20 | 0.000020 |
| 30 | 0.0833333 | 30 | 0.001389 | 30 | 0.000030 |
| 40 | 0.1111111 | 40 | 0.001852 | 40 | 0.000040 |
| 50 | 0.1388889 | 50 | 0.002315 | 50 | 0.000050 |
| 60 | 0.1666667 | | | | |
| 70 | 0.1944444 | | | | |
| 80 | 0.2222222 | | | | |
| 90 | 0.2500000 | | | | |
| 100 | 0.2777778 | | | | |
| 200 | 0.5555556 | | | | |
| 300 | 0.8333333 | | | | |

| Tithi. | Bright
fort-
night. | Dark
fort-
night. |
|--------|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| | A | A |
| 0 | 0 | 50000 |
| 1 | 3333 | 53333 |
| 2 | 6667 | 56667 |
| 3 | 10000 | 60000 |
| 4 | 13333 | 63333 |
| 5 | 16667 | 66667 |
| 6 | 20000 | 70000 |
| 7 | 23333 | 73333 |
| 8 | 26667 | 76667 |
| 9 | 30000 | 80000 |
| 10 | 33333 | 83333 |
| 11 | 36667 | 86667 |
| 12 | 40000 | 90000 |
| 13 | 43333 | 93333 |
| 14 | 46667 | 96667 |
| 15 | 50000 | 00000 |

No. 17.—NAVALAKHI PLATES OF SILADITYA I.—[GUPTA-] SAMVAT 286.

By PROFESSOR H. M. BHADKAMBAR.

I edit the following plates from two impressions kindly sent to me by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M.A., Archaeological Superintendent, Western Circle. The two impressions together leave no doubt as to the correct reading of the original, with the exception of two names at the beginning of the second plate. In the case of these two names, the original itself seems to be damaged.

The plates were first found in 1904-5 at Navalākhī, near Shahāpūr, a village about 8 or 10 miles from Junāgaḍh, and are now preserved in the Bahadur Museum, Junāgaḍh. They are two in number, each inscribed on one side only. The edges are fashioned into rims on the four margins. The plates appear to have been held together by thick rings passing through two holes at the bottom of the first plate and at the top of the second. The holes are nearly $\frac{1}{4}$ " in diameter, and seem to have been bored before the grant itself was inscribed. The usual seal must have been attached to one of these copper rings, but as it is not forthcoming, I presume it has been lost. The plates measure about 10·8" by 9". The first bears 21 lines and the second 16. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{3}{16}$ ".

The subjoined inscription is comparatively free from mistakes and differs in this respect from other records of the same dynasty, e.g. the Rājkoṭ Museum plates of the same reign dated in Gupta-Samvat 290, published by Dr. Bühler¹ (referred to in the sequel for the sake of brevity as '*the grant of 290*'). The characters belong to the western variety of the southern alphabets. As regards paleography, it is enough to note that the aksharas *ph* and *gh* are hardly distinguished (e.g. *haryya-phalaḥ*, l. 7, and *ptihādāḍha*, l. 14). The language is Sanskrit prose with the exception of three imprecatory verses at the end. The rules of sandhi are followed in many places but neglected in others. As regards orthography, the following points may be noted :—

The letter *gh* is used instead of *h* in *saṃghatī* (l. 5), and *saṃghatārātī* (l. 11). The guttural *ṣ* is used instead of the *anusvāra* in *chātvarīśatā* (l. 25) according to the practice of the Yajurvedi Brāhmaṇas in their Vedic recitations; and the dental *n* takes its place in *bhāsurataraṇa* (for *tarāṇa*) as is the practice with the Gujarātis of the present day. The final *m* of a word is changed only once into the nasal of the class to which the following letter belongs in *sāmānyān-cha* (l. 30), while in other cases it is generally changed into an *anusvāra*. The letters *tri* in *tridaśagura* (l. 6), and *tri* in *triparad* (l. 7) are both wrong and should be corrected by a reciprocal interchange. Consonants conjunct with the *rēpha* are generally doubled (according to Pāṇini VIII, 4. 46) except in the case of sibilants, e.g. *darīyātā* (l. 11), and *varāha* (l. 33). When the letter *dh* is conjunct with *ya*, the unaspirated *d* is also prefixed, e.g. *padmaddhyātā* (ll. 12-13), in *śambaddhyamānakaṇ* (l. 18), and in *śoddadhyāya* (ll. 19-20). The double *ṣa* is written as *ṣa* in *chandrārkaṇaṇa* (l. 28). The sign of *jihvāmūlīya*, which, in form, is just the letter *m*, is written conjunct with *kh* in l. 16, and *k* in l. 17, and to the group so formed the vowel signs of *i* in the first case, and of *u* in the second are added in the way usual with other conjunct letters. These are the only two occasions for this sign in the whole of this inscription, but while there are about half a dozen cases where the *upadhāniya* symbol may be expected, it is written only twice in conjunction with *p* in *mātāpitrōḥpunyāpyāyānāya*, l. 19, and *śidhuhpunarśīdātā*, l. 33. This sign is like the letter *chh*. Final *t* is denoted by the usual sign for the syllable *ta* with a slight stroke at the top slanting to the right.

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IX, p. 227, et seq.

This inscription is one of the *Paramamāhātmya* śrī-Śilāditya I. *alias* Dharmāditya, the son of śrī-Dharmasena, and grandson of śrī-Guhasena who belonged to the royal family founded by Bhaṭārka. It is dated in the year 286 (A.D. 805) on the 8th day of the dark half of Āshāḍha. The date furnishes the numerical symbols for 200, 80, 6, and 8. The preamble of this grant, including the description of each one of the kings, is, as is quite natural, exactly the same as that of the grant of 290, referred to above.¹ A comparison of the copper-plate records of the family shows that Śilāditya I. was the first king who omitted the names of the kings intervening between Bhaṭārka, the founder, and Guhasena, the grandfather of the present donor,—a practice which was subsequently adopted in all the later grants of this family.

The subjoined inscription records the gift of a village called Bhōpānaka, situated within the provincial limits of Vāṭanagara. I am not certain whether this Vāṭanagara is the same as Vāḍnagar in the Baroda State, or is the Vāṭapadra which Dr. Bühler took to be the modern Vāḍodra or Baroda.² In any case, the village cannot be identified. The gift was made to forty-four Brāhmaṇas who had emigrated from Saṃgapuri, which is believed to be the same as the present Shahpūr near Junāgadh. The cause of the immigration is not recorded. Probably they were induced to settle in this place by the present gift.

The names of the Brāhmaṇas are curious. Some look like surnames or family names, while others are clearly the names of particular individuals. The name Boppasvāmi may show that he was very likely a Tailaṅga Brāhmaṇa.³ Some are Prākṛit forms of Sanskrit names, e.g. *Khanda=Skanda*, *Sihā=Śiṃha*, *Natṭaka=Nartaka*, *Gōpaśarmā=Gopāśarmā*, as also *Bhaṭṭi* which seems to be derived from *Bhaṭṭi*. The last name is familiar as the one borne also by the author of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*. It is probable that the names Bappaṭaka, Nāvuvaka, Khokkhaka, Giṃjaka, and Goggaka are also similar in origin, though I am unable to suggest the precise derivation.⁴ Other names are pure Sanskrit. *Vaṭsa* is a gotra or family name of several Brāhmaṇas even at present. The names Drōṇa, Bhaṭṭi, Āditya, Bhadra, Bappaṭaka and Gōpa appear to belong to more persons than one among the donees of the present grant, and hence the individual of the same name subsequently mentioned is distinguished from the first named person, by prefixing *dei*, *tri* as may be required. The prefixes mean, I believe, the second and the third.⁵

The following officials are mentioned in the grant :—

- (a) *Āyuktaka*.—This word appears to be very old being found in Pāṇini II. 3, 40, where it signifies a person appointed to some small work of a special character, and from the nature of the example given in the *Kaumudī* to illustrate the rule, it seems probable that these may be Brāhmaṇas employed for religious or charitable purposes, such as the *pūjāris* or the worshippers at temples, etc., or the *śāritas*, i.e. the learned men patronised by the king for holy merit.

¹ [The text follows more closely the Walā plates of Śilāditya I. dated in Gupta-Saivrat 286.—Ed.]

² The fact that the grant of 290 records the names of several villages ending in *śaṭa*, gives greater probability to the second alternative. The fame, however, of Vāḍnagar as an early residence of Brāhmaṇas is yet preserved in the name of the local caste of Brāhmaṇas, and hence one feels inclined to the first supposition. I cannot decide the matter for want of more accurate information.

³ Compare the name of Bōpādēva, the grammarian.

⁴ It is not unlikely that they are derived from the names of the villages to which their families originally belonged. The name *Guhilāśāṭṭi* (l. 20) may be traced to Gohilwad-prānta of Kāchiwād.

⁵ This leads to the inference that these may be family names. It is worthy of remark that among these names we recognise two of the modern ones of the Kōkapastha families, viz. Bāpaṭ and Bhānu. These are now met with only amongst the so-called Dakshinī Brāhmaṇas and I believe are not to be found amongst the original residents of Gujārāt or Kāchiwād at present. [In later inscriptions, e.g. the Māndhātā plates (above, Vol. IX, p. 1106), the abbreviations *dei* and *tri* stand for *dvivēda* and *trivēda*.—H. K. S.]

- (b) *Vinīyuktaka*.—This may be the officer in charge of the village as *pāṭil* (the headman), *kaṣakarni* (the clerk of the village) or some such village officer.
- (c) *Drāṅḡika*.—The word *drāṅḡa* means 'a town,' and *drāṅḡika* may denote a town officer or merely an inhabitant of it.
- (d) *Maha'tura*.—This is often used to signify men of special respectability in a place, such as the heads of particular communities. It is also possible that this may form one word with the previous one and the two together may then mean 'the respectable inhabitants of the town.'
- (e) *Chāṭa*.—Monier Williams' Dictionary raises the query whether this should properly be *chāra* (a spy). As, however, the word occurs in this form in almost all the grants of this family, this explanation is not tenable. Dr. Bühler renders it by 'fortune-teller' (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 106, note) though he is not certain of it. Yājñavalkya speaks of *chāṭas* along with thieves, etc., as men who are likely to be injurious to the public. In *Mṛicchhakatika*, Act V, the friend of the hero remarks in Prākṛit that "even dogs won't go to a place where the *chāṭas*, courtesans, etc. reside" (Bombay Sanskrit series, Vol. I, p. 223, line 63). The similarity in sound with *chāṭu*, 'flattery' which this word presents is so close as to lead one to translate the word by 'flatterer'; and the word may in that case denote the attendants of the king who are very likely to misuse their position by being harmful to others. Or they may be the servants whose duty is to sing the praises of the king and his forefathers. [For other explanations of the term *chāṭa*, see above, Vol. IX, p. 284, note 10, and p. 296.—Ed.]
- (f) *Bhāṭa* means 'a soldier.' Perhaps the word is connected with *Bhāṭa*—the herald attendant on a king, whose duty is to sing his praises.
- (g) *Kumārāmātyas* is rendered by Dr. Bühler as 'the princes and ministers' (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV, p. 175). As, however, the word *rājasthānīya* occurs before the expression under consideration, I believe it should be rendered as one word by 'the princes, the noble lords of *Rājasthāna*.' Dr. Bühler, however, translates the epithet as 'representing royalty.' The princes of the royal blood are even now given the epithet of *kumāra*, and I believe in old times they formed a council of the nobles, and were consulted by the ruling chiefs on points of imperial importance. [For a different explanation of the word *kumārāmātya*, see above, Vol. X, p. 50, note 2.—Ed.]

The requirements of a formal *śisana* include also an accurate description of the granted land, which should be declared as given free of all dues for ever. The subjoined attributes of the word *grāma*, should accordingly be interpreted as supplying these requirements:—

sādrangaḥ.—The word *sādrāṅga* is given in the Petersburg Dictionary as a synonym of *drāṅga* (a town) and hence this adjective of *grāma* may be rendered by 'together with the hamlets.'

sāparikaraḥ.—Possibly means 'together with its appurtenances' as timber, trees, etc. standing on the land. Drs. Bühler and Fleet, however, suggest that all these attributes signify different sorts of land and other revenue. In that case, this adjective may mean 'together with municipal taxes levied on tradesmen, etc. for the management of the town' in accordance with Manu VII, 137.¹ It appears to

¹ वाटनकरदुर्गुत्तमहाराजमिकादिभिः ।

प्रीयमानाः राजा रचेरकायन्त्यै विप्रियतः । Yāj. Sm. I. 334-5.

² अन्विचिदपि धर्मस्य दायदेकरसंज्ञितम् ।

अवहारिष्य जीवन् राजा राष्ट्रं इवमन्वयम् ।

me, however, that all such dues accruing from the village are mentioned by the adjective *sadhānyahiranyādēyaḥ*. Hence it seems preferable to take the first three adjectives as referring to the description of the gift.

sadābhūtapratyāyaḥ.—Several grants read *pratyayaḥ* instead of *pratyāyaḥ*. The meaning of both seems to be nearly the same. The compound word may be translated by 'as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place.' I am told that this word is actually used in the *Narmadāmāhātmya* to signify the extent of the region on either bank as belonging to the Narmadā, where the distinctive breeze from the river is recognised. The boundary marks are, broadly speaking, described by Nārada,¹ quoted in many other *smṛitis*, as fivefold: viz. (1) huge trees or mountains; (2) rivers or tanks, (3) underground signs, (4) artificial marks made by men, and (5) by the order of the king. It is, I believe, to all these that this adjective refers. See, however, Dr. Bühler's note on the word (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. IV. p. 106). He understands the word as referring to certain dues from the village. Dr. Fleet also, in his *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 170, note 9, appears to agree with Dr. Bühler.

sadhānyahiranyādēyaḥ is clearly 'together with the revenues in grain and gold.'

sadāśāparādhaḥ.—'with the right to the fines for the ten offences,' see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 189, note 4.

sōtpadyamānavishīḷ.—*viśīḷi* yields *vēṭha* in Marāṭhi. The adjective means 'with the right to forced labour as occasion for it occurs' as prescribed by Manu VII. 138.²

ahastaprakāśepanīyaḥ.—This word is equivalent to the Marāṭhi idiom *hāta ghālanē* (lit. to put one's hand in a matter). The phrase, therefore, should be rendered 'not to be meddled with' by any of the royal officers.

bhāmichchādranyāyēna.—'according to the principle of a hole in the earth.' This popular maxim is variously explained by Dr. Phandarkar (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I. p. 46) and by Dr. Bühler (*ibid.* Vol. IV. p. 106, note). In the uncertainty thus caused I may propose a third explanation. The word usually occurs after *pūrvaprāpta-dēvabrahmadēyavarjitaḥ*, though sometimes without it, and is to be connected grammatically with *visīṣṭaḥ* that follows. It appears from this that both these words signify the reservation³ from the gift. The previous attribute having reserved the gifts to temples or Brāhmaṇas previously made, this word seems to reserve the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasure-trove, etc. The right of the king to these⁴ is always urged against a gift unless it is expressly transferred. The word, therefore, may reserve this right in favour of the royal donor in spite of the gift of the land.

The word *dātaka* (1. 34) is translated by some as 'messenger.' Seeing, however, that in several cases, princes of the royal blood are styled in this manner, I believe this must be a responsible officer who had to attest such *dānams* as required by the *Smṛitis*. In Manu VII. 63-5 the *dāta* is spoken of as a chief minister in special confidence with the king. His counsel was always sought on matters of utmost importance like peace and war. The word, therefore, should

¹ धजिनी र त्रिजिनी सेव मेधानी भयवर्जिता ।

राजशासननीता य सीमा पञ्चविधा कृता ।

² काचपान् शिखिनश्चैव युद्धाशालोपजीविनः ।

एवैवं कारदारकर्म नासि नासि महीपतिः ।

³ See *Anandarāmāyana*, Śārakāṇḍa III, 264.

यद्दुष्टा वर्तते विचं तद्दुष्टस्य न संशयः ।

be translated with Dr. Bhandarkar as 'the minister, the executive officer.' In this sense the word may perhaps be derived from द्वितीय, a joint officer.¹

The word *divirapati*² seems to signify the head-clerk or at the most the chief secretary of the king. According to the Smritis, a *dasana* had to be in the handwriting of the clerk whose business was to draft the important orders of peace and war; so it must be such an officer who is spoken of as *divirapati*.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्री³ स्वस्ति 'वलभीतः प्रसभप्रणतामिचाणां 'मैत्रकाणामतुलवल'संपन्नमण्ड-
लाभोगसंसक्त'प्रहारशतलक्षप्रतापा[य]-
- 2 तापोपनतदानमानार्ज्वोपार्ज्वितानुरागादतुरक्तमोलभृत[ये]शिवलावामरान्यश्रियः प-
रममाहेश्वरश्री-
- 3 भटार्कादिव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशात्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्रविधौताम्रियकल्पयः शैश-
वाग्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयवा-
- 4 हरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्त्व⁴निकयस्तत्त्वभावप्रणतारातिचूडारत्नप्रभासं-
सक्तपादनखरश्मि-
- 5 'संधतिस्तकलसृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यवपरिपालनप्रजाहृदयरंजनान्वर्त्यराजशब्दः रूप-
कान्तिस्त्वैर्यथैव⁵गा-
- 6 श्रीर्यवृद्धिसंपद्भिः ¹⁰स्वरशङ्खाद्विराजोदधि¹¹तदयगुरुधनेशानतिशयानश्वरणागता-
भयप्रदान¹²परतया
- 7 ¹³विणवदपास्ताम्रियस्त्रकार्यफल¹³ प्राप्यनाधिकात्यप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृदप्रणयि¹⁴हृदयः
पादचारीव¹⁵ सकलभुवन-

¹ See also Dr. Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, page 100, note 3.

² It is interesting to note that this word *divira* presents a close similarity to the word *dabira*, and is possibly a Sanskritised form of the latter. *Dabira*, I learn, is an Arabic word meaning 'manager' or 'secretary.' It was the official name of one of the eight ministers of Shivaji and is equivalent to the title *samanta* of Sanskrit origin. This officer was very much the same as a "foreign secretary" and had charge of all the records concerning treaties, etc. with foreign powers.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ For the position, etc. of this city, see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 165, and note.

⁵ For *Maitrakas* see *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 301, note.

⁶ For "*sampanna*" here and in later grants; the earlier reading is "*sapatna*", on which see Dr. Hultzsch's interesting remarks in Vol. III, p. 319, above.

⁷ For "*prabhāra*" here and in later grants; the earlier ones of the same family read "*samprabhāra*".

¹⁰ Read "स्वरव".

¹¹ Read "संहति".

¹² The word *dhairyya* does not occur in this compound in any of the Valabhi grants except the present one, the grant of 290, and that of Dharmarāja II. (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. VII, p. 71). In its absence the word *adhirāja* in the following compound means *Himālaya*, but when the word occurs, the phrase *adhirāja* has to be split into two to correspond to the two qualities *sthairyya* and *dhairyya*. In that case *adri* may mean any mountain as a type of steadiness (*sthairyya*) and *rāja* may perhaps denote *Dharmarāja* as a type of courage (*dhairyya*), as suggested by his name *Yadishāhira*.

¹³ Read "प्रशाव".

¹⁴ Read "विदग्गुरु".

¹⁵ Read "तुषवद".

¹⁶ Read लक्ष. The reading *phala* is also found in other grants.

¹⁷ Read "सुहृत्प्रणयि".

¹⁸ *Pādachārī*-ies means 'personified as it were'; cf. प्रकटस्वैव धर्मस्य प्रसादी मूर्तिसंवरः; *Uttararūmacharita*, VI. 10.

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20

Navalakhi Plates of Siladitya I.—[Gupta-] Samvat 286.

[The page contains handwritten text in Devanagari script, which appears to be bleed-through from the reverse side of the leaf.]

- 8 मण्डलाभोगप्रमोदः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तान-
विसृतजाड्वीजलौघप्र-
- 9 चालिताशेषकल्पः प्रणयिमतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाञ्छितस्वरभसमा-
भिगामिकैर्गुणैः¹
- 10 सहजशक्तिश्चाविशेषविष्मापिताखिलबलधनुर्वरः प्रथमनरपतिसममिसृष्टानामनुपाल-
यिता धर्मदा-
- 11 यानामपाकर्ता प्रजोपचातकारिणामुपपन्नानां दर्यायिता श्रीसरस्वत्योरेकाधिवा-
सस्य संघतारातिपक्ष-
- 12 लक्ष्मीपतिभोगदक्षविक्रमो विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्त्विर्वचिः² परममाहेश्वरः श्रीध-
रसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादानु-
- 13 ज्ञातस्मकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भुतगुणसमुदयस्वगितसमयदिघ्नलक्ष्मरशतविजयशो-
भासनाद्यमण्डला-
- 14 अद्युतिभासुरतरन्ध्रपिठो³ दूढगुरुमनो[र]यमहाभारस्त्रयविद्यापरावरविभागाधिगमविम-
लमतिरपि सर्व-
- 15 तस्मिन्नाधितलवेनापि सुखोपपादनीयपरितोषस्त्रयलोकागाधगाभीर्यहृदयोपि
सुचरितातिशयसुव्य-
- 16 क्तपरमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुगनृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदयकोर्त्तिर्हंमानुप-
रोधोज्वलन्तरीकता-
- 17 त्वंसुखसंपदुपसेवानिरूढधर्मादित्यद्वितीयनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यः कु-
शली सर्वानिवायुक्त-
- 18 कविनियुक्तकद्राक्षिकमहत्तरचाटभटकुमारामात्यादीनन्द्याश्च यथाभिसंबद्धमानका-
न्ममात्रापयत्यस्तु वः
- 19 संविदितं यथा मया मातापितृ⁴ पुत्राप्यायनाय संगपुरीविनिर्मातनाना-
गोचरणतपस्त्र-⁵
- 20 ज्ञायोपेतब्राह्मणद्रोण-⁶ इन्द्रवसु-वल्ह-वृष्टि-गुहिला-भट्टिसूर्य-दिक्षभट्टि-
- 21 लुद्रक-आदित्यवसु-हिद्रोण-चिद्रोण-कुमारशर्म-भट्टि-आदित्यरवि-

Second Plate.

- 22 [गणकः]⁷ उ[वृक्ष]⁸ गोपाव्यक-खन्द-शर्म-भद्र-आदित्य-द्विआदित्य-वप्पटक-मनुश-¹⁰
- 23 श्री-ईश्वर-वोप्पस्त्रामि-द्विप्पटक-गोप-दाम-दिभद्र-खोक्लक-केशव-

¹ *Abhigamikaḥ guṇāḥ*, 'inviting virtuous qualities'; see *Gupta Inscr.* p. 169, note 2.

² Read 'संघतापति'.

³ Read 'पाथिवपी'.

⁴ Read 'मासुरतरान्ध्रपिठो'.

⁵ Read 'व्यव'.

⁶ Read 'स्त्रायायोपेत'.

⁷ Read इन्द्रवसु (P).

⁸ I am not able to make out the name. It may be *Gaṇaka*, or *Gaṇakka* (a mistake for *Gaṇakka*). But the letter after *ga* is more probably *ta*, in which case it may be *Gaṇatna* (a mistake for *Gaṇaratna*).

⁹ I am not sure whether I have read the name correctly, nor can I make out anything of it.

¹⁰ Read मादशर्म.

- 24 गोवर्धना-अग्निवर्धना-दिगोप-नावुव[क]-कुमारभद्र-सीङ्ग-नङ्क-गिंजक-गोमक-संगम[-]
 25 दिभट्टि-भानु-एवं चतुश्चत्वारिंशते¹ ब्राह्मणेभ्यः षटनगरस्यत्यन्तर्गतभोज्जानक-
 ग्रामस्योदङ्ग-
 26 स्तोपरिकरकवातभूतप्रत्यायकधान्यहिरण्यादेयस्यदशापराधस्तोत्यस्यम[1]नंविष्टि-
 स्वर[1]-
 27 जकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयः पूर्वप्रत्तदेवब्रह्मदेयवर्जितः भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायिनाच-
 28 न्द्रार्काग्नर्वर्जितिसरित्पर्वतसमकाशीनः पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्य उदकातिसर्गेण
 धर्मदायो
 29 निष्ठः यतः ए[पां] भुंजतां [क]पतां कर्पयतां प्रदिशतां वा न कैश्चिद्वा-
 सेधे वर्तितव्यमागामिभद्र-
 30 नृपतिभिरप्यस्य[इ]शजैरन्यैर्वा अनित्यान्यैश्चर्याष्वस्मिन् मानुषं सामान्यं
 भूमिदानफलम्-
 31 वगच्छद्विरयमस्यदायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यचेति ॥ 'बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
 भिस्सुग-
 32 रादिभिः [1*] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥ 'यानीह
 दारिद्र्यमयाचरेन्दैर्जनानि ध-
 33 श्मायतनीकृतानि [1*] निर्भुक्तमात्रप्रतिमानि तानि को नाम साधुX
 पुनराददेत ॥ [प]ष्टिं वर्षम्-
 34 हस्मानि स्वर्गं मोदेत² भूमिदः [1*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव
 नरके वसेत् ॥ दूतकथा-
 35 च भट्टादित्ययशः [1*] लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिवोरपतिवचमहिना³ ॥
 36 सं २०० ८० ६ आषाढ व ८ ॥०।
 37 सहस्रो मम ॥

¹ More properly * चत्वारिंशते.

² Read °विष्टिस् or °विष्टिस्स, according to several other grants.

³ Read °वर्षम्.

⁴ This verse is introduced in the grant of 290 by the words *uktam cha bhagavatā Vidyāsāstra Vyāsina*.

⁵ The metre is *Upajāti* made up of *Upendrarajā* and *Indrarajā*.

⁶ For *mōdāti* many other grants read *mōdati*, but we have got *nasati* instead in the Smṛiti passages where it occurs.

⁷ The original clearly reads the name as *Vatrabhattā*, which does not make any sense. The grant of 290 reads *Chandrabhattā* instead which perhaps is the proper spelling of the name. It should be noted, however, that Dr. Bhandarkar's plate (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. I, p. 17) also appears to read the name as *Vatrabhattā* which the Doctor reads as *Vasabhatta*, as it does not look quite clear at the place.

⁸ [The symbol here corresponds to the symbol at the beginning and may be read *śa*. — H.E.S.]

No. 18. —BANSWARA PLATES OF BHOJADEVA; [VIKRAMA.]SAMVAT 1076.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTZSCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

Although the approximate period of the reign of the Paramāra king Bhōjadēva of Dhāra is settled from references in contemporary literature,¹ the only inscription of his time which had been discovered so far was the Ujjain copper-plate grant of Sunday, 24th December, A.D. 1021.² The copper-plate inscription now published is dated about two years earlier, viz. in the [Vikrama] year 1076, on the 5th *tithi* of the bright fortnight of Māgha (l. 31). The date of the grant was the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa (l. 10). It follows from this that Bhōjadēva had undertaken an expedition into the Kōṅkaṇ either in Samvat 1075 or in one of the years preceding it.

The subjoined transcript is based on an ink-impression prepared by Pandit Gaurishankar H. Ojha, Superintendent, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer, and transmitted to me by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya. I have received no description of the original, which was found in the possession of the widow of a *ṣaṭhēra* (copper-smith) living at Banswara.³ But as the impression shows two ring-holes at the bottom of the first side and at the top of the second side, it may be presumed that the inscription is engraved on two copper-plates which are held together by two rings and measure $13\frac{1}{2}$ inches in breadth and $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height. The inscribed side of the second plate bears at its bottom in a rectangular border (before lines 28 to 32) a flying figure of Garuḍa, facing the proper left and carrying a snake in his left arm.

The alphabet is Nāgarī of the same type as in the Ujjain plates.⁴ The *avagraha* is used, improperly, for marking the elision of a short *a* after a long *ā* in 11, 10 and 22. The consonant *ṣ* is expressed by *ṣ* throughout. Once *ṣ* is wrongly replaced by *ś*,⁵ and *ṣ* by *ṣ* in four cases.⁶ The gerund *कृत्वा* is twice spelt *कृत्वा*.⁷

The document is drawn up in Sanskrit prose mixed with verses which are nine in number. Excepting the different date and the particulars of the donee and the object granted, the new grant is practically identical with the Ujjain plates. A short abstract of it will therefore be sufficient for all purposes.

After two verses invoking the god Śiva (*Vyōmakēśa*, v. 1, or *Smarārātī*, v. 2), Bhōjadēva, successor of Sindhurājadēva, successor of Vākpatirājadēva, successor of Siyakadēva informs all royal officers coming to Vaṭapadraka included in the Ghāghradōra district (*bhōga*) of the Sthali province (*maṇḍala*) and the Brāhmaṇas and other inhabitants, that, at the anniversary of the conquest of Kōṅkaṇa, having bathed and worshipped Śiva (*Bhavañipati*, l. 10), he granted 100 *nicartanas* (in words and figures, l. 16) of land in the above-mentioned village (viz. Vaṭapadraka) to the Brāhmaṇa Bhāilla, son of Vāmana, of the Vasishṭha *gōtra* and the Vāji-Mādhyaṃdina *tākha*, whose ancestors had emigrated from Chhīlchhā city (*sthāna*, l. 18).⁸

¹ See Bühler's remarks in Vol. I. pp. 230-233, above.

² Published, with English translation, by N. J. Kirtane, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. p. 53 ff. The date was calculated by Kielhorn, *id.* Vol. XIX. p. 361, No. 169.

³ This fact is very suggestive. If the copper-smith had not died, and if Mr. Ojha had not rescued the copper-plates from his widow, they would have shared the fate of many of their fellows, viz. the conversion into copper vessels.

⁴ See the lithograph, *Ind. Ant.* Vol. VI. pp. 53 and 54. Instead of "विनिर्गतवराचसुर" (l. 2 f. of plate II) we may have to read विनिर्गत (II) भूसुर.

⁵ See note 3 on p. 183.

See notes 6 and 11 on p. 183.

⁶ See notes 6 and 9 on p. 183, and 2 and 5 on p. 183.

⁷ Cf. *Chāṇakya-Śāstra*, above, Vol. IV. p. 207, text line 29.

Line 31 contains the date: *Samvat 1076 Māgha śu di 5*. A facsimile of the royal signature: "this (is) the own hand of śrī-Bhōjadēva" is affixed at the end of either plate (ll. 15 and 32).

The date does not include any details which admit of actual verification. But Dr. Fleet tells me that, with the year 1076 taken as expired, as in the Ujjain record, the details which are given take us to 3rd January, A.D. 1020. The localities named in the grant cannot be identified, because there is no clue as to the exact neighbourhood in which we are to look for them, and because enough of them are not mentioned.

TEXT.¹

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 श्री² [॥*] जयति व्योमकेशौसी³ यः सर्गाय विभर्त्ति⁴ तां । पेंदवी⁵
शिरसा लेखां ज-
- 2 गद्दीजांकुराकृतिं⁶ ॥ [१*] तन्वतु वः स्मरारातिः कल्याणमनिशं जटाः ॥ क-
- 3 त्यांतममयोद्दामतडिडल्यविंगलाः ॥ [२*] परमभट्टारकमहारा-
- 4 जाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्री[मी]यकदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकम-
- 5 हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीवाकृतिराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभ-
- 6 ट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीसिंधुराजदेवपादानुध्यात-
- 7 परमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभोजदेवः कुशलो ॥
- 8 खलीमंडले घाघ्रदोरभोगांतःपातिषट्पदके "शमुपगतामसस्ताराजपु-
- 9 'रुषान्नाच्छणीत्तरान्प्रतिनिवासिजनपदादींश्च समादिशत्यसु" वः संविदितं ॥
- 10 यथाऽस्माभिः कौकुणविजयपर्वणि आत्वा⁷ चराचरगुरुं भगवन्तं भवानोपतिं
- 11 समभ्यर्च्य सं[स]ारस्था[स]ारतां दृष्ट्वा । वाताभ्वैविभ्वसमिदं वमुधाधिपत्यभापातमा-
- 12 नमधुरो विषयोपभोगः । प्राणास्तृणागजलविदुसमा¹⁰ नराणां (i) धर्मैः सखा
- 13 परमही परलोकयानि ॥ [३*] भ्रमसंसारचक्राग्रधाराधाराभिमां त्रियं ।
प्राप्य ये न
- 14 ददुस्तेषां पञ्चात्तापः परं फलं ॥ [४*] इति जगतो विनश्वरं स्वरूपमा-
कलय्योपरि-¹¹
- 15 सहस्रोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [॥*]

Second Plate; First Side.

- 16 लिखितग्रामात¹² भूनिवर्त्तनशतैकं नि १०० स्वसीमावृणोचरयूतिपर्यंतं
हिरण्या- (i)

¹ From the ink-impression.

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read "केशौसी".

⁴ Read विभर्त्ति.

⁵ Read जगद्बीजां.

⁶ Read समुप.

⁷ Read "रुषान्ना".

⁸ Read "लसु".

⁹ Read काश्वी.

¹⁰ Read "वावसलविदु".

¹¹ This line is continued on the next plate (l. 16).

¹² Read "ग्रामाह".

- 17 दायसमेतं सभागभोगं सीपरिकरं सर्वादायसमेतं 'ब्राह्मणभाइलाय वामन-
 18 सुताय 'वशिष्ठसगोत्राय वाजिमाध्यंदिनशाखायैकप्रवराय च्छिच्छास्थानविनिर्ण-
 तपूर्व-
 19 जाय मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसोभिहृदये' अदृष्टफलमंगीकृत्य चंद्राकार्ण-'
 20 वल्लितिसमकालं यावत्परया भक्त्या 'शाशनेनोदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादितमिति
 मत्वा त-
 21 त्रिवासिजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाश्रवणविधेयै-
 22 भूत्वा सर्वसखै समुपनेतव्यमिति ॥ सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं 'बुध्वाऽस्मदंगै-
 रन्यै-
 23 रपि भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायोयमनुमंतव्यः' पालनीयश्च ॥ उक्तं
 च । व.^१
 24 हुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य
 तस्य तदा फलं ॥ [५*]
 25 यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेद्वैर्दानानि धर्माद्यंयशस्कराणि । निर्मात्यवांतिप्र-
 तिमानि
 26 तानि की नाम साधुः पुनराददीत ॥ [६*] अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भि-
 रन्यैव दानमि-
 27 दमभ्यनुमोदनीयं । लक्ष्म्यास्तडिक्कलिलवुहुदचंचलाया^२ दानं फलं परयशः-
 परिपाल-
 28 नं च ॥ [७*] सर्वानिताम्नाविनः पार्थिवेन्द्राभूयो भूयो याचते रामभद्रः ॥
 29 सामान्योयं धर्मसेतुर्दृष्टपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ [८*]
 इति कम-
 30 लदलांबुविंदुलोलां^३ श्रियमनुचिन्त्य मनुष्यजीवितं च । सकलमिदमुदा-
 31 हृतं च बुध्वा^४ न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्त्तयो विलोप्या इति ॥ [९*]
 संवत् १०७६ माघ शु दि ५ [१*]
 32 स्वयमाज्ञा । मंगलं महाशोः ॥ स्वहस्तोयं श्रीभोजदेवस्य [११*]

^१ Read ब्राह्मण^०.^२ Read चंद्राकार्ण^०.^३ Read 'वर्षदायी'.^४ Read 'दलांबुविंदु'.^५ Read वल्लित^०.^६ Read शाशने^०.^७ Read व^०.^८ Read बुध्वा.^९ Read 'वयो'.^{१०} Read बुध्वा.^{११} Read 'बुद्ध'.

No. 19.—THE SIRPUR STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHASIVA-GUPTA.¹

By RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL, B.A., NAAGPUR.

Sirpur is a small village on the right bank of the Mahānadi in the Mahāsāmunda tahsil of the Raipur District in the Central Provinces. It is 37 miles north-east of Raipur and 15 miles from Ārang. Sirpur was once the capital of Mahā-Kōśala² and was then known as Śrīpura,³ as given in the stone inscriptions found there, and also in the copper plates found in Rājim⁴ and Baloda.⁵ The ruins in and around the village indicate that it was once a great city and there are scores of temple sites, the identification of which is now rendered impossible by the removal of the idols they contained to a place near a brick temple, which is the only one now standing as it was originally built. It is popularly known as the 'Lakshmana temple.' Writing of the bricks with which it is built, Mr. Cousens who visited it in 1904 remarked⁶ that they were of a finer make than any he had till then seen, either ancient or modern. They are moulded and carved with considerable artistic skill. About a third of the temple tower was gone, while the *maṇḍapa* had totally collapsed and was a heap of ruins when it was taken under Government conservation. It was while removing the debris of this *maṇḍapa* that the subjoined inscription was found and removed to the Raipur Museum where it is at present deposited. Sir A. Cunningham visited Sirpur in 1881-82 and noticed all the inscriptions he found there, remarking that *one of them* must belong to this temple. He was right in supposing that the temple must have had some inscription but it had not come to light then and it was about 2 years⁷ ago that it was accidentally discovered.

It is perhaps the biggest inscription yet found in Sirpur. It is engraved on a thick reddish stone, which is not exactly rectangular, the breadth of the upper corner being 3' 8½" and that of the lower 3' 2", while the height at the right side is 2' 3½" and at the left 2' 1½". The writing covers a space 3' 8" by 2' 1". There are altogether 26 lines of writing, but some parts of the stone coming in contact with others have peeled off, and portions of lines 3, 4, 5, 6 at the left hand top corner and the last 4 lines have been partially damaged. The characters are Nāgarī, beautifully engraved, their average height being ¼". They belong to the Northern class of alphabets of about the 8th or 9th century A.D. The most noticeable peculiarities are the antiquated forms of the letters *i*, *ṇa*, *sa*, *dha*, *tha*, *bha* and *ja*. The *mātrā* of *ā* is represented by a top stroke, and *ē* by a small stroke prefixed to the letter. The sign of *u* is added in the middle of the letter *ra* as usual, but when made long it is bent upwards as in *gurūpacharagē* in line 7 and *-rapaṭh* in line 12. In the case of the short *ra* in *Purushōttama* in line 1, the bend is upwards instead of downwards, but this is probably a mistake as other short *ras* have it in the usual way downwards. The signs for *ā* and *e* when joined to a class letter appear to be identical: compare *puṭja* in line 1 and *maṇḍanam* in line 12. Forms of final *u* occur in ll. 4, 11, 12, 13 and 14 and of *i* and *a* in ll. 6 and 16 respectively.⁸ The language is excellent Sanskrit, highly rhetorical, containing 42 verses in various metres.

The record consists of two parts, *viz.* a eulogy in 23 verses and rules for the temple management from line 16 to the end. The inscription begins with an invocation to Purushōttama, which is in prose. The first three verses are devoted to the praise of the Nṛsiṃha or man-lion incarnation of Viṣṇu. King Mahāsivagupta, his mother and two ancestors

¹ [This paper was partially prepared for the Press by Dr. Sten Konow when he was Government Epigraphist in 1908 and by Mr. H. Krishna Sastri when he officiated in that post for two months, from 17th July to 17th September 1911.—Ed.]

² [On this name and its derivation, see Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 68 f. —Ed.]

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 179, and Cunningham's *Reports*, Vol. XVII. p. 26 ff.

⁴ Fleet's *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 291.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII. p. 102.

⁶ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for the year 1904*, p. 20.

⁷ That is calculating from the date this article was given for publication in 1903.

⁸ [Final *u* occurs in line 6 also.—Ed.]

(father and grandfather), are next mentioned. The historical information which is here furnished is that, in the lunar race, there was a hero whose name is illegible (v. 4). His son was **Harshagupta** (v. 9). From him was born **Mahāśivagupta** (v. 12) who was also known as **Bālārjuna** owing to his proficiency in the use of arms (v. 13). He apparently had a younger brother named **Rapakāśarin** (v. 12). We are then informed that his mother, named **Vasatā** (v. 15), was the daughter of **Sūryavarmā**, king of **Magadha** (v. 16). She became a widow (v. 17) and caused to be constructed a temple of **Hari** (v. 20), the same to which this inscription was affixed. She and her acts are praised in seven verses (vv. 17 to 23).

The writer of this eulogy who calls himself *prastikāraḥ kavīḥ* was **Chintatūraṅka Īśāna** (v. 24)¹, who in the second part proceeds to lay down the regulations for the management of the temple as follows:—Five villages, viz. **Tōḍaṅkana**, **Madhuvēḍha**, **Nalipadra**, **Kurapadra**, and **Vāṇapadra**, were given (v. 25) for the maintenance of the temple to which apparently a *śatra* or an almshouse was attached. The villages were divided into four shares, three of which (subdivided into three separate parts) were to be reserved for the maintenance of the almshouse, repairs (to the temple) and for the support of the servants attached to the sanctuary (v. 26). The fourth share was divided into fifteen parts, of which twelve were to be enjoyed by a corresponding number of **Brāhmaṇas** fully conversant with the **Vēdas**, each of the three **Vēdas** (**Rik**, **Yajus** and **Sāman**) having four experts. The remaining three parts were to be enjoyed by a sacrificial priest and two others who were **Bhāgavatas**.² The names of these fifteen persons are duly recorded and it is enjoined that their descendants should inherit the gift if properly qualified for it, otherwise the grant should go to some other relatives by their own selection and not by order of the king (vv. 27 to 34). An additional village named **Vargullaka** is stated to have been given separately to the god himself, for meeting the expenses of offerings to him (v. 36). The engraver was a certain **Ārya Gopṇa** (v. 35), the same who wrote the slab built flat into the pavement of the new work outside the court wall of the **Gandhēśvara** temple at Sirpur.³

Like other inscriptions of Sirpur this is also undated, and therefore its age can only be determined from its characters, which, as stated before, belong to the 8th or 9th century A.D. **Mahāśivagupta** who is mentioned in almost all the inscriptions so far found in Sirpur, seems to have been a temple-builder, or at least he encouraged others to build them. Apparently he was a **Śaiva**, although his mother was a **Vaiṣṇava** and so was his father who is described in verse 20 as *upāśitachyutāḥ*, i.e. by whom **Vishṇu** was worshipped. From an inscription⁴ in the temple of **Gandhēśvara** (correctly **Gandharvēśvara** as given in an inscription affixed to the parapet there) we know five ancestors of **Mahāśivagupta**, so that our inscription gives no additional information about the family, as it only takes us back to his grandfather. But verse 6 leads us to the important inference that **Mahāśivagupta's** grandfather [**Chandragupta**] had an elder brother who was the king's commander in chief. This elder brother cannot I suppose be any other than the **Tivradēva** of the **Rājim** and **Balodā** plates. He was the son of **Nannadēva**, **Chandragupta's** father. **Tivradēva's** inscriptions were issued from **Śrīpura** and he is described as being the 'supreme lord of **Kōśala**'.⁵ He had apparently no issue and his brother probably succeeded him. A second historical fact to be gleaned from our inscription is the discovery of one additional name in the line of **Varmā** kings of **Magadha**, viz. **Sūryavarmā** who must have flourished about the 8th century A.D. He apparently belonged to the **Western Magadha** dynasty. He must have been a contemporary of **Chandragupta**, to whose son **Harshagupta** he gave his daughter in marriage.

Attention may be called to the name **Rapakāśarin** (in verse 12) who would appear to have been a younger brother of **Mahāśivagupta**, although the word has been used in a double sense. Dr. Kielhorn⁶ has drawn attention to this name with a view to show that names

¹ [The name intended seems to be **Īśāna** alias **Chintātura**.—H. K. S.]

² [That these three parts were to be so disposed of, is implied. It is not clearly expressed in the text of the inscription.—Ed.]

³ *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India*, 1904, p. 50.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII. p. 179.

⁵ *Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 226.

⁶ *Above*, Vol. IV. p. 257.

ending in Kēsarin were not foreign to this family as a curious coincidence between the Sirpur kings and the Orissa Kōsari family. The second name of Bhavadēva who, Dr. Kielhorn says,¹ was 'a cousin of Indrabala's son Nannadēva, the father of both Tivradēva and Chandragupta,' was also Rapakēsarin, but we meet it in the direct line here. In spite of the overwhelming palaeographic evidence² which tends to disprove any connection between the Sirpur dynasty and that of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak (or more correctly of Vinitapura or Yayastinagara), in both of which a Śivagupta occurs, it seems possible that General Cunningham may still prove to have been right in linking them together, although the dates assigned to them by him are all wrong.³ The kings of Sirpur appear to have been ousted by the kings of Śarabhapura,⁴ which place has not been identified as yet.⁵ The inscriptions of the latter have been found in the country round about and in close vicinity of Sirpur, viz. at Ārang, Raipur, Khariār and Śarangarh which enclose Sirpur from all directions, north, south, east and west. I have already identified several of the villages mentioned in them (see above, Vol. IX. p. 283) and their position shows that a very large portion of the present Chhattisgarh Division came under their sway. Probably they could not conquer the whole of Mahā-Kōsala which extended from the confines of Berār to the boundary of the Katak District. The Sirpur dynasty having been driven further east settled in some place on the bank of the Mahānadi. They still continued to rule at least a part of Kōsala. That seems to be the reason why they continued to call themselves 'Lord of Kōsala' unwilling to show a reduced front. They had probably lost the western portion of Mahā-Kōsala for ever, and that seems to be the reason why most of the villages granted by them are situated in the Sambalpur District and the adjoining feudatory states of Paṇḍā and Soapur.⁶ The Sirpur dynasty probably regained its former power but could not regain the lost kingdom, as although the Śarabhapura kings seem to have fallen as quickly as they rose, they were succeeded by another rising power, the Haihayas of Tummāṇa, who eclipsed the chiefs of the whole of Chhattisgarh and extended their dominions still farther.

Dr. Fleet assigns the characters of the records of the Sōmavamśi kings of Katak to the eleventh century and says that even if a somewhat earlier period than what has been arrived at, should be hereafter established for Śivagupta and his successors of the Katak line, the palaeographic changes in so many details appear more than can possibly be covered by the lapse of a single generation.⁷ His conclusion is that the kings mentioned in these inscriptions 'are to be placed somewhere between A.D. 1000 and 1100.'⁸ Since the characters of the Sirpur inscriptions are believed to belong to about the 9th century, it would appear that Dr. Fleet would place an interval of a little more than 100 years to account for the palaeographic difficulties. This is a period which may easily be covered by three generations, and on examining the genealogical table made out from the records of the Sōmavamśi kings as given by Dr. Fleet,⁹ it seems to me that a link of two generations is at present missing, which further discoveries might bring to light.

¹ *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 622.

² Above, Vol. III. p. 333.

³ [The date assigned by Prof. Kielhorn to Śivagupta Bālārjuna on the 'amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty' is about the beginning of the 9th century, while the Katak king Mahābhavagupta II. and his three predecessors belong to about the 11th century (above Vol. IV. p. 257). If these two approximate dates are correct, then we would have two kings, viz. a doubtful Mahābhavagupta and Mahāśivagupta, of whom no records have so far been found, for about two centuries.—Ed.]

⁴ [Mahāśudēva of Śarabhapura has been assigned by Mr. Hiralal to about the 8th century (above, Vol. IX. p. 283). And Tivradēva, Prof. Kielhorn has assigned without hesitation to the middle of the 8th century. If these two approximate dates are correct, the usurpation by the Śarabhapura kings would have taken place at a time when the Sirpur kings must have been powerful.—Ed.]

⁵ It may perhaps have been a new name imposed on the conquered city of Śrīpura by the victor from the fabulous animal of that name, who is believed to be a match for a lion, with reference to the claim of the Sirpur dynasty to be Kēsari (lions).

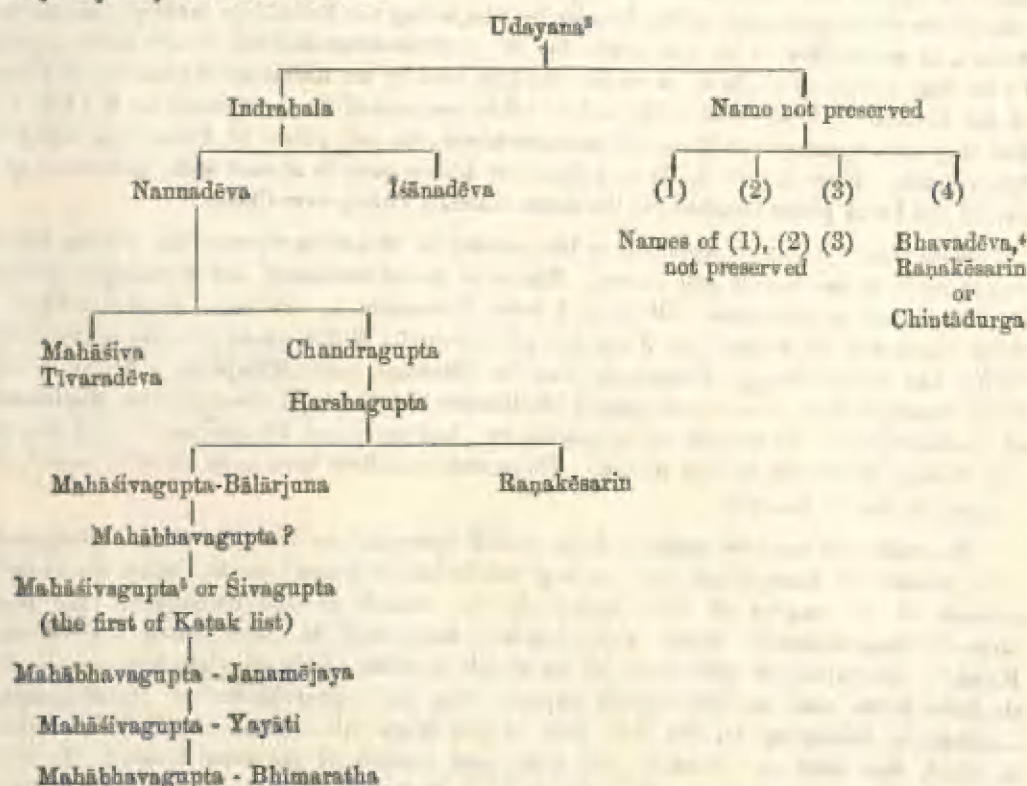
⁶ See tabular statement appended at the end giving the geographical information ascertained by local enquiry or otherwise and map showing the situation of places identified.

⁷ Above, Vol. III. p. 334.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 323.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 323.

There are four kings in this list, but there are only two names, viz. Śivagupta and Bhavagupta.¹ Three of them have a second name which may have been their birth-names or titles. The Śivagupta of our inscription had also a second name, i.e. Bālārjuna. This Bālārjuna Śivagupta may possibly be the grandfather of the titleless Śivagupta of the Katak inscriptions. By the way it may be noted that his granduncle Tivaradēva who was king was also called Mahāśiva as stated in the Balodā and Rājīm plates.² I suppose that the title of Harshagupta must have been Mahābhavagupta, and any further discoveries giving both the names would, I venture to think, confirm this surmise. So we can trace back the official title of Mahāśiva up to Tivarvadēva at least and he was possibly great-great-granduncle of the first Śivagupta of the Sōmavāṃśī records. According to this view the genealogical tree of the amalgamated Sirpur and Katak Gupta dynasty would be as under:—



¹ These were probably official names, assumed on installation as king, as is still done in some of the states towards Orissa; for instance, the Rāja of Bāmra is either a Sūghaladēva or a Tribhuvanadēva. The present chief whose name was Satyādīnanda when he was *yuvārjya*, is Tribhuvanadēva, and so was his grandfather, and his grandson will bear the same name.

² See above, Vol. VII. p. 103, and *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 296.

³ For sources of information for this genealogy, see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVIII. p. 179, *J. R. A. S.* 1905, p. 621, Cousen's *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey of Western India for 1904*, p. 54, and above, Vol. III. p. 327. Note that Mahāśiva Tivaradēva's regal uncle and his possible predecessor at least in one part of Mahā-Kōśala was a Bhavadēva, Chintādurga or Raṇakēśarin. Whether the name Bhavadēva was merely fortuitous or otherwise, I leave the reader to consider.

⁴ [From the extracts given by Prof. Kielhorn (above, Vol. IV, p. 367) it appears that Bhavadēva was the fourth son of Udayana and not the fourth grandson as represented in the genealogical table. But on further examination of the inscription, Prof. Kielhorn has stated that "Bhavadēva Raṇakēśarin was the fourth son of Indrabala's younger brother whose name has not been preserved;" (*J. R. A. S.* for 1907, p. 621 f.—Ed.)]

⁵ Above, Vol. VIII. p. 140.

The Sirpur inscriptions show that Balārjuna Mahāśivagupta must have been in a fairly prosperous state and so it was probably his son, a possible Mahābhavagupta, who was ousted from his ancestral capital. If we do not find any of his records, there is nothing to wonder at. A person in calamity driven out of his home would hardly think of bestowing grants or revel in perpetuating his name when his own position was so shaky, and his descendants would hardly be inclined to mention one who was in such a plight, it being better to omit than to record his tale of defeats.¹ For the matter of that, they might also have omitted his son Śivagupta's name as he also does not seem to have been in a much better position, but he was the direct ascendant of his renowned son, and it is possible that he might have prepared the way to the conquest of Trikalīṅga of which all his successors are called *adhīpati*, though no such title attaches to his name in any of the inscriptions. It appears that it was Janamējaya Mahābhavagupta (I) who retrieved the good name of his dynasty by conquering the Trikalīṅga country. So far as is known, he was the first in his line to take the title of Trikalīṅga² *adhīpati*, though it was disputed by the Haihaya kings of Chēdi, as we find the title used by the Kalachuri Karapadva of Tripuri in his Benares plate of 1042 A.D.³ and by other members of the same family up to 1174 A.D. But they were apparently raiders with superior power, the real rulers of Trikalīṅga being the Somavamsis. There is little doubt that these two houses came in contact with each other as in one of the Paṭṇā plates (marked H) the donor claims a victory over Chēdi.

With regard to geographical names, the country of Magadha whence the temple builder was brought in marriage is well known. The other places mentioned are 6 villages given to the temple and its accessories. Of these, I think Karapadra is the same as Kulapadar, 15 miles south-east of Sirpur, and Vargullaka is apparently Gullū, about 10 miles south-west of Sirpur and 5 from Ārang. Toḍaṅkapa may be Turēṅgā near Kulapadar. About 4 miles from Turēṅgā there is a village named Madhuban which may be identical with Madhuvāḍha of the inscription. As regards the remaining two, Nālipadra and Vāṇapadra, I could not find any villages answering to their names. Vāṇapadra must have been quite close to Sirpur, as it is stated to be 'on the spot'.

An endeavour has been made in the appended statement to identify places mentioned in other records of these kings, and it may not be out of place here to discuss the unsettled question of the capital of these kings. In the records of the Somavamsis the phrase '*śrīmatō vijaya-Kaṭakā*' occurs which has been interpreted to mean 'from the victorious Kaṭaka', the capital, in preference to its simple meaning 'from the victorious camp'. That the latter is the real meaning clearly appears from the copper plates⁴ of Mahābhavagupta Janamējaya belonging to the 3rd year of his reign (the oldest of all so far found), in which the word *śaṅkhānīrat* has been used instead of the usual *kaṭakā*. It will be observed from other inscriptions that whenever *kaṭaka* is used, the name of the camp (a separate place-name) is invariably⁵ given, but this is not the case when the charters purport to be issued from Yayātinagara or Vinitapura, which Dr. Fleet considers to be fanciful names of Kaṭaka itself. It has been assumed that Kaṭaka was the capital of these kings, but I am

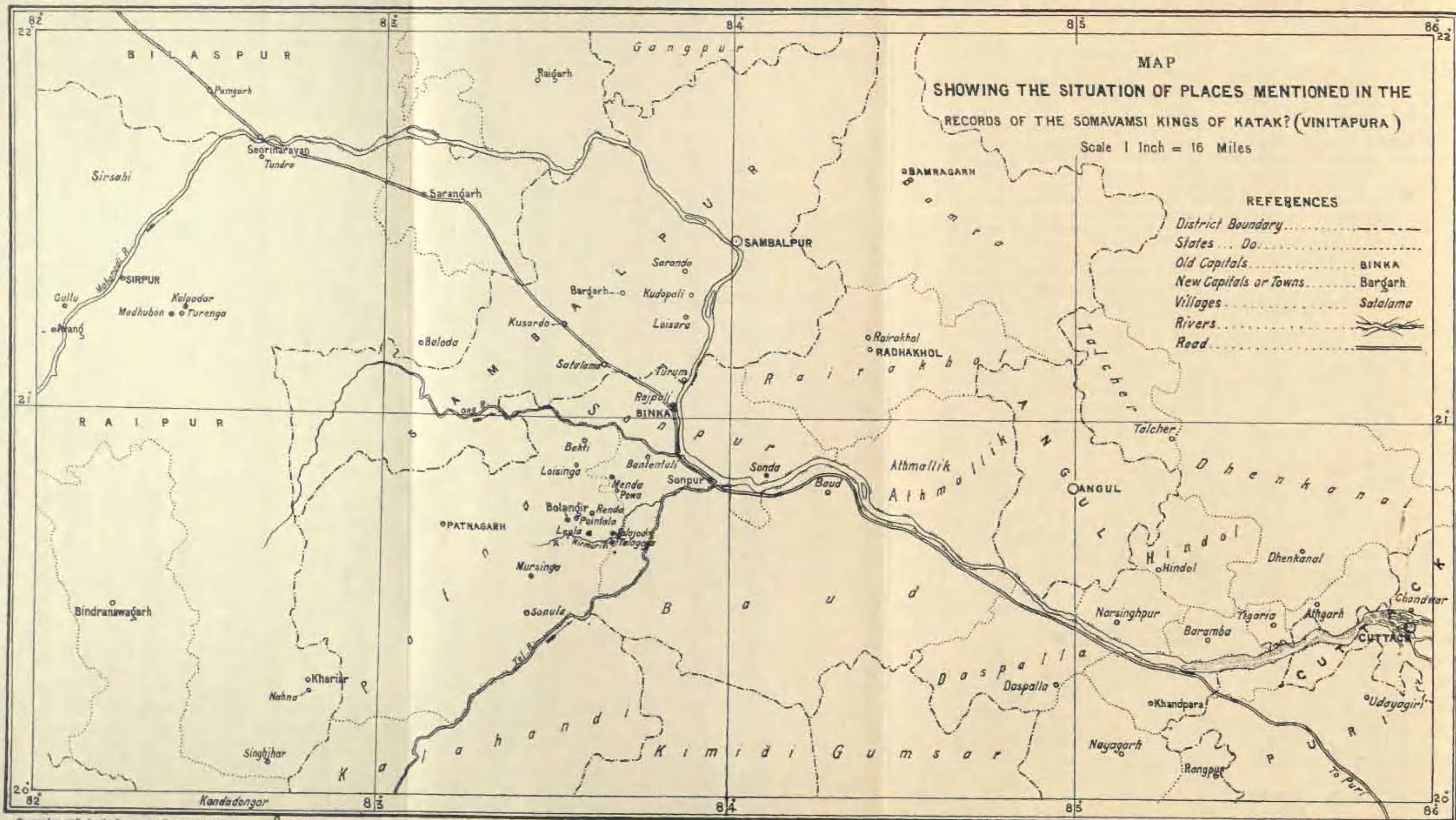
¹ Another reason why his name is omitted may be found in the fact that all the records of this dynasty give only the name of the donor and his father in the ordinary business-like way, and since his son Śivagupta for reasons stated further on in the text probably never made a grant, it seems very doubtful whether we would ever get a direct proof of his existence.

² Above, Vol. II. p. 298.

³ These plates were found some 13 years ago at Sōpur, the capital of the state of the same name. They were shown to me when I visited that place about 12 years ago (*i.e.* 1896) and I took a copy of the inscription. [They have been published by Mr. Macumdar (above, pp. 93 ff.).—Ed.]

⁴ There is only one exception found in the Paṭṇā plates marked H in which Vinitapura and Kaṭaka are both mentioned; but Mr. Laskar has noted that this record is full of mistakes and gross inaccuracies. See *J. A. R. B.* 1905, Vol. I. p. 6.





unable to share this view. The question has already been discussed by other scholars,¹ and the identification of Yayātinagara with the modern Jāipur has been suggested, but Dr. Fleet² has pointed out that this suggestion is untenable as the inscriptions distinctly imply that Yayātinagara was on the Mahānadi, whereas Jāipur is only on the Vaitarapi, about 50 miles away from the former river.

The name Yayātinagara was apparently imposed upon Vinitapura during the reign of Yayāti otherwise known as Mahāśivagupta. It is noteworthy that prior to his time the name Yayātinagara does not occur in any inscriptions. In fact he himself used the older name Vinitapura in the records of the 8th and 9th years of his reign, which fact shows that till then the idea of naming the town after himself had not occurred to him. It was probably somewhere between the 15th and 24th year of his reign that the town changed its name. Since then the official name seems to have become Yayātinagara, and we have in all four inscriptions mentioning it, two of which belong to the 24th and 25th years of his own reign, and two to the 3rd and 13th year of his son's. This name apparently continued to be used as long as Vinitapura was the capital, at least in official circles, but as is well known the original name usually sticks so persistently in the popular mind that it is difficult to eradicate it. Many a monarch has endeavoured to change the names of big cities after his own, but the old name has usually asserted the ground, and I suppose the same happened with Vinitapura, which name can now be traced in the corrupted form Binkā. This is a small town in the Sonpur State, 16 miles north of the present capital of that state. It fulfils all the conditions appertaining to Vinitapura. It is on the bank of the Mahānadi, and the river scenery there is as beautiful as described in the inscriptions. From Sirpur it is about 100 miles as the crow flies and about 180 by river—quite a safe distance to which the ousted family might have removed itself. The two places are so situated that if one fled straight to the east he would meet Binkā as the first place on the Mahānadi, as between these two places the river flows in a curve.² Binkā, moreover, is central to all the camps from which the kings issued their charters. Of the 13 so far discovered, 5 were issued from the capital itself, 3 from a pleasure garden, which must have been somewhere in the big groves still to be seen on the outskirts of Binkā, 3 were issued from Mūrasima or the present Mursingā in the Paṭṇā state, about 11 miles from Binkā, one from Sonpur, and one from Vāmaṇḍapaṭī⁴ or Bāmra, 60 miles to the north-east, but this last was issued by a feudatory from his own headquarters, and he has mentioned his overlord's capital as Yayātinagara. The villages granted so far as they have been identified are situated close to and round about Binkā as a glance on the accompanying map will show.⁵ The existence of a village named Rajpālī (meaning royal hamlet) within a mile of the present Binkā town is significant. There are also remains of a fort close by and a ghāt embankment on the Mahānadi.

¹ See above, Vol. VIII, p. 189 (where Professor Hultsch prefers to take *kafaka* in the sense of 'a camp') and *J. A. S. B.*, 1905, Vol. I, pp. 2 and 3.

* Above, Vol. III. p. 355.

² My idea is that when Bālārjuna's successor was driven out from Sirpur he fled straight off to the east and settled at a spot where he first met the sacred Mahānadi whose waters had sanctified generations of his ancestors. To this obscure place he in his dejection gave the appropriate name of Vinītapura or the 'town of the humbled.' I feel this is rather fanciful, as at this distance of time it is difficult to read the motives which actuated the founder to name the town in that way, and all that can be said is, that the explanation is plausible.

* It may be noted that Bāmra is still called Bāmraḍa by the Oriya people of Sambalpur.

It may be noted that Bāmūrā is still called Bāmapāḍā by the Oriyā people of Sambalpur.

It is remarkable that there are amongst the donees Brāhmaṇa immigrants from Madhyadēśa and even distant Śrāvastī in Oudh. Their advent to this remote place may easily be explained by the fact that Bīṅḡā lay, as it does now, on the high road to Jagannāth Pūrī, one of the four dākṣiṇas or the most sacred places of India, which the Hindus from all corners of the country visited as they still continue to do. Some of these learned Pandits of the celebrated district of Śrāvastī might have been induced to settle there, either by solicitations of the king or by the necessity owing to the difficulty of crossing long distances for want of good communications, accentuated by the dangers of the road which was infested by robbers of all description.

TEXT.¹

- 1 श्री² नमः पुरुषोत्तमाय ॥³ अन्योन्यप्रान्तरान्तर्विचलदुरुमरुत्पुञ्जगुञ्जारवोच्चै-
रङ्गुल्यैरुदञ्चन्नखकिरणशिखासदृशकरालैः । क्रामन्वः पातु पञ्चानन
इ[व] चरणचक्रिणः खे घनौघान्विध्वंस्य ध्व[१]-
- 2 न्तधात्रः करिण इव किरन्मौक्तिकाभानि भानि ॥⁴ [१^५] लब्धो निर्भन्तुमेभिर्न रिपु-
रिति रसादत्तचक्षुर्नखेषु वामात्तत्रोडरन्ग्रीदरकुक्षरदरीमेव स्तीनं विलोक्य ।
हासोल्लासावहेलं तदितरकरजाग्रेण निर्भेद्य [सद्यः कोशा] ^५चित्तेप तज्जं
मलमिव
- 3 दनुजं यः स वीर्यावृमिध्वः ॥⁷[२^५] वददिव [रु]वा शा[ङ्ख्या दंष्ट्रा]
सजिह्ममिवाग्निना ज्वलदिव दधञ्चक्रेणास्यं गदां मुकुटीमिव । एसितुमसुरा-
न्धभूयेव त्रितान्तकविभ्रमं दुरितमिति [विदीय^८ विष्णोः] ७ — ७ ७
— ७ — ॥⁹[३^५] [धामीच्छशी]व भुवनाद्भुतभूतभूति¹⁰—
- 4 रुद्रभूतपति[भक्तिमम]प्रभावः । चन्द्रान्वयैकति[ल]कः खलु चन्द्रगुमरा]जा-
ख्यया पृथुगुणः प्रथितः पृथिव्याम् ॥¹¹[४^५] गरीयान्भारोयं दुरधिगमिदं
वर्त्म पुरतो न मे प्रष्टः कश्चिन्न च समधुरः कश्चन सखा । इ —
— — — ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ गणशः स्वशक्त्या
- 5 निर्व्यूढिं ७ ७ ७ ७ ७ — — ७ ७ ७ — ॥¹²[५^५] दुर्धर्ष[कीर]-
वर[दो] रणदारुणेषु¹³ सीरायुधः स इव कंसनिपूदनस्य । राजाधिकारधवलः
सबलो बभूव यस्याग्रजोप्यनुचरस्वरतो रणेषु ॥¹⁴[६^५] कुम्भैरङ्कितमस्तका-
नति[ग^{१५}]¹⁶दिव्याहारमुग्धात्मनो वक्तव्यस्तुणानघःकृतकरा-
- 6 आतङ्गकाभारयन् । श्वेव श्वापदराट् न यस्य नृपतिः शौर्यं जगामोपमां
हन्तुः कोशपराक्रमान्वयनयस्कीतत्विषां विद्विषां ॥¹⁷[७^५] तस्याभूद्वनिभृता-
मधीश्वरस्य प्रख्यातो जगति सुतो यथा हिमाद्रेः । रत्नानां वसति-
रखण्डितोरुप[क्षो] मैनाको गिरिरिव यः [स्त्र]भावतुङ्गः ¹⁸[८^५]

¹ From the original stone.² Expressed by a symbol.³ This stroke is corrected from a *visarga*.⁴ Metre: Sragdhara.⁵ Read "चोड" or "चोड". [On the impression the reading seems to be "चोड". —H. K. S.]⁶ Read "कोषा".⁷ Read "चिह्नः". Metre: Sragdhara.⁸ [The reading here intended appears to be वेदीयं.—Ed.]⁹ Metre: Hariṇ.¹⁰ The *akshara* त of भूत looks as if it had been corrected from ति.¹¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹² Metre: Śikharinī.¹³ Mr. Kriehpa Śāstri suggests the reading वेरिवरवारुदास्येषु which gives better sense and is adopted in the translation.¹⁴ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁵ Probably नयच. [On the impression the reading appears to be "नतिमद".—H. K. S.]¹⁶ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹⁷ Metre: Prāharaṇī.

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- 7 स्थानं चिरादुचितमेतदभून्ममेति लक्ष्मीः प्रसूतिसमये यमुवाह हर्षम् । तेना-
हृतः सततमेव शुचामगम्यः श्रीहर्षगुप्त इति नाम ततो [यजुहे] ॥¹[८*]
संस्तुताः सकलोपभोगविषये धर्माध्वनि प्र(प्रा)ध्वराः सङ्गोष्ठेषु निरन्तराः
परवलध्वन्सेप्यवग्ध्याः सदा । [अक्षुण्णाः] सततं [गुरु]पचरणे
- 8 यान्ति स्म विस्मापिनो यस्यानेकसुखक्रियासु युगपत्संभाविनो वासराः ॥² [१०*]
क्षुण्णा भित्तिरनेकधा विघटिताः सर्वेप्यमी [स]न्धयो वीथ्यङ्गान्यपि विच-
तानि परितः शुष्कोऽस्त्रिव(व)न्धक्रमः । चित्रं प्रच्युतमामुखादपि कथं किं
वोचितेनामुना यस्येति द्विषतां कुनाटकमिष द्विष्टं पुरं
- 9 प्रेक्षकैः ॥³[११*] तस्मादजायत महाशिवगुप्तराजो धर्मावतार इति निर्वि-
तथं प्रतीतः । भीमेन यः सुत इव प्र[ध]मः पृथायाः पृथ्वी जिगाथ
रणकेसरिणानुजेन ॥⁴[१२*] भावी हन्त पितामहादपि महाना⁵चर्यमप्यो-
जसा जेथत्येष रणे बलेन भविता तत्कोस्य वैकर्तनः । अस्त्रा[भ्य]स्तिष
यं सम[स्त]-
- 10 जयिनं मत्वेति बालार्जुनं स्वे देहेपि जडुः स्पृहामरिगणाः प्रागेव
सम्पत्तिषु ॥⁶[१३*] यः प्रदेष्टवतां वधाय विक्रतीरास्थाय मा[य]ामयोः
क्षणी [योव]तरक्षभूदिह स खल्वव्याजलूनद्विषः । नासीदेव समो
हरिर्धवलतामात्यन्तिकीं विभ्रतो यस्याकल्मसतेन चापि भविता क[ल्की]
भविष्यन्पुनः ॥⁷[१४*]
- 11 तस्योश्चजन्मजयिनो जननी जनानामीशस्य शैलत[न]येव मयू[रके]तोः ।
विस्मापनो विबुधलोकधियां बभूव श्रीवासटेति नरसि[हृत]नोः⁸ सटेव ॥⁹
[१५*] निष्पङ्के भगधाधिपत्यमहतां जातः कुले वर्मणां पुण्याभिः
कृतिभिः कृतो कृतमनःकम्पः सुधाभो[जि]नाम् ।
- 12 यामासाद्य सुतां हिमाचल इव श्रीसूर्यवर्मा नृपः प्राप प्राक्परमेश्वर-
श्वश्रुतागर्वानिखर्वं पदम् ॥¹⁰[१६*] गतेपि पत्न्यौ दिव[मेक]रूपैः सदो-
पवासव्रतकशितैरपि । न मुक्तमेवावयवेर्द्यदोयैः स्वभावलोलाभयमात्ममण्डनम्
॥¹¹[१७*] या वर्णान्यमिणां चयीव शरणं राज्यस्य नीति[र्य]था
- 13 प्रज्ञेव प्रविचेचनी सदसतोस्तृणावतां श्रीः स्वयम् । उत्प्लाताखिलकल्मषप्रसरया
किञ्चिच्चलन्ती स्थितेः सन्धानाय यया सखीव पृथिवी भूयः कृतं स्मारिता ॥¹²

¹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.² Read 'चर्से'.³ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁴ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁵ Metre: Vasantatilaka.⁶ Read 'चार्य'.⁷ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.⁸ Read 'नरसिंह ननुमूर्तो लक्ष्मी सौ स्यात् विचक्ष्ये विरले जज्ञे—इति मेदिनी.⁹ Metre: Vasantatilaka.¹⁰ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.¹¹ Metre: Upajāti.¹² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- [१८*] दमयन्त्या [ञपि] पुरा यः स्खलं प्राप्य गर्वितः । स
क[लिः] स्त्रेपि समये हतमानः कृतो यया ॥^१[१८*] तथा निजः
- 14 प्रेत्य पतिर्यथाविधे वसत्यसौ नित्यमुपासिताच्युतः । प्रकाशितं तादृशमेव
कारितं विभोरिदं धाम हरेः सनातनम् ॥^२[२०*] दिव्यादेः सकलस्य
जन्तुनिवहस्योच्चावचैः कर्मणां वैचित्र्यादयमद्भुतो बहुविधावस्थैर्वपुःपञ्चरैः ॥
[यः*] प्रासादह[ह]च्छलेन क-
- 15 धितः संसार एव स्फुटं पश्यन्तस्तदिमं मनः कुत भो पापेषु मा
भूमिपाः ॥^३[२१*] क्षणमधः क्षणमुत्पतितैर्नभः पवनलोल[त]या [ध्वज]-
पङ्क्तयैः ॥(१) हरणपालनयोरुचिते गतो कथयति स्वयमेष महोभुजां
॥^४[२२*] तट एव भवाम्बुधेस्तरोतुं निहि-
- 16 तो धर्ममयः प्रवो महान् । परिपालयितव्य एष भूपैरवदोर्णो हि निमज्ज-
यत्यधः ॥^५[२३*] इति वः प्रशस्तिकारः कविः स चिन्तातुराङ्ग ईशानः
॥ यत्पालनार्थमर्थयति पार्थिवास्तां स्थितिं शृणुत ॥^६[२४*] तोडङ्गण-
म[धु]-
- 17 [विटो] नालीपद्रव कुरपद्रव^७ [१*] स्थानेच वाणपद्रव पञ्च दत्ता इमे यामाः
॥^८[२५*] एषां भागास्तयः सचे खण्डस्फुटितसंस्कृतौ । पादमूलपरीवा-
रपोषणे च विधाकृताः ॥^९[२६*] यस्तु [च]तुर्धा भागः स पञ्चदश-
धाक-
- 18 तो विभागेन ॥ तच्च द्वादश विपाः प्रतिवेदं प्रतिचतुष्केन ॥^{१०}[२७*]
त्रयस्त्रिविक्रमोर्कथं विशुदेवस्तथापरः ॥ तथा महिरदेवश्च चत्वारो
बहुचोत्तमाः ॥^{११}[२८*] एवं कपर्दीपाध्यायो भास्करो मधुसूदनः ॥ वेद-
गर्भश्च चत्वा-
- 19 रो यजुर्वेदस्य पारगाः ॥^{१२}[२९*] तथा भास्करदेवश्च स्थिरोपाध्याय एव
च ॥ चैलोक्यह[म्नो] मोउह[श्चत्वारः] सामपारगाः ॥^{१३}[३०*] भाव्यं
तत्पुत्रपौत्रैश्च सामि[हो]चैः षडङ्गिभिः ॥ द्यूत[वि]श्यादनासक्तेरपिहाकैरसिक्तेः
॥^{१४}[३१*] य[स्तु]
- 20 नवविधो^{१५} स[हे] यद्यापुत्रो विपत्स्यते ॥ तयोरङ्गे प्रवेक्ष्योन्मः पूर्वोक्तगुण-
वान्निजः ॥^{१६}[३२*] स चैषामेव सम्मन्वी सविद्यत्वे वयोधिक^{१७} [१*]

^१ [On the impression the reading seems to be ञपि.—H. K. S.]

^२ Metre: Anushtubh.

^३ Metre: Varāṇasthāvila.

^४ [On the impression the reading seems to be न instead of स.—H. K. S.]

^५ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

^६ Metre: Drutavilambita.

^७ Metre: Āryā.

^८ Read 'पद्र'.

^९ Metre: Vaitālīya.

^{१०} Metre: Anushtubh.

^{११} Metre: Āryā.

^{१२} Metre: Āryā.

^{१३} Metre: Anushtubh.

^{१४} [On the impression the reading appears to be भावी.—H. K. S.]

एभिरेव च साम्प्रत्याद्यवेष्टो न नृपा[ञ]या(तु) ¹¹[३३*] ततो वास-
वनन्दोति [वि]पः

21 पु[ष्पाङ्ग]²वाचकः ॥ द्वौ च भागवतौ नास्मा वामनः श्रीधरस्तथा ¹॥
[३४*] एते पञ्चदशाङ्गा विवर्जिता दानविक्रियाधानैः ॥ सर्वेपि
[च] सद्गोप्याः (॥) लेख³कचार्यगोष्ण इति इति⁴ [३५*] यस्तल ए[व]
ग्रामो वर्गुलकसंज्ञितः स [दे]-

22 वस्तु [॥] बलिचरुनिवेद्यसचो[प]करणहेतोः पृथग्दत्तः ¹⁶[३६*] अथ च
साधितानैः सपादमूलैश्च सर्वकार्याणि ॥ सम्भूय विप्रमुखैः करणीयान्वे-
कमत्वेन ¹⁵[३७*] स्थितिरियं क्षितिपाः परिपाक्यतां च[ल]तु

23 'सैव कृतोपकृति[क]मः ॥ [न]नु भविष्यति का पुनरु[त्तरा] गतिरहो
भवतामपि की[र्त्ति]पु ¹⁷[३८*] [ग]जस्नानं वातं [खलु] चरणकुहास-
नमिदं स्वयं पुण्योत्थानं⁸ यदिह परकीर्तिक्षतिकतां ॥

24 'मदङ्गाम्यत्तन्वीनयनतरलान्वीक्ष्य विभवानतः श्रेयः ¹⁰शुभं व्रतम[नुचर]न्कीर-
[नु⁹]दिनं ¹¹[३९*] भवाव्यध[र्म्मे]श्वक[र्ण]धारी वसूव देव्याः कुलश्रीक्ष-
शाली ॥ केदारनाभा स [इ]दं समग्र-

25 मकारयत्पुष्पमङ्गानिधानं [॥¹²४०*] श्री शिवशुभो राजा कृत्वा चैलोक्य —
— — — — — त्वेन प्रादा[त्गो]षा-
[र्ध]भट्टाय ¹³[४१*] भागमिदं स्था[न] ¹⁴गुणवद्भि¹⁵जभोज्यसुतमगु-
[णाय] ॥

26 शास्त्रव्याख्याविदुषे विदुषे [¹⁶शास्त्रेषु वेदेषु] ¹⁷[४२*]

¹ Metre: Anushtubh. [The letter, read नु, resembles a floral device which was perhaps inserted to indicate that the main part of the grant ended here.—H. K. S.]

² [On the impression this word looks like पुस्तक²—Ed.]

³ [The metre requires this syllable to be long; perhaps we have to read लेखाङ्गवाच.—H. K. S.] [On the impression the reading appears to be लेखकवाच.—Ed.]

⁴ इति is repeated a second time by mistake. It must be cancelled. Metre: Āryā.

⁵ Metre: Āryā.

⁶ सै looks like नै.

⁷ Metre: Drutavilambita.

⁸ [On the impression the reading is पुण्योत्थानं.—H. K. S.]

⁹ [On the impression the reading seems to be 'ह्याम्यद्वारि⁹—H. K. S.]

¹⁰ [On the impression the reading seems to be पञ्च कुहास ननु भी श्रीरमदिनं.—H. K. S.]

¹¹ Metre: Śikharinī.

¹² Metre: Upajāti.

¹³ Metre: Āryā. [On the impression

the reading seems to be प्रादाग्नौषाध्यमहाद्य.—Ed.]

¹⁴ [On the impression the reading seems to be स्थाने.—Ed.]

¹⁵ [Read गुणवद्भिज¹⁵—H. K. S.]

¹⁶ [On the impression the letter looks like स।—Ed.]

¹⁷ Metre: Āryā.

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Ōm! Salutation to Parashōttama (Viṣṇu).

(Verse 1.) Let the discus-holder's (*Nṛsiṃha's*¹) foot protect you—the foot whose sharp claws emitted a sound like that of *guñjā* berries (*shaken*) by the gust of strong winds passing through the long spaces between each other, and (*looked*) terrific (more so) with the jaws shining with the flame of rays (*emanating*) from the nails, when they being lifted up, tore through the mass of dark clouds in the sky and revealed the stars with pearly brilliance, like a lion who, having overcome that storehouse of darkness,—the elephant, jumps about scattering brilliant pearls (*torn from his temples*).

(V. 2.) Let that *Nṛsiṃha* protect you, who looking with eagerness at (*his own*) nails, for the enemy (*Hiraṇyakaśipu*) who had not been secured for being torn with these (claws), happened to see him hiding through fear in the cavern-like cavity in the interior of the deep hollow of those (nails). With a laugh (*at his foolishness in taking shelter in the place where he could be easily crushed out*), joy (*at finding him out*) and contempt (*at the miserable creature*) he split the demon at once with the point of the other claw and threw him away with wrath like dirt that had collected there.

(V. 3.)² As if bearing the jaws like a beautiful conch and the tongue like a sword, with the face burning like the discus (*and*) with the eye-brows (*as if carrying*) the mace, this form of Viṣṇu born for devouring, like sin, the demons, presented the appearance of the god of death

(V. 4.) There was the unequalled crest-jewel of the lunar race, whose wealth was wonderful on earth, just as the origin of the moon was miraculous and whose dignity was commensurate with his devotion to the lord of goblins (*Śiva*). He was indeed of manifold virtues, (*and*) famous on the earth by the name of [*Chandraguptarāja*].

(V. 5.) This task is very difficult, this path before (me) insurmountable. I have no guide nor (*have I*) any friend (*who can*) share the burden (*with me*). I accomplish this single-handed

(V. 6.) Even his elder brother shining with regal power,³ became his follower in battles and (*through him*) mighty, like him whose weapon is the plough (*Balarāma*); who likewise followed the killer of *Kaṁsa* (*Kṛishṇa*) in tearing up the mighty elephants of his unassailable enemy.⁴

(V. 7.) In bravery, a lion killing the elephants with (*swelling*) frontal globes,—rendered dull by the cries (*due to*) excessive rut,—with fodder placed in their mouths, or the trunks hanging down, is like a dog and cannot stand comparison with the king destroying (*his*) enemies blooming with the prosperity of their treasures, prowess, race and statesmanship.⁵

¹ [There seems to be a reference here not to *Nṛsiṃha* but to the *Trivikrama-avastā* of the god Viṣṇu.—H. K. S.]

² The poet here seems to show that the terrific face of *Nṛsiṃha* bore the symbols of Viṣṇu as also of Yama. The jaws being white bones were like the conch, the tongue like the sword which is also one of the weapons of Viṣṇu, the round face, the discus and eye-brows the mace. Yama's attributes are projecting jaws, long tongue, red hot face and a club.

³ [Perhaps *Adhikārādhaṃśa* was a name or surname of his elder brother.—H. K. S.]

⁴ [As the reading in the text is clearly *°dāraṇśāśu* (not *dāraṇśāśu* as Mr. Hiralal seems to take it) the compound ending with that word is evidently an attribute of the word *raṇśāśu*.—Ed.]

⁵ [The passage *सुधैरहितमलकानतिमदकाङ्क्षामुपाकरो वज्रमखदधानधःकृतकराद्* admits of two meanings, one applicable to the subdued kings and the other to elephants.—H. K. S.]

(V. 8.) Of him, the lord of the rulers of the earth, was born a son famous in the world (*who was*) a very treasure of jewels, (*who had*) a large number of undivided allies and (*who was*) high in character, (*thus*) resembling the high Maināka hill which is the offspring of the lord of mountains, *viz.* the Himādri (mountain), has extensive wings which are unclipped and is a mine of jewels.

(V. 9.) At the time of his birth, the goddess of wealth was transported with joy saying 'It is a long time since I found such a suitable place for myself.' Ever filled with joy (*harsha*) and verily inaccessible to grief he accordingly bore the name *śrī Harshagupta*.

(V. 10.) His precious days passed in enjoying all the sensuous objects, (*they were*) indefatigably applied in the path of virtue, and unceasingly (*spent*) in good assemblies; they never went fruitless (*when employed*) in the destruction of hostile power and were uninterruptedly devoted in the service of the elders. Thus they always caused wonder in (*the performance of*) many pleasing duties simultaneously.

(V. 11.) His enemies' town is hated by the spectators as the walls are crushed to powder, all the joints are separated in various ways, the limbs of the streets are also torn asunder, and on all sides there is an exhibition of dry bones. (*They exclaim*) 'what is to be seen here? How has the variegated appearance even of the entrance (*of the town*) disappeared?' Thus (*saying*) (*the spectators*) hate it like a bad drama destitute of interest even in the prologue, with torn curtains (*bhitti*), disjointed incidents, broken dialogues and dry plot.

(V. 12.) From him was born king Mahāśivagupta truly renowned as an incarnation of virtue (*dharmāvatāra*)¹ who conquered the earth with (*his*) younger brother Raṇakāsarin as did Prithā's first son (Yudhishtira) with the aid of his younger brother Bhīma who was like a lion in battle.

(V. 13.) Indeed! greater than even his grandfather (*as he is*) he would beat even his teacher in battle with his prowess and strength; who would therefore be his vanquisher (*karttana*)? The crowd of enemies considering him Balarjuna, (to be) an all-conqueror amongst practisers of arms, gave up the hope even for their lives (*as they had done*) already for their wealth [like the foes of Arjuna (*i.e.* the sons of Dhṛitarāshṭra) who first gave up their hope for wealth when they found that young Arjuna promised to excel Bhishma and surpass Drōṇa in prowess. What was Karṇa before him in the practice of weapons!]

(V. 14.) He who took deceptive forms for destroying the enemies, who was born black (Kṛishṇa) on this (*earth*) and who again becomes in the future also sinful (Kalki)—that Hari (Viṣṇu) could not really stand comparison with him who kills his enemies without practising any deception, who bears the utmost whiteness² and who has no sinful motives.

(V. 15.) Of that lord of men, the conqueror in fierce battles, the illustrious Vāsata was the mother, like the very mane (*śaṭā*) of the man-lion form (of Viṣṇu) bewildering the minds (*even*) of wise men (and of the gods), just like the mother of him who rides the peacock (Kārttikeya), the daughter of the mountain (*viz.* Pārvati).

(V. 16.) Born in the unblemished family of the Varmans great on account of (*their*) supremacy over Magadha, the illustrious (and) pious king Sūryavarman who had caused trembling in the hearts of the gods by his virtuous acts, having got this daughter, obtained the very proud honour of being the father-in-law of the great lord (*Paramēśvara*) of the East, like Himāchala (who obtained before a similar honour by marrying his daughter Pārvati to the great god (*paramēśvara*), Śiva).

¹ [Dharmāvatāra may have been a *biruda* of the king.—H. K. S.]

² [Perhaps the king had the surname Atyantadīnava.—H. K. S.]

³ [It is worthy of note that the Śaṅkha-pura kings Mahājayaśīla and Mahāsodara granted villages in the Eastern country (Pūrva-nāṣṭra); Gupta Inscriptions, pp. 192, 195, 197 and 199.—Ed.].

(V. 17.) Even after (*her*) lord went to heaven, in spite of her always observing fasts and austerities, which cause leanness (*of the body*), her unaltered limbs retained their natural charming grace.

(V. 18.) She, like the Vēdas, was the shelter to the people belonging to the four *varṇas* (castes) and *āśramas*¹ (or) like Policy to a kingdom, like Wisdom (*herself*) in deciding between truth and falsehood, (*and*) the goddess of Wealth herself to the greedy. The spread of all sins was checked by her and the earth that was about to abandon her fidelity (*by wooing, so to speak, the Kali age*) was again reminded by her, as a friend, of the *krīta* (*age*) for the sake of reunion [as a lady's maid reminds her mistress of (*her husband's*) acts to bring about a union (*between them*) when somewhat disturbed.]

(V. 19.) By whom Kali during his own regime (*i.e.* the Kali age) was dishonoured, that Kali who boasted of having access even to Damayanti² in olden times.

(V. 20.) By her this eternal abode of the lord Hari was caused to be made, to show exactly (*the abode Vaiṣṇaṭha*) where her deceased lord lived worshipping daily the imperishable (*Vishṇu in the heavens*).

(V. 21.) Oh kings! do not turn your minds to sins, seeing what has been clearly described of this wonderful world (*samsāra*) under the guise of the temple (*i.e.*) the diversity of acts of all creatures high and low— with cage-like bodies (*passing*) through various stages of existence—from the celestial beings (*downwards*).

(V. 22.) This itself tells the kings the appropriate fate of destruction and protection (*of charity*) by (*the waving of*) its flags (*tossed*) by the unsteady wind, in one moment going down, and in another rising up towards the sky.

(V. 23.) On the very bank of (*this*) ocean of the world, the great boat of *dharma* has been placed to cross it. This must be protected by kings. Neglected (*it*) would sink down.

(V. 24.) O (*future*) kings! (*Now*) listen to the perpetuation which the poet Chintā-turāṅka Īśāna, author of the *prajastī*, submits to you for the protection of it (*i.e.* the charity).

(V. 25.) Tōḍaṅkaṇa, Madhuvēḍha, Nalipadra, Kurapadra and in this place (*sthāna*) Vāṇapadra,— these five villages are given.

(V. 26³.) Of these (*villages*) three shares have been divided in three ways for (*the maintenance of*) the almshouse, the repair of breaks and cracks (*in the temple*) and the support of the servants of the sanctuary (*one share being allotted for each of the purposes*).

(V. 27.) The fourth share has been divided into fifteen parts. These are (*for*) twelve Brāhmaṇas, four for each Vēda.

(V. 28.) Brahma-Trivikrama, Arka and another Viṣṇudēva, as well as Mahirādēva (*are*) the four best learned in the Ṛigvēda.

¹ The Śūdras cannot study the Vēdas and have no *āśramas*.

² Damayanti pretended that she would remarry, thinking that hearing this news, her husband Nala would come forward and disclaim himself, and although her intention was most noble, she nevertheless committed a sin by pronouncing an unholy wish, and Kali thus secured a victory over this exemplary chaste lady, who was free from sin by act, thought or speech. The 19th verse alludes to this occurrence, and I am indebted to Pandit Hirananda, M.A., Officiating Principal of the Oriental College, Lahore, for pointing it out to me and for his kindness in going over the manuscript.

³ I am indebted to Mr. Kṛishṇa Śāstri for pointing out that *संन्यस्त* has a technical sense here. *वादन* he thinks means 'the sanctuary', both of which I have adopted in the translation.

(V. 29.) Similarly, Kapardōpadhyāya, Bhāskara, Madhusūdana and Vēdagarbha (are) the four fully conversant with the Yajurveda.

(V. 30.) Again, Bhāskaradēva, Sthirōpadhyāya, Trailōkyahamsa and Mōudḍha (are) the four accomplished in the Sāmaveda.

(V. 31.) Their sons and grandsons (*who succeed them*) should be such as offer sacrifice to fire and know the six supplements of the Vēdas, who are not addicted to gambling, prostitutes and such other (*bad associations*), who have their mouths clean (*apīṭṭaka*) and who are not servants.

(V. 32.) If one does not answer to this description, (*he should be abandoned*); also one who dies sonless—in their places must be appointed other Brāhmaṇas possessing the foregoing qualifications.

(V. 33.) He should be their relative, advanced in age while being learned. He should be appointed by their consent alone and not by order of the king.

(V. 34.) Further, (*there are*) the Brāhmaṇa Vāsavanandin who at sacrifices declares holidays¹ and the two Bhāgavatas by name Vāmana and Śrīdhara.

(V. 35.) These fifteen parts, (*the alienation of which is*) prohibited by gift, sale and mortgage, must all be (*thus*) enjoyed by virtuous men. The writer of this is Ārya-Gopṇa.

(V. 36.) The village which is on a low level² and is known as Vargullaka is separately given (*as a supplementary contribution*) for the maintenance of the almshouse, for *bali*, *charu* and *nivēdya* to the god.

(V. 37.) All the transactions should be performed unanimously by the principal Brāhmaṇas (resident there), and the worshippers (*pādamaṇḍa*) meeting together.

(V. 38.) Oh kings! protect this organization. Let this arrangement of mutual obligation continue (*for ever*). Alas! what indeed, will be the future of your fame!

(V. 39.) The establishment of (*the places of*) *punya* (*i.e. almshouses, etc.*) by those who destroy the (*deeds of*) glory of others is just like an elephant-bath (*throwing dust on one's own head*) or an axe for (*cutting one's*) feet. Therefore, seeing that riches are as fickle as the eyes of an intoxicated woman, it is better to follow the path of virtue and³

(V. 40.) He who was distinguished for the nobility of his character and family and whose name was Kādara, became the helmsman of the boat of virtue in the ocean of existence for the queen and got this great receptacle of religious merit built completely.

(V. 41.) The illustrious king Śivagupta the three worlds, gave to Gōpārya-Bhaṭṭa

(V. 42.) One part of this (*gift*) which is to be enjoyed by a virtuous Brāhmaṇa is reserved for one who is well read in the *Śāstras* and (*their*) commentaries, as well as the Vēdas and is of excellent character.

¹ [*Puṇyāṇa-vācaka* (as Mr. Hirahar has read) is a priest who officiates in all auspicious ceremonies and proclaims by certain mantras a happy day to the ceremony and its performer.—H. K. S.]

² [*Tala* *śca* may be more appropriately translated 'close at hand'.—H. K. S.]

³ [Following the note 10 on page 193 above, I translate:—'O men! keep therefore (your) virtue, which is lovely as milk, unswilled'.—H. K. S.]

Geographical names in the records of the Somavamsi kings of (Katak) Vatiospora, with identifications where ascertained.

| Designation of the record and reference to its publication. | Place of find. | Name of place whence issued. | Villages granted. | Name of country in which the village granted was situated. | Granted's residence and place from which he emigrated. | REMARKS. |
|---|----------------|--|--|---|--|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| A.—Patnā copper-plate grant of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. III. p. 341. | Patnā State | (1) Mūrasīma = Mursīgā, in Patnā State, about 13 miles south-west of Bolangir, the present capital of Patnā State. | (1) Vakaveddā = probably Bakti, 15 miles north of Bolangir and 4 miles south of the Oḡā river. | (1) Oḡāśāṭa-vāḥayān = district on the bank of the Oḡā river which flows in Patnā forming the boundary between it and Sompur in the north. | (1) Lōśīrīgā = Lolāḡā, the head-quarters of a Zamindār of the same name in Patnā State, 11 miles north of Bolangir.
(2) Khandakabātrā = Khandaparnā in the tributary state of the same name touching the south-western boundary of Cuttack district. | In all the inscriptions of these kings they are invariably recorded as lords of Trikalīḡā, which is identified with Teluḡā and is believed to have included the whole of Orissa. |
| | | | | | (3) Liptāḡā = probably Lepā (?), 6 miles south-east of Bolangir.
(4) Pampāsurī.
(5) Oḡāśīrīgā = probably Udayagiri in Cuttack district, 4 miles from the celebrated Bhuvnēśvar.
(6) Kōṭāleḡā = probably Kōṭara in Bora Samānt Zamindārī of Sambalpur district, 4 miles from Narasingdāth.
(7) Kālīgā = country on the coast of Bay of Bengal, Kālīgānāḡā = Mākhilāḡā in the Ganjam district. | |

| | | | | | |
|--|--|---|--|---|--|
| B.—Katak copper-plate grant of the 31st year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. III. p. 345. | Chandwār opposite Cuttack on the other side of the Mahānadi. | (2) Ārāma or Pleasure garden. | (2) Bapdā = Rendā in Patnā State, 6 miles east of Bolangir. | (2) Pōva-vishaya = Pow in Soupur State, 19 miles south of Binkā, 12 miles north-east of Bolangir and 8 miles north-east of Rendā. | (8) Turvunā.

(9) Takārī = possibly the one, 10 miles north-west of Ōya. |
| C.—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year. Above, Vol. III. p. 345. | Chandwār opposite Cuttack. | Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No. (2). | (4) Arkigrāmā | (4) Turvunā-Khanda = Turvun on the Mahānadi, 27 miles south of Sambalpur.

Kōśala-dēśa same as No. (3). | Turvunā, same as No. (8).

Takārī, same as No. (9). |
| D.—Katak copper-plate grant of the same year. Above, Vol. III. p. 345. | Chandwār opposite Cuttack. | Ārāma or Pleasure garden, same as No. (2). | (5) Tulūpā or Tulūpā = Tulenā, 6 miles north of Bolangir in Patnā State. | (5) Santanā-vishaya = probably Sonda, 11 miles east of Soupur.

Kōśala-dēśa, same as No. (3). | Turvunā, same as No. (8).

Takārī, same as No. (9). |
| E.—Katak copper-plate grant of the 19th year of Mahābhavagupta I. Above, Vol. III. p. 351. | Found among the official records at Cuttack. | (3) Vintapura = Binkā on the Mahānadi in the Soupur State, about 16 miles up. | (6) Candugāmā | (8) Maunda-vishaya

(9) Dakshina-Kōśalā, i.e., north of Kōśalā. | (10) Sūkhbhañja-pāṭi.

(11) Ōdra-dēśa = Orissa.

(12) Śrīvallagrāma = probably Ilgrāma, 20 miles from Ayodhya.

(13) Madhya-dēśa = The country lying between the Himālaya, the Vindhya, Vindhya in the west and Prayāga in the east. Takārā, probably same as No. (9). |

In plates issued from Vintapura or Yayatiguzara, the well-known river Mahānadi which rises in the Raipur District and falls into the Bay of Bengal is mentioned.

Geographical names in the records of the Śamavānīś kings of (Katak) Vinātapura, with identifications where ascertained—contd.

| Designation of the record and reference to its publication. | Place of find. | Name of place whence issued. | Villages granted. | Name of country in which the village granted was situated. | Grantee's residence and place from which he emigrated. | REMARKS. |
|--|---|--|--|---|---|--|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| F.—Katak copper-plate grant of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagupta II. Above, Vol. III. p. 365. | Believed to have been found somewhere close to Cuttack. | (4) Yayātinagara, apparently another name of Vinātapura No. (3). | (7) Gaṇḍasimīpāli. | (10) Kāśala-Sūkhānagadyanā (Khaḍgiyanāg) viśaya. | (14) Singā-grāma = probably Singhar in the Khariār Zamindārī in the extreme south of the Raipur district.
(15) Dēvabhūga-viśaya = Deobhog in the Hindra Nāgārāh Zamindārī in the extreme south of Raipur District. Kōm-lā(dēa) = Chhattāgarh.
(16) Kāśālī.
(17) Śrīvastī-maṇḍala in Oudh, round about the present Sabet Mahet. Lohāringā, same as No. (1).
(18) Kōmāpīra. | |
| G.—Pāṭā copper plates of the 6th year of Mahābhavagupta I. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol. I. p. 4. | Pāṭā State | Mūrasīma, same as No. (1). | (9) Pāṭāliṅga = Pāṭāli, 2 miles east of Bolangir. | (11) Pāṭā? probably same as No. (9). | | |
| H.—Pāṭā copper plates of the 8th year of Mahābhavagupta. J. A. S. B. 1905, Vol. I. p. 6. | Pāṭā State | Vinātapura, same as No. (3). | (9) Talakajja = Talakaja, 10 miles south-east of Bolangir.
(10) Dāśinārī anadī. This is probably now known as Nīmarutī river to the north of which is Jalajoda and to its south Talakaja, the distance between the two villages being only 3 miles. | (12) Samūlā = Solanūlā in Patna State, 20 miles south of Bolangir and 23 miles south-west of Talakaja.
Kōśala-dēśa, same as No. 8. | (19) Jalajōdā = Jalajōdā near Talakaja, 10 miles south-east of Bolangir.
(20) Madhūlā. | The plates mention the Chedi country which lay south of the Jamna and extended at least up to the Bilhāpur District of the Central Provinces; also Pabāpā, probably another name of Pāṭā, or Jabalpur country. |

| | | | | | |
|---|--|---|---|--|--|
| L.—Patṇa copper plates of the 24th year of Mahāśi vāg up t a. J. A. S. B. 1806, Vol. I, p. 7. | Patṇa State | Yayātingara, same as No. (4). | (11) Hāhālī or Dāhālī. | (13) Telāṭa — country on the bank of the river Tel, a tributary of Mahā-matī rising in Kāśī-land and joining it at Sonpur. | (21) Antaraḍī. |
| J.—Patṇa copper plates of the 28th year of Mahāśi vāg up t a. J. A. S. B. 1806, Vol. I, p. 8. | Patṇa State | Yayātingara, same as No. (4). | (12) Lanturānā. | Kōśala, same as No. (9). | Kāśī, same as No. (16). |
| K.—Kudopali plates of the time of Mahābhavagya II. Above, Vol. IV, p. 256. | Kudopali in Bargarh taluq of Sambalpur district. | (5) Vāmanpāṭī — Bānā, a feudatory state in Bengal still called by the Oriyas Bānāpāḍī. Hānāpāḍī (old capital of Bānā) is 60 miles north-east of Bānā. | (13) Lōṭerā, a village of the same name in Bargarh taluq of Sambalpur District, 13 miles south-east of Bargarh and 16 miles south-west of Sambalpur. It is 9 miles south of Sarapāḍā and 3 miles south of Kudopali. | (14) Gīḷāṇḍā (correctly, Sīḷāṇḍā)-maṇḍala, is the same as Sarapāḍā in Bargarh taluq, 11 miles south-west of Sambalpur town. | (23) Hantipada. Lāṇasura is mentioned as the inscription writer's rent-house. |
| L.—Nāgpur Museum plates of the 8th year of Mahābhavagya I. Above, Vol. VIII, p. 188. | Sāḷamā in Sambalpur district. | M[ā]ṇṇa, same as No. 1. | (14) Petaḷamā — Sāḷamā, in Bargarh taluq of Sambalpur District, 15 miles south of Bargarh and 33 miles south-west of Sambalpur. | (15) Kāśāḷāḍī-vishaya — Kuārā, 15 miles south-west of Bargarh and 34 miles south-west of Sambalpur. It is 10 miles north-west of Sāḷamā. | (24) Morujunga. (25) Parichhannaḍapa in Oḷān-ḍēśa (same as No. 11). |
| M.—Sonpur copper plates of the 3rd year of Mahābhavagya I. Above, p. 98 E. | Sonpur | Suvarṇasura — Sonpur on the Mahānadi, the capital of a feudatory state of the same name in Bengal. | (15) Vāhantantālī — Bantantālī in Sonpur State, 16 miles west of Sonpur town. | (16) Lurpāṭārī-ḷāṇḍā, probably the same as No. 3 of column 6. | (25) Mānḍā — Mānḍā, 17 miles west of Sonpur. (27) Kāśāḷāḍī-vishaya — Kāśāḷāḍī, a feudatory state contiguous to Sonpur, the village Bānāḷāḷ being 45 miles from Sonpur. |

✓ No. 20.—THE INSCRIPTION ON THE WARDAK VASE.

By F. E. PARGITER, M.A., L.C.S. (RETD.)

The Wardak vase or urn was found by Masson in the topes of Khawat in the district of Wardak in Afghanistan during the years 1834-7. He called the place Kohwāt and gave this description of it:—"These topes are situated on the course of the river, which, having its source in the Hazārajāt, flows through Loghar into the plain east of Kabul, where it unites with the stream passing through the city. They are distant about 30 miles to the west of Kabul" (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117). The map of Kabul and its neighbourhood compiled by the Survey Department of India shows the district as "Khawat or Wardak," and as lying from 34 to 50 miles south-west of Kabul. Khawat therefore and not Kohwāt is the correct name of the spot where the vase was found in the Wardak district. Masson's description of the finding of the vase is this:—"There are five or six topes, strictly so called, with numerous *tumuli* I found that three or four of these structures had been opened at some unknown period; and before the present Afghan inhabitants had dispossessed the former occupants, Hazāras, about one hundred years since . . . In the principal tope an internal cupola was enclosed, or rather had been I directed certain operations to be pursued, even with the opened topes, and pointed out a number of *tumuli* which I wished to be examined, as they were very substantially constructed: the results proved successful, in great measure, and comprised seven vases of metal and steatite, with other and various deposits. One of the brass vases was surrounded with a Bactro-Pali inscription, of which I did not take a copy, as to have done so I must have cleansed it. I was averse to take this liberty, being aware that the characters being firmly dotted in could by no chance be obliterated" (*Ariana Antiqua*, 117-8).

The inscription was copied and published in a plate, which is numbered X in E. Thomas's Edition of *Prinsep's Essays*, vol. 1; and E. Thomas there says:—"I have devoted plate X to the exhibition of the inscription on the brass urn discovered in a tope about 30 miles west of Kabul in the district of Wardak. This urn, which in shape and size approximates closely to the ordinary water-vessels in use in India to this day, has originally been thickly gilt, and its surface has in consequence remained so excellently well preserved, that every puncture of the dotted legend may be satisfactorily discriminated" (*ibid*, 161-2). He tried to decipher the inscription and published his results there. Mr. E. C. Bayley then took the inquiry up but was not satisfied with his endeavours, and the elucidation was then entrusted to Babu Rajendralala Mitra. He published his rendering of the inscription together with the same plate in *J. A. S. B.*, 1861, p. 337, to which Mr. Bayley added a note (*ibid*, p. 347). Prof. J. Dowson next undertook the decipherment of this and other records in the Kharōṣṭhī character and published his results together with the same plate in *J. R. A. S.*, 1863, vol. XX, pp. 221-68. His scrutiny left many parts of this inscription still undeciphered, and so the matter rested. Other scholars have given some attention to this inscription lately but were unable to complete the investigation.¹ Dr. Fleet then asked me in November 1910 to undertake the work, and supplied me with excellent ink-impressions. I now publish the results that I have been able to obtain.²

This vase is now in the British Museum, and I have inspected it and compared the ink-impressions with the inscription. The vase is 6·9 inches high and 6·6 inches broad at its

¹ See for instance M. Senart's rendering of part, *Journal Asiat.*, sér. 3, vol. XIV (1890), p. 121; and sér. 2, vol. VII (1896), p. 8; and Prof. Lüders', *J. R. A. S.*, 1909, p. 661.

² I have to thank Dr. F. W. Thomas for valuable suggestions and criticisms on my results; and for the convenience of scholars I have mentioned many of them, at his desire, when they differ from my results.

widest part. Dr. Read tells me that it bears no traces of ever having been gilt, but that parts of the brass might have presented a brilliant appearance like gold, if they had been protected by remaining in contact with certain earth while buried in the tumulus.

The inscription is in the Kharōshthī script and consists of two portions. The first is written in three lines encircling the shoulder of the vase; and the second consisting of one line is written around the broadest part of the vase below the former and separated from it by three lines, and occupies not quite half the circumference. The first is the main portion and is in letters varying generally from $\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in height. In the fourth line or second portion the letters are about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch longer and correspondingly broad. They are formed of minute dents pricked into the metal, and the dents are so close together that from 8 to 10 are generally contained in $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in the first three lines, and from 7 to 8 in the last line.

The two plates annexed hereto, giving a facsimile of the record, have been prepared under Dr. Fleet's supervision from the ink-impressions which also were made under his direction. The shape of the part of the vase where lines 1 and 2 lie is such that ink-impressions of them cannot be made without introducing a gap at some point or another; the place selected was naturally that where the record begins, and a supplementary ink-impression was made of that part of the record and has been reproduced below the complete lines. It shows how the lines run right round the vase without any blank space in line 1, and with only a small space at the end of line 2, and gives in their complete forms the final *ti* of line 1 and the initial *i* of line 2, which are not perfect in the circular impression. To have reproduced line 3 in one piece would have entailed a somewhat cumbersome folding plate, hence it has been treated in three parts overlapping each other; thus 3-B repeats the last six syllables of 3 A, and 3 C repeats the last five syllables of 3 B and also shows at its end the *bha* with which 3 A begins. A fourth piece 3 D has been added to show how this line also practically runs quite round the vase, and contains the last seven and the first eight letters of the line.

The style of the script is that of the Kushana inscriptions portrayed by Bühler in Table I of his *Indische Palæographie*, cols. x to xii. Further specimens of the script have been published lately, namely, the Taxila plate by Bühler (E. I. iv, 54), the Taxila vase by Prof. Lüders (E. I. viii, 296) and the Mathurā Lion-capital by Dr. F. W. Thomas (E. I. ix, 135). Mr. E. Thomas in discussing this inscription spoke of "the little care that has been taken to mark the nicer shades of diversity of outline which, in many cases, constitute the only essential difference between characters of but little varying form" (*Prinsep's Essays*, vol. I, p. 162). But it seems to me after a careful and detailed comparison of the letters, that the inscription has been carefully made, the letters are generally well-formed, only a few clerical errors occur, and the distinctions between letters which are similar in shape are generally expressed clearly¹ except as regards two particular letters, *y* and *ś*. For instance, *t* and *r* have the same general shape, and are fairly well distinguished, in that the downward stroke of *t* is usually of about the same length as the horizontal stroke, while in *r* it is generally about twice as long; and in only one or two places is the difference neglected. No distinction is made between long and short vowels, and the only special form that need be mentioned is *nē* in *munē* (l. 1).

The exception just referred to occurs in the letters *y* and *ś*, and these are the only letters that cause real uncertainty. Ordinarily *y* has a pointed top and *ś* a flat top, but the distinction is very far from being observed here and is indeed more often ignored; especially since sometimes the top has an intermediate roundish form and sometimes the letters are distorted by

¹ Characters should primarily be read as what they strictly appear to be, and the resultant words accepted and scrutinized. This is essential in dealing with the endless diversities in the different kinds of Prākṛit. To read characters so as to agree with the commoner forms of the Prākṛit words intended seems to be almost certain to obscure Prākṛit modifications that may be important critically and linguistically. See p. 208, note 2.

being tilted over to the right. We may confidently read *y* in *iya Khavadamri* (I. 1), and *i* in *Śakya* and *śarira* (I. 1), *śara* (I. 3 A) and *śaphatiga* (I. 3 B); but in all other instances it is hardly possible to say positively, solely from the shape of the letter, whether it is *y* or *i*, and regard must be had to the meaning. This is well illustrated by the word *pyas* which occurs thrice in I. 2 and once in I. 3 B. The *y* has a different shape in each of these places; in the last place it has undoubtedly the form of *i*, and in all the other places its appearance is far more that of *i*, than of *y*. In all these instances then what looks like *i* is really *y*. Hence it is clear we must be prepared for similar confusion in other passages where one or other of these letters is intended, and the decision must rest mainly, if not entirely, on the sense. Thus we can read without doubt *y* in *Arjameiyasa* (I. 1) and in *paḍiyamśam* (II. 2 and 3 C); and *i* in the words *kusala* (I. 2), *mahiśa* (II. 2 and 3 B) and also in *paḍiyamśam*. There remain some words in which *y* or *i* is combined with a vowel mark or another consonant, and, since *y* is written sometimes with a flat or rounded top, there would be nothing surprising if its top is made wide in order to find room where the vowel marks *i* and *o* have to be inserted, so that *yi* and *yo* would then look like *ii* and *io*. Accordingly *y* and not *i* appears to be the correct reading in *kadalayigra* (I. 1), *pariyata* (I. 3 A), *jalayuga* (I. 3 B), and *yo adra* (I. 3 A); while *i* is right in *śōcha* (I. 2); while what looks like *asamśrana* (I. 4) is doubtful. These words will be discussed in the Notes *infra*.

The characters for *b* and *v* require some notice. *V* proper approximates to the character for *b*, but they are distinguished in that the top line is flat in *v* and is curved upwards on the left side in *b*. Thus we have *v* initial in *vagra* (thrice, II. 1, 2) and *vihara* (II. 1, 4) and medial in *bharagra* (I. 3 A) and *avashatri* (I. 3 C); while *b* occurs in *bhradaba* (I. 2) and *nabagra* (I. 3 A); and in conformity therewith it is proper to read *b* rather than *v* in *paridhātī* (I. 1). Another character is found for what is properly *va*, which occurs only as a medial and is evidently distinguished from *va* proper, for it is always small and without the stroke to the left at the bottom. It is used in *bhavate* always, also in *bhagravada* (I. 1) and *pariśra* (I. 3 C), and apparently in *Khavadamri* (I. 1). This difference in shape may denote a difference in value, and this small form may perhaps have had the sound of *w*.

No distinction appears to be recognized between the letters *ṇ* and *ṇ̄*. A slight difference may be perceived between the character in *imēna* (I. 1) and *mulēna* (I. 2) and that in *Haṣṭana* (I. 2) and *avashatrigana* (I. 3 C); and that constitutes the difference which Bühler has shown in his Table I, cols. x and xi; but his form of *ṇ̄* occurs here, not only in words where it should properly appear as in *sarvina* and *Rohana* (I. 3 B), but also in words where it is inadmissible as in *imēna* (I. 1), *mulēna* (I. 2) and *satrana* (I. 3 A). There appears therefore to be no real distinction observed between *ṇ* and *ṇ̄*, and this is what Prof. Lüders has noticed in his paper on the Taxila vase (E. I. viii, 297).

A letter that presents some difficulty is that which I read as *ḍi* in *gaḍigrēna* (I. 1) and *paḍiyamśam* (twice II. 2, 3 C). It is one and the same in all three places, for its form in the first and second places is identical, and, though it varies somewhat in the third place, yet it occurs there in precisely the same expression *agra bhaga paḍiyamśam* as in the second, and must be the same in these two places.¹ Hence it must be read the same in all. It is certainly

¹ The letter has a tail or stroke to the right at the bottom; in the first two places the stroke is a straight line and in the third an upward curve. The difference seems to be intentional. In discussing the *r* stroke *infra* (p. 206) I have pointed out the difference made in it in the two portions into which the inscription must be divided, namely, the straight *r* stroke does not denote a real *r* in the first portion but does so in the second. The first two instances of this letter occur in the first portion, and its tail being made straight there like the unreal *r* could not create a misunderstanding; but in the third instance, which occurs in the second portion, that straight stroke might have suggested a real *r* stroke, and misunderstanding has been avoided by turning the tail into a curve, which has no special significance in the second portion (though it does represent a real *r* in the first portion).

not *ri*. M. Senart has taken it as *ti* and Prof. Lüders as *tri*, thus they read the word as *patiamśaē* and *patriyamśaē* respectively;¹ but I do not think it is *ti* or *tri*, because the right shoulder of the character is carried upwards far higher than in all other instances of the letter *t*,² and it differs from the genuine *ti* found in *paridhabēti* (l. 1), *vajatibaja*, *natigra*, *sambhātī* (l. 2) and *śaphatiga* (l. 3B), and from the *tri* found in *avashatī* (l. 3C). There is no other letter that it resembles except *ḍ* and *ḍh*, which are figured in Bühler's Table I and in Dr. Thomas's Table IV (E. I. ix, 146). The word is evidently the same as in *agrapatiasaē* on the Mānikyāla stone, in *agrapatyaiatāyē* (E. I., i, 390, n° XVIII) and in *agrēbhāva-pratyamśiatāyāstu* (E. I., i, 240) as noticed by M. Senart and Prof. Lüders.³ Since this letter corresponds to the first *t* in those words, it cannot be *ḍhī* and can only be *ḍi*, which in this Prākṛit represents that *t* as will be explained (p. 208). This then is a modified or new form of *ḍ*.

A character occurs, which must apparently be a final *anuvāra*, in the word *paḍiyamśam* (ll. 2, 3C). M. Senart and Prof. Lüders have read it as *ē* as noticed above, but *ē* occurs in *bhagraē* and *puyaē* (ll. 2, 3B) and *dachhīnaē* (l. 3A) and is wholly different from this letter, so that it cannot be *ē*. Moreover, it is quite different from the *ē* in *agrapatiasaē* on the Mānikyāla stone.⁴ All the letters in the Kharoṣṭhī script have been figured by Bühler in his Table I and by Dr. Thomas in his Table IV (E. I. ix, 146) except *ā*. This character is like none of these, nor can it be *ā* which never occurs as a final in Prākṛit. The only other sound for which no separate character has been met with is *m* standing by itself as a final. *Anuvāra* is generally denoted by a leftward curve added to the bottom of a consonant, as in *śam* (l. 1), *sambhātī* (l. 2), *āmtara* (l. 3A) and thrice in l. 4; but, if it should be difficult or inconvenient to add the curve to certain characters, such as *ku*, *bu* or *ho*, final *m* could only be expressed by some independent sign, so that presumably there must have been some character to denote it in such cases; and it appears to be this character. The construction of the sentence supports this inference. It is not necessary to suppose that the dative is intended after *bhāvatu* here, for the construction with *bhāvatu* is clearly changed afterwards to the nominative, as in *agra bhaga bhāvatu* (l. 3C), and here the construction is evidently similar. *Paḍiyamśam* is obviously the nominative to *bhāvatu* which follows it in both places; and, as its termination is not masculine nor feminine, it must be a neuter nominative ending in *m* (see p. 209). This character can hardly denote a final *m*, because *m* does not occur as a final in Prākṛit, as far as I know, except in poetry where a short syllable is required or before a vowel,⁵ and neither of these conditions exists here; yet it would come practically to the same result if this character be read as final *m*.

A letter occurs which appears to be a new form of *ph*. It is discussed in the note on the word *śaphatiga* (l. 3B), *infra*, p. 217.

As regards compound letters, we have *ṛi* in *Arṭa°* (l. 1), *ry* in *paryata* (l. 3A), *ṣr* or *ry* in *asaṁśrana* (l. 4), *shk* in *Hōvēśhkasya* (l. 2) and *shṣ* in *Haṣṭuna* (l. 2). *Re* occurs plainly in *sarva* (l. 3A) and the first *sarvina* (l. 3B), and is apparently intended by the similar character without the loop in the second *sarvina* (l. 3B). *Tv* appears to be meant by the *t* with the upright line added in *satsana* (l. 3A); and a new letter which I take to be *mḥi* in *ṣumbimri* (l. 1) is discussed in the Notes (p. 213).

¹ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII (1896), p. 10; J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 661.

² This seems to me a most important feature and constitutes a strong reason why the letter cannot be read as *t*; besides which the arguments mentioned in note 3 on p. 208 militate against its being read as *t*, and this character, if taken as *t*, would add a fourth form to the three noticed there. Dr. Thomas however would read it as *t*.

³ Journ. Asiat., sér. 9, vol. VII, pp. 8-10; J. R. A. S., 1900, p. 661.

⁴ See plate in Journ. Asiat., sér. 9; vol. VII, p. 8.

⁵ See Fischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 348, 349.

The letter *y* as the second member of a compound letter is well illustrated here, being formed by a rightward hook added to the tail of the first member as in *arupya* (l. 3 B). Since the tail is often curved to the left, the addition of the hook gives the appearance of a double curve as in *Kamagulya* (l. 1) and *tya* in *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), or even a triple curve as in *Śakya* (l. 1). This conjoint *y*-mark is added to another letter which resembles *d* or *n*, but the compound can only denote *sy* in the genitive termination *asya* because of its position. It is best formed in *masya* (l. 1), *Hōśāhkaśya* (l. 2), *Vagra Marēgrasya* (l. 2) and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), somewhat variant in *Haṣṭana Marēgrasya* (l. 2), and badly shaped in *Marēgrasya* (l. 1).

The mark for *r* as the second member of a compound letter is a stroke to the right attached to the lowest point of the first member. It occurs often and raises some interesting questions. Dr. Thomas found on the Mathurā Lion-capital that conjunct *r* is so represented and also in two other ways, namely, by a similar stroke to the left and by a dot (E. I. ix, 137). The dot is not so used in this inscription. The stroke to the left occurs often, but has no significance; thus (to cite only a few instances) it is added to an initial *a* sometimes as in *Arjamaśiyasa* (l. 1), *agra* sometimes (ll. 2, 3) and *arupya* (l. 3 B), to the first *ja* but not the two others in *maharaja rajatiraja* (l. 2) and to *bha* in *bhacatu* sometimes but not always (ll. 2, 3). These illustrations also shew that it cannot denote the doubling of a letter, nor a distinction between the vowels *a* and *ā*, nor the vowel *u* or *ri*. It seems to be a mere flourish in finishing the tails of letters written from right to left.

This stroke to the right occurs chiefly with the letter *ga*, which represents the suffix *ka* and is thus a very common termination and a very useful criterion for dividing the words. It occurs with *t* in *avashatī* (l. 3 C), thrice with *d* in *puḍra* (l. 1), *midra* (l. 2) and *adra* (l. 3 A),¹ and once with *bh* in *bhṛadaba* (l. 2). In all these words, except perhaps the first, this *r* stroke represents a real *r*, and it is only in conjunction with *g* that uncertainty arises.

The letter *g* occurs both with and without this *r* stroke. The downward line of *g* ends straight in *jalayuga* (l. 3 B) and *bhaga* (twice in l. 3 C), and has the slight leftward flourish in *arōga* (l. 3 A), *śaphatiga* (l. 3 B), *avashatrigana* and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C), and *saṃghigana* (l. 4). In all other places the rightward stroke appears, and in discussing it we must divide the inscription into two parts, the first part down to *bhacagra* (l. 3 A) and the second comprising the remainder. In the first part it has two shapes; first a horizontal stroke more or less straight, as in *gaḍigrīna*, *kadalayigra*, *Marigra* and *bhagravada*² (l. 1), *Marēgrasya* (ll. 1, 2), *bhagraś*, *natigra*, *saṃbhatigrana* and *bhagra* (l. 2), *nabagra* and *bhāvagra* (l. 3 A); and secondly, an upward curve which appears always in *Vagra* (ll. 1, 2) and *agra* (l. 2 twice). In the first part then the curved form represents a genuine *r* in *agra* and apparently also in *Vagra*, and the straight form is used in all the other cases and always incorrectly, for even in *Marēgra* and *Marigra* the *gra* probably does not contain a real *r*. In the second part, however, the *r* stroke is never added to *g* except where there is a real *r*, as in *agra* (l. 3 C) and *parigrāha* (l. 4), and then it is denoted by the straight horizontal stroke which is the correct form.

It appears therefore that it was discovered while the record was being inscribed on the vase, that the straight *r* stroke was being improperly inserted, and that the fault was corrected after the word *bhāvagra*; hence the difference between the first and second parts. The horizontal form, which is the correct sign, is used with *g* in the second part, and with all other consonants throughout the inscription, wherever a real conjunct *r* occurs; but in the first part a distinction was made in the case of *g*, the horizontal stroke being improperly employed to represent an unreal *r*, and the curved form being used to denote a real *r*. This peculiarity was discovered and rectified after the word *bhāvagra* as mentioned. That word occurs in the middle of what seems to be a poetical quotation (see p. 218). Was it some discussion about the quotation that

¹ See p. 208, note 3.

² Compare *bhagravada* (A. II, line 12, in E. I. ix, 141) where Dr. Thomas styles the *r* stroke otiose (p. 142).

raised the question of orthography? Thus it might have been noticed that the addition of the unreal *r* vitiated the metre, as it certainly does in that word. Whatever be the explanation, it is certain that there is a difference in the use of the *r*-stroke with *g* in the two portions.

The persistent and incorrect addition of the horizontal *r* stroke to *g* throughout the first part cannot however be accidental, but must have some significance; and suggests that it denoted a modification of *g*. Such a modification could hardly be anything else than to give *g* the sound of *ḡ*. After I came to this conclusion, I found that Dr. Thomas had put forward a similar suggestion with regard to the peculiar *kr* which is employed on the Mathurā Lion-capital (E. I. ix, 137). There is however an important difference between this inscription and those on that capital, namely, that there an original *g* is hardened to *k*, as in *bhagravāt* (= *bhagavat*) and *nagravāsa* (= *nāgarakasa*), while here an original *k*, when not initial and not compounded, is (as will be explained, see below) softened to *g*. It seems probable therefore that *gr* in the first part here had the sound of *ḡ*, and that *kr* on that capital had a sound like *ḡ*. It will be convenient to transliterate this diacritical *r* as an italic *r*.

Similar to the *r* stroke is a straight stroke to the right, attached to the lowest point of the character for *mī*. It obviously denotes something different from plain *mī*, which occurs in *Arjamiyasa* (l. 1), *midra* (l. 2) and *Miṣyagasya* (l. 3 C). All the instances in which it appears are singular locative cases, and as the locative singular in the Prākṛite ends in *mī* or *mmī*, we may justly take this character *mīr* as meaning *mī*. It can hardly denote *mmī*, because this means a doubled *m*, and letters are never written double in this script. It will however be convenient to transliterate this stroke also as an italic *r*.

It seems therefore from this examination that the straight *r* stroke was used as a diacritical sign to denote a modification of the main consonant in certain cases, certainly with *g* and *m* here and with *k* on the Lion-capital, in the way of giving that consonant a rougher, thicker or doubled sound.

The language is a form of Prākṛit and in discussing its character the phonetic changes may be noticed first, and the inflectional forms afterwards. Vowels remain the same as in Sanskrit except that *au* is reduced to *ā*, and *ri* is replaced by *a* or *i*. There is no clear instance of the elision of consonants (except a final *t* once), not even of the semi-vowels *y* and *v* which are so liable to suffer in Prākṛit, except *y* of the genitive termination sometimes. Speaking generally the only changes that occur among consonants are, first, a uniform softening of all single tennues or hard consonants of the five classes to their corresponding medius or soft consonants; and secondly, the assimilation of the more difficult compound consonants. The changes may be conveniently set out in the form of rules.

Rule 1.—Sanskrit tennues or hard consonants, when not initial and not compounded, are changed to their corresponding medius or soft consonants. This holds good for *k*, *t* and *p* throughout,¹ except *t* in verbal terminations. Thus *d* represents an original *t*—*bhagravāda* = *bhagavata* (l. 1), *mada-pidara* = *mātā-pitara* and *bhradaba* = *bhrātāba* (l. 2). *B* represents an original *p*—*paridhābēti* = *paridhāpēti* (l. 1) and *nabagra* = *napagra* (l. 3 A). And *g* represents an original *k*, and thus the common suffix *ka* appears here as *ga*² or (with the diacritical *r* stroke discussed above) as *grā*—so *natigra* = *natika* and *sambhatigra* = *sambhatika* (l. 2), *nabagra* = *nripaka* (l. 3 A), *jalayuga* = *jālayuka* (l. 3 B), and *saṃghiga* = *saṃghika* (l. 4). Whether this corrective applies to the name *Marēgra* and its variant *Marigra* is doubtful; yet it does probably because the stroke in them is that of the unreal *r*. One exception occurs, *rajaṭiraja* (l. 2), in which the original *t* has been preserved, probably because it is a special royal title.

¹ Fischer's Prākṛit Grammar, § 192.

² *Ibid.* § 202.

This rule applied also to ¹, thus *paṭiyamāśa=paṭiyamāśa* (ll. 2, 3 C) for which see rule 6. Only one case of medial *ch* occurs, namely, *śōcha* (l. 2), and there the rule did not hold good if *śōcha*=Skt. *śaucha* (but see rule 4). The rule probably applied to aspirated tenses², but no instance occurs.

As mentioned above, an original *t* in verbal terminations remains unchanged; thus we find *paridhātī* (l. 1) and *bhāvata* (ll. 2, 3).

Rule 2.—Rule 1 applied also where an original medial *t* was compounded with *r*—thus *puḍra=putra* (l. 1), and *midra=mitra* (l. 2). The akṣara in these words is clearly *dr* and not *t* or *tr*, for it has exactly the form of *d* (as in *dachhinaś*, l. 3 A) with the *r* stroke, and there is no instance here where an undoubted *t* approximates to *d* in shape as it appears to do at times on the Lion-capital.³ But *t* combined with any other consonant was not softened, e.g., *antura=antara* (l. 3 A), and see note on *arupyata* (p. 217). The *t* in *Arjamsiriyasa* (l. 1) remains unchanged, but this is a Greek word.

Rule 3.—Consequently in reading this inscription it must be noted that, where a media or soft consonant occurs as a non-initial, it may represent an original media or (since consonants are never written double here) a doubled media, or the corresponding tenuis; thus *d* can represent original *d* or *dd* or *t*, and similarly *g* and *b*. So *d*=original *d* in *sada* (l. 3 B), and=original *t* in *wada* (l. 2), and *b*=*bb* in *bhradaba* which=*bhratabba*.

Rule 4.—Where a tenuis or hard consonant appears here singly (or combined with *r* or *s*) and as a non-initial (except *t* in verbal terminations), it represents a doubled letter, for otherwise it would have been modified according to rule 1. Thus as regards *t*, *natigra=nattigra=nattika* (by rule 1), and *sambhatigra=sambhattigra=sambhattika* (l. 2); *satra=sattra* (l. 3 A); and *arupyata=arupyattā* (l. 3 B). *Śōcha* would follow this rule if we read *śōchcha*=a possible Skt. form *śaucha*, but see rule 1. So also in the case of aspirated tenses; thus, *dachhinaś=dachchhinaś* (l. 3 A), and *aphatiga=apphattiga* (l. 3 B).

Rule 5.—Conjunct *y* appears only where respect required the full form of the word, as in the personal names whether in the nominative or in the genitive case, *Kamagulya* (l. 1), *Marāgrasya* (ll. 1, 2), *Hōvāśhkasya* (l. 2), and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C); and in the special term *arupyata* in a quotation (l. 3 B). Elsewhere it is assimilated, as in *Arjamsiriyas(s)a* (l. 1), and *bhradaba* (l. 2) which=*bhratabba* (by rule 3)=Skt. *bhrātrīya* (*vy* turning to *bb* as in *kabba* and

¹ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 198.

² *Ibid.* §§ 192, 200.

³ E.I. ix, plate IV at p. 146. Having regard to the forms used there, Dr. Thomas thinks that this letter *dr* is *t*, but there appear to me to be grave objections thereto. First, as handwritings varied, each writing must primarily be scrutinized by itself as urged in p. 203, note 1; here the writing is minute, neat and well-formed, so that the presumption is that the differences between characters were made deliberately and have their special significance. Secondly, *t* proper appears in the words *paryata*, *antura*, and *arupyata* (ll. 3 A and B), as well as in *paridhātī* (l. 1), *rajatibaja* (l. 2) and *aphatiga* (l. 3 B); and if this character *dr* is really *t* also, then *t* is made in two ways markedly different, and moreover without any reason, as we see especially in the compound words *natigra-midra-sambhatigra*, where there was no reason to write the *dr* in *midra* different from the *t* in the two other words, if they are all alike *t*. Thirdly, if this *dr* is *t*, all distinction between *t*, *tr* and *dr* would be obliterated, a conclusion that seems to me highly improbable, considering how important and significant these three letters *t*, *d* and *r* are in the different kinds of Prakrit. Fourthly, Sanskrit *t* medial and uncompounded is certainly changed to *d* in this Prakrit as shown under Rule 1, and the same change would be natural when *t* is compounded with *r* which is only a liquid, so that we should by analogy expect the *t* in Sanskrit *putra* and *mitra* to appear here as *d*. My readings of the three characters as *t* (as in the words cited above), *tr* (as in *acashatī*, l. 3 C) and *dr* (as in *puḍra*, *midra* and *adra*) give each character a consistent value throughout, a value which accords fully with definite phonetic changes; whereas, if we read all these characters as *t*, we should have three different forms for *t* (with none apparently for *tr* or *dr*) and this Prakrit would become chaotic in its modifications. The confusion would be still further increased, if the letter which I read as *d* (see p. 204) be treated as a fourth form of *t*.

bhabba); or is resolved into *iy* as in *paṭiyamāsa* from Skt. *pratyahsa*; but it remains when combined with *r* as in *pariya* (l. 3 A), see rule 6, and also note on *asaśāstra* (p. 218).

Rule 6.—Conjunct *r* as the second member of an initial consonant is dropped; thus *paṭiyamāsa*=*paṭiyamāsa* (by rule 1)=Skt. *pratyahsa*, where the disappearing *r* has cerebralised the following *t* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *śava*=*śava* (l. 3 A), except in *bhāradāsa* (l. 2) where it has persisted perhaps in consonance with the old Persian *bhratar*, "brother". In a medial akshara *r* is retained, whether as the first member as in *sarva* and *pariya* (l. 3 A) and *sarvina* (l. 3 B); or as the second member, as in *agra* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4), and see Rule 2.

The changes in the consonants then, it will be seen, are not random (if one may use the word) as so often seems to happen in Prakṛit, but follow a consistent plan, so that, if any word be re-adjusted according to these rules, it appears at once as actual Sanskrit or but one step removed therefrom.

In considering the inflectional forms, it will be convenient to cite the words as they would appear in their more correct Prakṛit form when re-adjusted according to the foregoing rules, that is, to cite them from the reading in italics (p. 210 f.).

The Prakṛit of this inscription has more affinities with Ardha-Māgadhī than with Śaurasēnī, if we compare the grammatical terminations that occur with those given by Pischel.¹ The dative singular ends in *āś*, both for the masculine as in *bhāgāś* (l. 2), and for the feminine as in *pāyāś* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *dachchhīnāś* (l. 3 A); and these are Ardha-Māgadhī forms. The locative singular ends apparently in *māi* for the masculine and neuter, if we read *mri*=*māi* in *Kharatamāi* and *vihāramāi* (l. 1); and it is only in Ardha-Māgadhī (as I understand) that the locative sing. ends in *māi*, from which easily comes the form *māi*, that is found in Pāli but not in any other Prakṛit, I believe. The genitive plural ends in *āsa*, as in *sambhāttikāsa* (l. 2), *acchāttikāsa* (l. 3 C), etc.; and this termination is found in Ardha-Māgadhī as well as other dialects, but not apparently in Śaurasēnī.

There are other peculiarities which mark this Prakṛit. The nomin. singular masculine of nouns ending in *a* appears as *a* and not *ā*, as *putra*, *katālayika* (l. 1), *bhāga* (l. 3 C) and *parigraha* (l. 4); except in the poetical quotation in l. 3 A, B, where the *ā* form appears in *yā* and *amāyā*. The neuter nomin. ends in *am* as in *paṭiyamāsa* (ll. 2, 3 C) and *vihāram* (l. 4) both which words appear to be considered neuter instead of masculine; but *śōcha* (l. 2), which should be neuter, does not support this rule and suggests that the nomin. also ended in *a*: and the accus. ends in *a*, as in *śarira* (l. 1). The genitive masculine has its ordinary ending *sa* as in *Artemisiyasa* (l. 1), but when used honorifically has its full form *rya*, as in *Marīgasya* (ll. 1, 2), *Hovāshkasya* (l. 2) and *Mityagasya* (l. 3 C). From other noun-bases may be noticed the genitive *bhāgarata* *Śākyamunā* (l. 1), which=Skt. *bhāgarataḥ Śākyamunēḥ* without the visarga which disappears in Prakṛit;² and a form *va* of the genitive singular of noun-bases ending in *ā*, that is, Skt. *ri*, as in *matā-pitara* (l. 2), which is discussed in the Notes (p. 215). Among pronouns we find *śaha* used as a neuter nomin. (l. 4)³; and from *idam*, not only the instrumental singular *imāsa*⁴ (ll. 1, 2), but also probably a new base *iya*.⁵ Among the very few verbs that occur may be noticed *bhāyā* the apocopated form of Skt. *bhāyāt* (l. 2).⁶

The inscription records that in the year 51 and in Huvishka's reign, Kamagulya (or perhaps Kamakulya, by rule 1), son of Vagra Marēga (or perhaps Marēka, by rule 1), interred a relic of

¹ Prakrit Grammar, §§ 363-70.

² I do not find *munā* mentioned as a genitive by Pischel; it is given in Dr. E. Müller's Pāli Grammar, p. 70, citing Oldenberg, KZ, xiv, 315.

³ Noticed in Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 426.

⁴ This is found in other inscriptions.

⁵ See note on *iya* *Kharatamāri* (p. 212).

⁶ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 469, 464.

Buddha at the Vagra-Mariga monastery, and enunciates a series of pious aspirations in favour of the Emperor Huvishka, his own father and relatives, a neighbouring Raja and other persons and all creatures generally. The last line states that the monastery was bestowed on the Mahāsaṅghika sect among the Buddhists.

The dedicator Kamagulya does not say he has founded the monastery, nor does he imply that he dedicates the relic at the time of the foundation, but he simply declares that he places the relic in this vase inside a small vault within the monastery.¹ The natural inference therefore is that his father Vagra Marēga founded the monastery before and named it after himself, and that Kamagulya afterwards interred the relic within it. The last line does not conflict with this inference, because it seems, both from its purport and also from the larger letters in which it is written, to be a separate declaration, recorded no doubt as a safeguard for the Mahāsaṅghika sect on this sacred vase which would be sure of reverent preservation; and because it may be read in the past tense just as well as in the present, there being no verb.

The father Vagra Marēga is styled a *mahīśa* or local Raja. He bears the name or title Marēga and so does his grandson (Kamagulya's nephew) Haṣṭana, but Kamagulya does not use this name for himself, and only says that he has fixed his residence at Khavata, the very place where the monastery was. One is tempted to infer that Marēga is an appellation derived from some town or district, that Vagra had his home there or was ruling there, and that Haṣṭana was also living there, perhaps as Vagra's heir-apparent (for Haṣṭana's father is not mentioned and may have been dead). Kamagulya speaks of his grandchildren (son's sons) but not of his son; hence it would seem that his son was dead.

None of the names mentioned, except Rohana who was also a *mahīśa* or neighbouring Raja, appears definitely to be Indian. Vagra might be read as Vakra (by rule 1), and this name and Kamagulya (or Kamakulya) may have Indian affinities, but Haṣṭana seems more like an Iranian name.² Moreover Marēga (or Marēka) is not Indian, but suggests Marē, the old name of Merv, or other places of similar name which exist southward of Khawāt. It seems probable that the dedicator and his family were Persian. The only other name mentioned, Miṭyaga (or perhaps Miṭyaka, by rule 1), appears almost certainly to be Greek.³

I will now set out the transliteration of the inscription and interlineate with it in italics the more ordinary Prākṛit forms of the words, as they would appear if re-adjusted in the light of the foregoing rules and of the discussion on the diacritical *r* stroke. As I read the inscription, all the different characters are treated as distinct and each has the same value consistently throughout; and the supposition that there are errors in it is reduced to the smallest limits; in fact, only three words appear to have mistakes, namely *rajaṭibaja* (l. 2), *aviya* (l. 3 A) and *asaṣātrana* (l. 4)—with perhaps *asaṣātri* also (l. 3 C).⁴

TEXT.

| | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|--------------------|----|----|----|----|---------------|---------------------|--------------|----|----|---|----------------|------------------|
| 1 | Sam | 20 | 30 | 10 | 1 | masya | Arṣamisiyasa | stāhi | 10 | 4 | 1 | Imēna | gaḍigṛṇa |
| | <i>Sam[vaśara]</i> | | | | 51 | <i>māsasa</i> | <i>Arṣamisiyasa</i> | <i>stāhi</i> | | 15 | | <i>Imēna</i> | <i>gaḍḍikēna</i> |
| | Kamagulya | | | | | padra | Vagra-Marēgrasya | | | | | iya-Khavadamri | kadalayigra |
| | Kamagulya | | | | | putra | Vagra-Marēgasya | | | | | iya-Khavatamhi | kaḍalayika |

¹ This is clear, whether we read *paridhābāhi* or *patitṭhābāhi* in l. 1. See notes, p. 214.

² It seems hardly possible to derive Haṣṭana from *brishṭa*. Dr. Thomas suggests O. P. *ha-ya* 'god' as the derivation of Vagra (or Vagra); and compares Haṣṭana with *Histanes* and *Bistanes*, and Marēga with the termination *bara* in *Sasabara*, etc. (J. R. A. S., 1906, p. 214). The *r* in Vagra is real.

³ See Notes, p. 218.

⁴ Dr. Thomas would add to this list the words *bāradaba*, *śācha*, *nabagra*, *paryala*, *suphātiya* and *arepyala*.

Inscription on the Wardak vase.

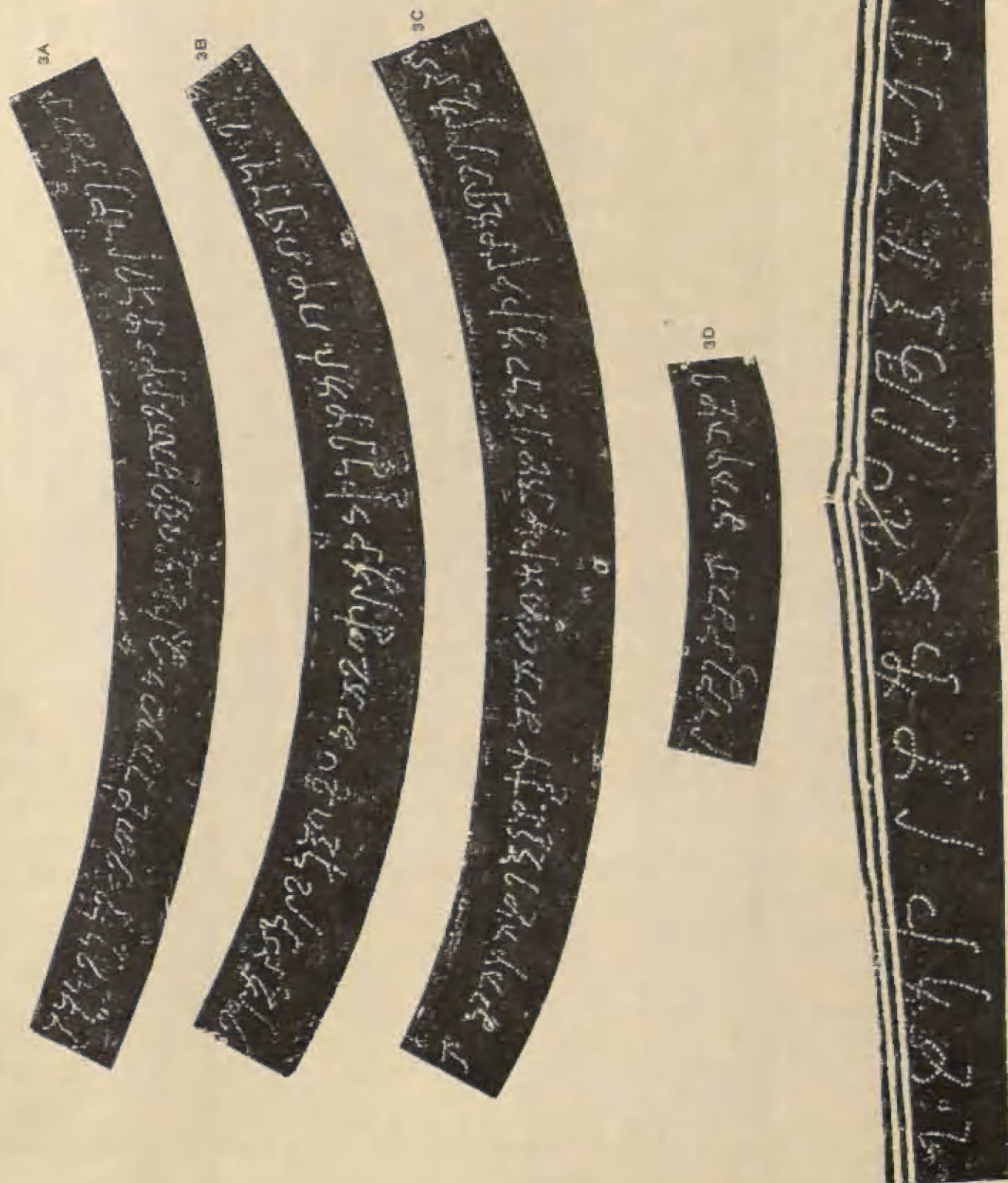
Lines 1 and 2.





Inscription on the Wardak vase.

Lines 3 and 4.



- Vagra-Marigra-viharamsi tumbimsi bhagravada Śākya-munē śarira
Vagra-Mariga-vihāramhi tumbimhi bhagavata Śākya-munē śarira
 paridhabēti
paridhāpēti
- 2 Imēna kuśala-mulēna maharaja-rajatibhaja¹-Hōvēśhkasya agra-bhagraś bhavatu
Imēna kuśala-mulēna mahārāja-rājatirāja-Hōvēśhkasya agra-bhagāś bhavatu
 Mada-pidara mē puyāś bhavatu Bhradaba mē Hashṭuna-Marēgrasya puyāś
Māda-pitara mē pūyāś bhavatu Bhrātābha mē Hashṭuna-Marēgasya pūyāś
 bhavatu Śōcha mē bhuya Natigra-midra-sambhatigrana puyāś bhavatu
bhavatu Śōcha mē bhūyāś Natika-mitra-sambhattikāna pūyāś bhavatu
 Mahiśa cha Vagra-Marēgrasya agra-bhagra-paḍiyamśam
Mahiśa cha Vagra-Marēgasya agra-bhāga-paḍiyamśam
- 3 * bhavatu Sarva-satvana arōga-dachhinaś bhavatu Aviya²-nabagra paryata-śava-
bhavatu Sarva-sattvaṇa arōga-dachchhiṇāś bhavatu Ariya-napaka paryatta-śava-
 bhavagra yō adra-ṭambara-anda-jō³ jalayuga śaphatiga arupyata sarvina
bhāvaka yō ādra-antara-aṇḍa-jō jalayuka śapphattika arūpyattā sarvīṇa
 puyāś bhavatu Mahiśa cha Rōhana † sada-sarvina† avashatrigana
pūyāś bhavatu Mahiśa cha Rōhaṇa sada-sarvīṇa avashattrikāna
 sa-parivara cha agra-bhaga-paḍiya(m)śam bhavatu Miṭyagasya cha agra-bhaga
sa-paricāra cha agra-bhāga-paḍiyamśam bhavatu Miṭyagasya cha agra-bhāga
 bhavatu ‡
bhavatu
- 4 Śaha viharam saamērana Mahasamghigana parigraha
Śaha viharam saamēraya or āchāryana⁴ Mahasamghikāna parigraha

TRANSLATION.

In the year 51, on the day 15 [of the first half ?] of the month Artemisios. By means of this vase Vagra Marēga's son Kamagulya, who has fixed his residence in this place Khavata, inters a relic of the Lord Śākya-muni inside a vault within the Vagra Mariga monastery.

By means of this meritorious foundation—may it (the relic) tend to the pre-eminent lot of the great king, the suzerain of kings, Hōvēśhka! May it tend to the veneration of my parents! May it tend to the veneration of my brother's son Hashṭuna Marēga! May there be purity for me! May it tend to the veneration of my grandsons, friends and associates! And may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Vagra Marēga! May it tend to the bestowal of perfect health on all beings! May it tend to the veneration of all these, namely, the saintly king,¹ him who has obtained the condition of having mastered the doctrine, the creature which is born from moisture, from a womb (?) or from an egg, the creature whose life is in water, the graminivorous animal and the incorporeal soul! And

¹ The śa is a mistake for sa.

* to * including the next letter ja is line 3 A.

† to † excluding the first letter aa and including the letter a of avashatrigana is line 3 B.

‡ to ‡ excluding the first letter sa is line 3 C.

² The vi is probably a mistake for vi, see p. 216.

³ This word is very difficult; see note on it *infra*.

⁴ Or perhaps "the saint, the king" (see p. 216).

may there be a share of a pre-eminent lot for the territorial lord Rōhana, all his household and his dependants together with his retinue! And may there be a supreme lot for Miṭyaga!

This monastery is (or was) a gift to the Mahāsaṅghikas, who are teachers (or who had no habitation?).

NOTES.

Line I.

Māsa may be a clerical error for *māsa* or *māsasya*, unless it should be a genitive formed from the old Persian word *māh*, "month," Prakṛitized. A clerical error at the very beginning certainly seems improbable. Prof. Lüders has suggested that *māsasya* passed into **māhasya* and then into *māsa*,¹ but such a modification hardly agrees with the general character of this Prakṛit, which is close to Sanskrit as explained above. His view however lends support to my suggestion that the Persian word may have been Prakṛitized as *mā*, the final *h* being dropped as visarga is dropped in Prakṛit, and the genitive *māsa* formed from it. The month may have been designated by a regular term *māh Arāmisiya*, and this term may have been adopted here in its entirety, and then both words put into the genitive; the termination *sa*, and not *so*, being added to *mā*, in order to distinguish the word from the common noun *māsa* and shew that it is a genitive. The general practice in this inscription is to inflect only the last of two or more words placed in apposition, but in this case both words are certainly in the genitive, unless we suppose *māsa* is a clerical error for *māsa*, which is improbable. The general rule then may have been varied in this formal and precise statement of the date.

Arāmisiya = the Greek month *Artemisios* Prakṛitized, the Greek *i* being transliterated by the cerebral *ṣ*. At the present time the English *i* is always so transliterated.

Stāhi, and not *stihī*, appears to be the actual reading. I cannot offer any explanation of this puzzling word, and can only throw out a suggestion that, as the Greek month was sometimes divided into two parts called *mēn hístamenos* and *mēn pátimēnos*, *stāhi* might, through the old Persian root *stā*, "to stand," possibly and perhaps in abbreviation represent *hístamenos*. If this be possible, the date would be the 15th day of the first half of the month.

Gaḍigra.—The difficult letter *ḡ* in this word has been discussed above (p. 204). *Gaḍigra* may = *gaḍika* (by rule 1), or *gaḍḍika* (by rules 1 and 3), or *gaḍika* (by rule 1). It undoubtedly refers to this vase. *Gaḍika*, or better *gaḍḍika*, is probably a dialectical form of Sanskrit *gaḍḍaka*, which means "a kind of jar, especially a golden vase"—a term that would have well suited this vase in its pristine brilliance, for when discovered portions of it were so bright as to resemble gold (see p. 203).

Padra must, it seems to me, agree with *Kamagulya* and govern *Vagra-Marēgrasya*, though this construction varies from the ordinary arrangement by which it should follow the word it governs. The ordinary construction, by which *padra* would govern *Kamagulya*, seems to me to lead to serious difficulties. The rendering I have adopted, though not common, is not irregular, and makes the whole sentence plain.²

*Iya-Khavadamhi*³ is obviously the locative case of the place to which the following word *kaḍalayigra* refers, and the place therefore is denoted by the expression *Iya-Khavada* or *Iya-Khavata* (by rule 1). There can be no doubt that we have here the ancient form

¹ J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 658.

² Dr. Thomas would prefer to make *Vagra-Marēga* the donor, though there are serious difficulties in doing so.

³ This might be read as *Iyakka adamhi*, for the fourth letter has some resemblance to *a*, and the *kā* would be doubled by rule 4; but *Iyakka* conveys no meaning, and *adamhi* as a locative from the pronominal base *adā* (see Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, §§ 429, 432) would be out of place.

of the present name of the place, Khawat, where this vase was found. If this expression be taken as one word, it would be *Iyakkharata* (by rule 4), and this is suggestive of the Greek *Iakkhos*, "Bacchus or Dionysos," whose legend was localised in this region as is well known. This view was tempting but appears untenable, because it is highly improbable (as a distinguished Greek scholar has informed me) that the oriental Greeks of this region would have had the name *Iakkhos* in public vogue, as it only had a real base in Attica and was a literary figment outside. Moreover, no Greek derivation can apparently be suggested except perhaps *Iakkho* + *hodos*, which is unsuitable. Again *Iyakkharata* is hardly an Indian word. The only alternative is to divide it into *iya* *Khavata*, and this division gives forthwith the modern name Khawat, while *iya* appears to be a pronoun meaning "this," or "here." The pronoun *idam* developed, or had as an equivalent, a base in Prakrit (apart from the feminine nomin. *iyam*), for the masculine or neuter locative *iammi* is found¹ and the base in itself did exist.² This is might well be written *iya* here, for this inscription has literary qualities, and the neighbouring old Persian word *iyam*, which is its exact equivalent and is both masculine and feminine, might naturally influence the spelling. *Iya Khavatanhi* would then mean "in this very Khavata," where the monastery was situated. Or *iya* might equally well be taken as = Skt. *īdā*, "here."³ Either way the meaning is the same. Khavata, or Khāvata or Khāvāta as it might be read, does not seem to have any meaning, if considered to be of Indian derivation though *ācata* was a termination used in the names of places, as *Vārāṇasīcata*.⁴

Kadalayigra = *kṛtālayika* (by rule 1), which is formed from *kṛtālaya*, as *hṛdayika* from *hṛdaya*, *kāyika* from *kāya*, etc. The whole is a more precise adjective than *kṛtālaya*, both meaning "having fixed one's residence." It suggests that Kamagulya did not belong to this place originally, but had come to reside here.

Tumbimhi.—The first akṣhara is clearly *tu* or *thū*, and *thūpa*, *thūba* or *thūva* suggests itself, but is inadmissible because the second akṣhara is not plain *p*, *b* or *v*. No other word beginning with *thū* seems possible. The letter must be read then as *tu*. The second akṣhara is a new character. At first sight it seems to be based on the character for *st*; see the previous word *stāhi* and the forms of *sti* and *stu* in Bühler's Table I (n^o. 3d, v, vi and vii) and Dr. Thomas' Table IV (E. I. ix, p. 146); but it cannot be *sti* or *stu*, because (1) it has a stroke to the left at the bottom more than *st* has and also the vowel mark *i*; (2) that stroke cannot denote *u*, for *u* is not so made here and *u* would be in addition to *i*; and (3) *st* could not follow the preceding vowel *u*, and *st* alone would be permissible after *u* in this dialect which clearly distinguishes between the three sibilants. The character however is not *st*, for *st* is found in the name *Haṣṭana* afterwards. Moreover all such renderings are meaningless, and the character cannot denote *st* at all. In shape it is a *b* (or *v*) with a cross-line through its middle and the vowel-mark *i*, hence presumably it represents *bi* (or *vi*) in combination with some other consonant denoted by the cross-line. If it be so, then, since the language is a Prakrit, the cross-line can only mean some secondary consonant such as *m*, *y*, *r* or *v*. It is not *y* nor *r*, for their forms have been discussed above (p. 206); and *v* is hardly possible in

¹ Pischel's Prakrit Grammar, § 429.

² See Prakṛita-Paṇḍita (Ed. Biblioth. Indica); references in the Index.

³ See J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 1089.

⁴ M. B. i. 142, 5675. It does not make the matter easier if we read *Iakharata*, which is not impossible since there is very little distinction between *ya* and *ia* in this inscription (see p. 209). This rendering might be resolved as *Ia* + *kharata* or *Ia* + *akharata* (by rule 4); but these words yield no satisfactory solution (though *akharata* could = *akharata*) and do not account for the present name Khawat. Moreover any such solution would weaken the special significance of *Kadalayigra*. Professor Rapson has pointed out to me that *ita* occurs with the meaning "here" in the third line on the reverse of figure N. xvi. 2 in Plate CI of Dr. Stein's "Ancient Khotan." If we read *ita* here, the expression becomes *ita Khavatanhi* with precisely the same meaning as *iya Khavatanhi*; but the latter reading is preferable because the letter resembles *y* rather than *z*.

combination with *b*, and hardly probable in combination with *v*, for *vv* would be a doubled *v* and letters are not written double here. Only *m* therefore seems possible, and the character is presumably *m̐* (or *me*). In support of this it may be observed, that *m* could hardly be expressed by the usual curve for *m̐* (see p. 205) added to *h*, and could therefore be only indicated by some addition to the letter *b* (or *v*) to form the compound *mb* (or *me*). The word therefore is *tumbinā* (or *tumvinā*), the locative case of *tumbi* (or *tumvi*). No Indian word seems possible, and the only inference that arises is that *tumbi* (or *tumvi*) is a foreign word adopted and Prākṛitized. Since the cerebral *t* is used to denote the Greek *t*, as in *Arjuniya*, *tumbi* suggests the Greek word *tumbion*, the diminutive of *tumbos*, "a sepulchral chamber or vault." *Tumbion* would become *tumbiya* in Prākṛit and might be shortened to *tumbi* in ordinary parlance. Greek influence was strong in this region, and *tumbion* would be an appropriate word to denote the substantially constructed cavity or cupola in the tumulus in which the vase was found (see p. 201). This rendering is surprising, yet none other seems to me possible from the scrutiny.

Bhagavada Śakya-munī has been discussed above (p. 209).

Paridhābēti=*paridhāpēti* (by rule 1)=Skt. *paridhāpayati*, causal of *pari-dhā*, and means "encloses." The usual term to express the installation of a relic-shrine is *paṭiṭṭhāvēti*, and this suggests itself as the word intended here. *ṭh* and *dh* are similar and the third akshara might be read either way, but *paṭiṭṭhāvēti* (as *paṭiṭṭhābēti* might appear here by rule 4) does not appear to be intended for three reasons based upon the writing, the grammar and the sense. First, the second akshara is certainly not *t* but *v*, for it agrees exactly with the two *r*'s which immediately precede in the word *śarīra*; secondly, if it were intended, it would presumably appear as *paṭiṭṭhāvēti* or perhaps *paṭiṭṭhābēti* (by rules 1 and 4) and *di* or *ḍi* could hardly lead to an erroneous *ri*; and thirdly, this word must be taken with *imēna gaḍḍirēna*, in which the relic was enclosed, and *paridhābēti* suits the context better than *paṭiṭṭhābēti*.

Line 2.

Kusala-mālāna.—This expression occurs on the Mānikyāla stone,¹ and is also a technical Buddhist term. As a technical term—"The three Kusalamūlā, "roots of goodness or ground-work of merit" are *alobho*, *adoso*, *amoho*, freedom from covetousness, from anger, and from ignorance"² but this interpretation is unenitabie here, and the expression here presumably means something different, as Prof. Lüders also apparently holds when dealing with the Mānikyāla stone.³ It may mean "well-conceived foundation," "virtuous endowment," if *kusala* be taken as an adjective; and "root of well-being," "source of meritorious action," if *kusala* be taken as a noun.⁴ Here from its general adaptability it may imply all these meanings with reference to the relic.

Agra bhāga.—*Agra* means "foremost, pre-eminent," and *bhāga* "portion, lot, destiny." The word might be read *bhagga* (by rule 3), which would=Skt. *bhāgya*, "fortune, lot, destiny." The meaning is the same either way. M. Senart has pointed out that *agrabhāga* here corresponds to *agrēbhāga* in the inscription of Tōramāga Shāha of Kura (E. I., i, 240), which has *agrēbhāga-pratyakṣatīyāna*.⁵ *Agrebhāga* denotes a state or condition, and *agrabhāga* here must presumably imply the same, "a pre-eminent lot," and not "a first share." I do not understand

¹ See J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 645.

² See Childers' Pali Dictionary, s. v. *śassā*; and Aṅgut. Nik. vol. I, p. 203. Dr. Thomas takes it to mean 'a work of merit,' 'a pious work.'

³ Prof. Lüders explains it as equivalent to the phrase which is found at Mathurā, *saena* (or *imēna*) *deyadharmoparitṭhāga* (J. R. A. S. 1909, p. 660). Is not that a parallel rather than an equivalent phrase?

⁴ See Childers' Pali Dictionary.

⁵ Journ. Asiat., sér. B, vol. VII, p. 10. See note to *paṭiṭṭhāva* *infra*.

to what *bhāga* as a "share" could refer,¹ whereas a condition is intelligible and natural. He first translated *agrabhāga* as "prosperity," but afterwards agreed with Bühler to seek in it a direct allusion to the acquisition of *bodhi*.² I would rather suggest that, since the expression appears to denote a condition, it refers to Buddhahood. With the word *pratyakṣa* added (see note to *paṭiyamāṇa*, *infra*), "a share of Buddhahood" seems to be as appropriate as "a share of *bodhi*." The expression can hardly refer to any worldly blessing, because in that case is it not rather witless to utter such a wish on behalf of Huvishka, who enjoyed already the highest position on earth?

Bhavat is used here with the dative, as *agra bhāgāḥ* and *pūyāḥ*. Since the dative implies 'purpose, intention, aim,' *bhavat* with the dative means "may it be for the purpose of," "may it be with an aim towards," that is, "may it tend towards," "may it operate towards."

Mada-pidara = *māta-pitara* (by rule 1). This must be the genitive of *māta-pitā* treated as a singular noun;³ and it is so treated in the Taxila plate, where the accus. *māta-pitaraṁ* occurs (E. I iv, 55). The genitive must be employed here after *pūyāḥ* as in all the other similar sentences. This appears to be a new form of Prakṛit genitive, and the nearest approach to it is *piaraḥ* which is a genitive of *pitā*.⁴ Its real formation appears to be this—*pitara* = *pitaraḥ* (the visarga disappearing in Prakṛit) which would be correctly formed as a genitive from *pitar* (which is the essential base of *pitṛ*),⁵ just like *giraḥ* from *gir* and *charaḥ* from *char* in Sanskrit.⁶ The declension of *pitṛ* in Sanskrit shows similar forms from the base *pitar*, as *pitaraṁ*, *pitaraṁ*, *pitaraḥ* and *pitari*.

Pūyāḥ.—*Pūjā* means more than "honour" and implies some degree of veneration or reverence; hence *pūyāḥ bhavat* means "may it tend to the veneration."

Bhradaba as the word clearly is and not *bhradara*. *Haṣṭuna Marēgrasya* is in apposition to this word and not to *mā*, for the declarant is Kamagulya and *mā* refers to him; and the meaning is that *Haṣṭuna Marēga* is the *bhradaba* in relation to *mā*, that is, Kamagulya. *Mā* is inserted parenthetically, like *cha* in *mahā Vagra Marēgrasya* (l. 2) and in *mahā Rōhana* (l. 3 B). *Bhradaba* cannot well be treated as a mistake for *bhradara* on the analogy of the preceding *māta-pitara* and so taken as the genitive of *bhradā*, because (1) it is contrary to the general practice to inflect two words in apposition as would happen if we read *bhradara Haṣṭuna-Marēgrasya*; and (2) it is unnecessary to suspect any mistake. Indeed one should hesitate to suppose there is an error in spelling, unless the mistake is patent (as in *rajaṭibaja*, l. 2) or the word actually written appears impossible (as in *aviya*, l. 3 A, and *asaṁśrana*, l. 4); and one should presume that what has been written is what was intended, if it has an intelligible

¹ Unless we adopt a valuable suggestion by Dr. Thomas. Taking *agrabhāga* in its literal meaning "chief share," he thinks that it denotes a chief share in the merit resulting from this donation. To my mind the addition of the word *pratyakṣa* makes a difficulty in this rendering.

² Journ. Asiat., sér. 8, vol. XV, p. 123; and sér. 9, vol. VII, p. 10.

³ Dr. Thomas is inclined to think it may be a genitive plural in *-rām*.

⁴ Fiebel's Prakṛit Grammar, § 391.

⁵ This explanation is supported by the exactly analogous use of the genitives *bhagavata(ḥ)* *śākyamuṇḍa(ḥ)*, see p. 208.

⁶ The word *bhratara* appears in the Taxila plate, and Bühler takes *bhratara sarva* there as = *bhrātṛin sarvaṁ*, but finds the construction irregular, as it occurs in the middle of several genitives. It is really the genitive, exactly analogous to *māta-pitara* here, and as such accords fully with the other genitives there. That passage would then run thus—*so-pitra-darata (aya-bala-vardhita) bhratara sarva-(cha)-natiga-(bha)dārasa cha*, the first *cha* being inserted parenthetically (like *cha* in this inscription, see note on *bhradaba*) with reference to *sarva-natiga*, and the second *cha* being in its correct place grammatically but referring specially to *(sarva)-(bha)dārasa*. These *cha*'s are used more with regard to the sense than strict grammar. *Bhratara* also occurs on the Mālikyāla stone inscription and is treated as a genitive by Prof. Lüders (J. R. A. S., 1903, p. 666). *Natiga* there must = *natiga* here; see note on it.

and appropriate meaning.¹ Nor can the word be read as *bhrada ba*, treating *ba* as = Skt. *ed* or *eva*, because (1) Skt. *v* when single is not changed to *b* here, and (2) neither word would suit the context but only *cha*. *Bhradaba* is therefore one word and = *bhrātabba* (by rules 1 and 3), which = Skt. *bhrātrīya*, "nephew;" and the whole phrase = Skt. *mad-bhrātrīya-Ḥaṣṭana-Marīgasya*.

Śōka has been discussed above (p. 208).²

Bhaya = Skt. *bhūyāt*, the final *t* being dropped in Prakṛit.³ This word is well chosen here to convey a less positive meaning than *bhazatu*. Where the declarant expresses his desire on behalf of other persons he uses the imperative tense, but here in uttering his desire on his own behalf he modestly uses the precative.

Natigra = *nattika* (by rules 1 and 4) = Skt. *naptri + ka*.

Sambhatigra = *sambhattika* (by rules 1 and 4) = Skt. *sambhaktri + ka*, "sharer, favourer" here no doubt "partisan, associate."

Mahīa = *mahīa*, Skt. *mahī + īa*. It occurs again in l. 3 B,⁴ and, as the persons named are inferior to the Emperor Huvishka, it evidently means a local Rāja. There were apparently two Rājas in this part of the country, Vagra Marēga and Rohaṇa.

Paṭiyamśam.—This word occurs again in l. 3 C. It has been fully discussed above (pp. 204 f., 209, 215), where the similar expressions found elsewhere have been mentioned, *agrēbhāva pratyamśatīyāśu*,⁵ *agra-pratyamśatīyā bhavatu*,⁶ and *bhātara Svarabuddhisa agra-patīśaś*.⁷ It = *paṭiyamśam*, (by rule 1) = Skt. *pratyamśa* "division, share," as M. Senart and Prof. Lüders have pointed out. I would translate *agra-bhāga-paṭiyamśam* as a "share in a pre-eminent lot." It is to be noticed that this phrase is used only with reference to the two local Rājas, Vagra Marēga here and Rohaṇa in l. 3 B, whereas full *agra-bhāga* is applied to Huvishka and Mityaga.

Line 3.

Arōga may = Skt. *a-rōga*, or stand for *ārōga* (by rule 3) and = Skt. *ārōgya*. The meaning is the same, and the latter is probably preferable because *ārōgya-dakṣiṇāyē* is said to occur on an inscription at Mathurā.⁸

Aviya-nabagra.—*Aviya* is no doubt a mistake for *ariya*,⁹ for the *v* is as large as the usual size of *r* and only the small stroke at the top of *r* is wanting. These words then = *ariya-*

¹ Dr. Thomas however thinks that there must be a mistake, and that the word intended is *bhrādara*, genit. sing. of *bhrāda*, that is *bhrātā*, 'brother'; *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *raṣṭribhāja*.

² Dr. Thomas suspects that it is really an error for *aś cha* and = *taś cha*. *Taś* appears as *taś* in Prakṛit (Fischel's Prakṛit Grammar, §425).

³ Fischel's Prakṛit Grammar, §§ 459, 464.

⁴ This word might also be read as *mahīya*, because *ś* and *y* are often made alike here (see p. 203), and Dr. Thomas would read it so and take it as = *mahīyam* or *mama*, referring to the donor; but if so, the two passages seem tautological as regards the donor.

⁵ Bühler read this as *śatāyāśu*, and translated it "(their) share being a preferential one" (E. I., i, 241); but Prof. Lüders takes it as *śatāya aśu*, and I agree with him. I would translate it thus, "may it tend to the condition of (their obtaining) a share of a pre-eminent existence."

⁶ Which Bühler translated as, "may (the merit of this gift) be by preference for their parents" (E. I., i, 290) but I would suggest that *agra* is short for and = the full phrase *agrēbhāva* or *agrēbhāga*, for *agra* is a noun and means the "foremost or topmost point"; and that the translation should be, "may it tend to their parents' having the condition of (obtaining) a share in a pre-eminent position."

⁷ Which Prof. Lüders translates "for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi"; but I would suggest it means, "(let it tend) to my brother Svarabuddhi's (having a) share in a pre-eminent position."

⁸ Referred to in I. A., vol. 33 (1904), p. 156.

⁹ I have to thank Dr. Thomas for this suggestion. He thinks further that *nabagra* may be a mistake for *śaragra* and = *śāraka*, "beings in hell;" *b* being wrongly written for *r* as in *raṣṭribhāja*.

napaka (by rule 1)=Skt. *ārya-nṛpa+ka*, "the saintly king." They might be taken separately as "the saint, the king," if it is probable that the dedicator would have invoked a blessing not only on the saintly king, but also on kings generally. If so, the *ariya* must be distinguished from the *śiṣṭaka* who is mentioned next.

Paryata-śava-bharagra=*paryatta-śiva-bhīvaka* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *paryīpta-śīva-bhāva+ka*.¹ *Śīva* which means "hearing" appears to signify "learning, instruction" here and the whole phrase to be a circumlocution for *śrāvaka*.

Yō adra aṁtara-jō.—The first letter might be read as *śō*, but that could only represent Skt. *śvas*, "tomorrow," and is meaningless here. The *jō* at the end clearly answers to *yō* at the beginning, so that the whole is one long phrase; and, as no sandhi blends the intervening words as in the following words *jalāyuga*, *śaphatiga* and *arūpyata*, the intervening words are obviously distinct and must each be read with *jō*; otherwise they would have had the same termination *ō* instead of ending in *a*. The whole phrase therefore becomes *yō adra-jō aṁtara-jō aṁḍa-jō*, and as *aṁḍa-jō* clearly means an "egg-born creature" and the following word *jalāyuga* means "a creature that has its life in water," *adra-jō* and *aṁtara-jō* must denote other great groups of living creatures. *Adra* (as the word appears to be, though the second letter is not clear even in the original)=*īddra* (by rule 3)=Skt. *ārdra*, "moist"; and this adjective is evidently used substantively here,² so that *adra-jō* means "a creature born from moisture," and=Pali *samsēda-jō*. *Aṁtara*=Skt. *antara*, "the interior," and *aṁtara-jō* may mean "born from the interior," and=*garbha-ja*, that is, "mammalian."

Jalāyuga=*jalāyuka* (by rule 1)=Skt. *jala + āyu + ka*, "a creature which has its life in water." The word might be read as *jalāyukā* or *jala-śūka*, which mean "a leech," but such a narrow and unsatisfactory allusion is out of the question.

Śaphatiga.—The word looks like *śasētiga* or *śaśētiga*, or we might read *y* instead of *ś* in either or both places, since these two letters are not well distinguished (see p. 203); but no such reading gives any sense, because the latter part whether read as *ētiga* or *ettika* (as it should be by rules 1 and 4) is an impossible ending, however we attempt to restore the word in Sanskrit. The first letter certainly seems to be *ś*. The second letter however differs markedly from the first and diverges from *ś* or *y*, in that its left limb is prolonged unusually downward as in *p* and *ph*. I am led therefore to think that it is not *ś* or *y* but is a badly formed *p* or *ph*, and that the stroke which resembles the vowel mark *ē* is really the top part of *p* or *ph* shifted slightly to the right.³ Of these two letters *ph* is preferable, because the right limb has an upward curve which *p* does not possess and which is not the mark of *r* in *pr*. As *ph* it is a new form, yet *ph* has two different shapes in Bühler's Table I, so that its character was not rigidly settled. Taking the second letter then as *ph*, we obtain a reading which is appropriate. *Śaphatiga*=*śapphattika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. *śaṣpāttī + ka* "an animal feeding on grass." This is no doubt a pretentious word,⁴ but it accords with the contiguous words and occurs as will be seen in a poetical quotation.

Arūpyata=*arūpyattā* (by rule 4), "incorporeal soul."⁵ This may represent Skt. *arūpin + ātmā*, but not *arūpya + ātmā*, because *arūpya* does not have the meaning "incorporeal." Pali

¹ Dr. Thomas would read *paryata* as = *paryanta*.

² *Adra* might = a possible noun *ārdra*, "moisture"; but the general character of this Prākṛit seems against it. Dr. Thomas would read *adra aṁtara* as *atra antara* and as = *ārdātara*; but as regards the character *dr*, see p. 208, note 3.

³ Dr. Thomas however would read the word as *śa(ś)ētiga*, that is *śāśvēdika*, equivalent to Pali *sāśvēda-ja*, from Skt. *śam* and *śvēda*; but there is no instance here where an original *ś* is turned to Prākṛit *ś*, or an original *ś* to Prākṛit *t* (see rules 1 and 3, pp. 207, 208).

⁴ *Śaṣpā-bhuj* is in the dictionary.

⁵ Dr. Thomas would take this word as = *arūpyānta*.

has *arēpt* and *aruppa* (=Skt. *ārūpya*, formed directly from *a-rūpa*), both meaning "incorporeal." *Arupyata* might represent the latter word, if read as *ārūpyatā*, but *arūpyatā* seems preferable, because the first syllable is probably short since we have here presumably a śloka quoted.

All these words from *ariya* to *arupyata*¹ have a particularly literary style and rhythm, and here alone occurs the nomin. termination *ā*. These features suggest that we have a poetical quotation here, in which all the words were in the nomin. singular as shown by the *ā* form and the word *arūpyatā*. If then these words be adjusted according to the rules set out above, and the nomin. form *ā* be restored, and *jō* be added to the two words from which it has been omitted, the passage falls into the śloka metre :—

.. .. ariya-napakō paryatta-sāva-bhāvako
Yo ādra-jō antara-jō aṇḍa-jō [cha] jalāyuko
Śapphattiko arūpyatā.²

Sarvina=Skt. *sārvajānam*, genitive plural of *sāret*,³ a feminine collective noun formed from *sāra*, precisely like *sāmagrī* from *samagra*, and with the same meaning. It is used in the plural, because it applies to each of the preceding terms.

Sada=Skt. *sadaś*, "residence, dwelling"; *sada-sīret* means "household." It is used in the plural, probably honorifically, with reference to all the houses that composed the residence of the Rāja Rohaṇa.

Avashatriga=*avashatṛika* (by rules 1 and 4)=Skt. femin. form *avasaktṛī* + *kā*. But perhaps the *ri* is a mistake for or a reminiscence of the vowel *ri* of the masc. form, and the word intended would be *avasaktṛī*+*ka*. *Avasaktṛī* is not actually found in Sanskrit, but would be a legitimate formation from the root *ava-saṅj* (which does occur) and would mean "an adherent." The preposition *ava* sometimes changes a following *s* to *ś* as in *avashāmbh* and *avashvan*, and, though it does not so modify the root *saṅj* in Sanskrit, yet it might do so in Prākṛit, especially when there is a closely allied root *śaṅj*, "to embrace," which would I imagine be modified after *ava*.⁴ Both roots would be alike in Prākṛit.

Paḍiyamśaś is discussed above (p. 216). The medial *ś* is not so clear here as in that earlier place.

Mityaga (or perhaps *Mityaka* by rule 1) seems to be Greek both from its appearance and also from the use of the cerebral *t*, see *Arjaminsiya* (p. 212); but the only Greek words I can suggest after enquiry are *metoikos*, which means "a foreign settler" but is hardly a name, and *metioikkhos*, in which the *kh* could hardly be represented by *k*. It is noteworthy that the dedicator expresses the same wish for full *agra-bhāga* for *Mityaga* as for *Havishka*.

Line 4.

Eśha viharasā.—*Vihāra* appears to be treated as a neuter noun, because *viḥārasā* is clearly the nomin. case. *Eśha* is used as a neuter in Prākṛit.⁵

Asamādrana is a difficult word. The second akshara is like *saś* at the beginning of the inscription, and the third appears to be *ś* or *y* compounded with *rā*, and if the former is *saś*,

¹ Dr. Thomas would put a different meaning on the text, thus—"I propose (tentatively) to understand all creatures to be referred to, 'from āryas to the beings in hell, and all the *aydajas*, etc. in between (*śtrāntare*) including the invisible (*arūpa*).'"

² Can any Pāli scholar identify these verses?

³ *Sārcyāṇam* occurs in a Skt. quotation in Fiebel's Prakrit Grammar, § 16.

⁴ See Pāṇini viii, 3, 68-9.

⁵ Fiebel's Prakrit Grammar, § 436.

⁶ It differs from the usual forms of *ś* and *y*, in that the left limb is extended unusually downward.

the only tenable reading for the latter is *śra*, and the whole word would be *śaśśrāna*; but this seems impossible, if taken as one word, and if it is divided into *śaśś śrāna*, we only obtain two difficult words, and initial *śr* is inadmissible since it drops its *r* as shewn in *śīva* (see p. 217). There seems to be a clerical error in the word. Two emendations may be offered. First, it may be a mistake for *a-saśśrāya*, "having no asylum or habitation;" the gift of a *vihāra* to *Mahāsaṅghikas* who had no sanctuary would have been a natural act of piety. Or secondly, as Dr. Thomas suggests, the *śaśś* may be a mistake for the somewhat similar letter *cha*, and then the next letter may be read as *rya*,¹ so that the word would be *āchāryāna*, genitive plural of *āchārya*, "teacher." On the whole this seems preferable,² and I have adopted it in the translation.

NO. 21.—SURAT PLATES OF VYAGHRASENA; THE YEAR 241.

By PROFESSOR E. HULTESCH, PH.D.; HALLE (SAALE).

In my article on the Pārḍī plates of the Traikūṭaka king Dahrasēna³ it was stated that the late lamented Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., had in his hands an unpublished copper-plate grant of Dahrasēna's son and successor Vyāghrasēna.⁴ At my request Rai Bahadur Venkayya obtained the original plates on loan through the Government of Bombay, who were good enough to permit them to be sent to me for inspection.

As stated by Mr. Jackson, the copper-plates come from Surat. They are two in number, each measuring between $9\frac{1}{2}$ and $9\frac{3}{4}$ inches in breadth, and about $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, and bear writing only on their inner sides. They are comparatively thin and have no raised rims, but the writing on them is in a state of fairly good preservation. A number of letters are filled with verdigris and therefore have not come out on the impressions, though their outlines are quite visible on the original plates. As in the case of the Pārḍī plates, there are two ring-holes at the bottom of the inscribed side of the first plate, and two corresponding ones at the top of the second plate. A long copper wire is passed through the two holes on the right, and its ends are twisted round, but not soldered. A second copper wire may have held the plates together on the left, but is now missing. The total weight of the plates and wire is 50 tolas.

The alphabet is of an early southern type. The *Jihvāmūliya* occurs once (l. 1) and the *Upadhāniya* five times (ll. 4, 5, 6 (twice), and 14). In three instances (*mā*, l. 9, and *īa*, ll. 13 and 18) the secondary form of *ā* is expressed by a hook at the bottom of the preceding consonant. The date at the end of the inscription contains the abbreviation *saśś* (for *saśśvat*) and the numerical symbols 1, 5, 10, 40, and 200.

The language is Sanskrit prose; but two verses of Vyāsa are quoted near the end. The rules of grammar and of *sandhi* are carefully observed; only ll. 10-14 contain a few blunders, and l. 8 two clerical mistakes. *Anusvāra* is replaced by *ṣ* in *vaśśa* (l. 5) and *vaśśya* (l. 12).

The inscription records a grant of land to a Brāhmaṇa by the *Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna* (l. 7 f.) of the Traikūṭaka family (l. 1), who issued his order from "the victorious *Aniruddhapurā*" (l. 1). This city, which appears to have been the capital of the Traikūṭaka kings, is mentioned also in the slightly different form "the victorious *Aniruddhapurī*" as the place of residence of the donee in the Bagumrā plates of [Kalachuri-]Saśśvat 406.⁵ Vyāghrasēna

¹ This *ry* is different from the *ry* in *paryāta* (l. 3 A) in that the left limb extends downwards here much further than in *paryāta*. Whether this difference is accidental or implies a distinction is doubtful.

² Though, on this interpretation, one would have expected *Mahāsaṅghika āchāryāna*.

³ Above, Vol. X, p. 52 f.

⁴ *Journ. Bombay Br. R. As. Soc.* Vol. XXIII, p. 6 f.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XVIII, p. 270.

claims to have ruled the Aparānta country¹ (l. 2). This statement furnishes an interesting confirmation of two verses of Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (iv, 58 f.), where the mountain Triakūṭa, from which the designation of the Traikūṭaka family must be derived, is placed in the territory of the king of Aparānta.² According to the *Vaijayanī* (ed. Oppert, p. 37, verse 35), which is quoted by Mallinātha on *Raghuvamśa*, iv, 53, the chief place of Aparānta seems to have been Śūrpāraka, the modern Sōpārā, with which I feel tempted to identify Aniruddhapura, the capital of the Traikūṭakas. The object of Vyāghrasēna's grant was the hamlet Purōhitapallikā in the Iksharaki district (*Āhāra*, l. 8), which I am unable to identify. From the name given to the hamlet we may perhaps infer that the donee, Nāgasārman (l. 10), was the king's family priest (*purōhita*).

The date of the grant was the 15th tithi of the bright fortnight of Kārttika in the year 241 of an unspecified era (l. 18). As we know from coins that Vyāghrasēna was the son of Dahrāsēna,³ whose Pārdī plates are dated in [Kalachuri-]Sahvat 207, the date of the new inscription must be also referred to the Kalachuri era of A.D. 249, and the specified month places the record in A.D. 490 or 491.

The following short pedigree comprises all that we know from coins and inscriptions regarding the Traikūṭaka kings of Aparānta, residing at Aniruddhapura:—

Mahārāja Indradatta.

Mahārāja Dahrāsēna

(A.D. 456 or 457).

Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna

(A.D. 490 or 491).

TEXT.⁴

First Plate; Second Side.

- 1 स्वस्ति विजयानिरुद्धपुराचैकुटकान[i] मातापितृपादानुद्धातो भगवन्पादकर्मकरकर-
गतक्रमगत-
- 2 स्मृतापरान्तादिदेशपतिरपरिमितवृत्तिनतचरणकमलस्त्रभुजपरिपालनप्रता-
- 3 पाधिगतप्रपुरद्रविणविश्राणनावामसर्वदिग्भ्यापिशुक्लयग्राश्वारदरजनिकरचिरवपु-
- 4 रनद्यकालीनपुरुषविशेषसदृशोदारचारतश्चुचरितनिदर्शनार्थमिव निर्मितप्रति-
- 5 हतसामन्तारतिरन्यनरपतिप्रतिविशिष्टस्त्रवङ्गालङ्कारभूतप्रभूतप्रवीरसाधना-⁵
- 6 धिष्ठितदुर्भानगरसागरम्हागरगञ्धीरगिरिगुहस्थिरप्रकृतिप्रकृतिजनमनोहरप्रा-

¹ See *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 173, and Prof. Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty, etc.*, p. xliii.

² *Op. cit.* p. clix and note 3.

³ From the original copper-plates.

⁴ See above, Vol. X. p. 52 and note 3.

⁵ Read 'वज्र'.

- 7 संयितगुरुस्वजनसाधुसाधारणधनोभिजनसदृश्यन्त्रणोपगृह्योतस्पृहणीययोऽश्वीमहा-
 8 राजव्याघ्रसेनः ^१सर्वानवेचरक्याहारान्तर्गतपुरोहितपत्निकाप्रतिवासिनो-
 9 क्षमात्रापयति [१*] विदितमस्तु वी यथास्माभिर्ष्मतापिचोरात्मनश् स्वपुण्याभि-
 वृद्धये

Second Plate; First Side.

- 10 भारद्वाजसगोचत्राक्षणागमर्भणे^२ इयं पत्निका चोरराजापत्यकारिवर्ज^३ अचाटभट-
 11 प्रावेश्वा सर्वदित्वविष्टिपरिहीणोपाहारस्थित्यान्वयभोज्या^४ आचन्द्रार्कारणव-
 12 क्षितिस्थितिसमकालीनोतिष्ठिटा^५ [१*] तदस्मदङ्ग्यराजभिरन्यैश्च^६ विभवानभावानुव-
 हानायुर्वि-
 13 योगानुगतकुणांश्च दीर्घकालानुगुणान्विगणय्य दानञ्च गुणवतामवदातमपदान-
 14 मिति प्रमाणोल्लत्य शशिकरगुधि रुचिरक्षिराय यशश्चिचोपुभिरियं^७ पत्निकादा-
 योनुमन्तव्य^८ पा-
 15 लयितव्यश्च [१*] यस्मादुक्तभगवता वेदव्यासेन व्यासेन [१*] पूर्वदत्तान्विजा-
 तिभ्यो यत्रादत्त युधि-
 16 ष्ठिर [१*] महोष्महिमतां श्रेष्ठ दानाच्छ्रेयोनुपालनं [॥ १ ॥*] षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
 स्वर्गे मोदति
 17 भूमिदः [१*] आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति [॥ २ ॥*]
 प्रतिपृच्छ लिखितं मया महासांभविष्य-
 18 द्विककर्षेण हालाहलदूतकं सं २०० ४० १ कार्तिक श १० ५ [॥*]

TRANSLATION.

(Line 1.) Hail! From the victorious Aniruddhapura, the glorious Mahārāja Vyāghrasēna,— (who belongs to the family) of the Traikūṭakas; who meditates on the feet of (his) mother and father; who is a servant of the feet of Bhagavat (Vishnu); who is the lord of Aparānta and other rich countries, annexed or inherited (by him); to whose lotus-feet innumerable kings are bowing; who has obtained bright fame, pervading all directions, by distributing the vast treasures acquired with his own arm by ruling (his kingdom) and by conquest; whose body is as brilliant as the autumnal moon; whose conduct is as noble as that of excellent men of former times; who has been created, as it were, as an example of good conduct; who has repelled neighbouring enemies; who is more distinguished than other kings; who has become the ornament of his family; who has occupied forts, cities, and oceans by armies of many great heroes; whose nature is as deep as the ocean and as firm as the chief of mountains (Himālaya); who ravishes the hearts of men by nature; whose wealth is shared

^१ Read सर्वानवे.

^२ Read वासिन.

^३ Read अचाट.

^४ Read सर्वज्ञ.

^५ Read परिहीणावहार and भीष्मावहार.

Read बालीनाति.

^६ Read इत्येव.

^७ Read निरर्थ.

by scholars, refugees, elders, relatives, and devotees; (and) who has acquired desirable glory by practising self-restraint in a manner worthy of (his) descent,— commands all residents of Purôhitepallika included in the Iksharaki district (*dhāra*):—

(L. 9.) “Be it known to you, that, in order to increase the merit of (Our) mother and father and of Ourselves, we have granted to the Brāhmaṇa Nāgaśarman of the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* this hamlet (*pallikā*), not to be entered by irregular or regular soldiers, unless (in order to arrest) robbers or persons guilty of high-treason, exempt from all taxes and from forced labour, to be enjoyed, under the rules of an *agrahara*, by (the donor's) descendants, (and) to last as long as the moon, the sun, the ocean, and the earth shall exist.

(L. 12.) “Therefore kings belonging to Our lineage and others, considering that sovereignty is liable to cessation, that life is followed by separation, and that (only) virtues are lasting a long time, admitting the principle that gifts to virtuous men are noble achievements, and desirous of accumulating for a long time brilliant fame, as bright as the rays of the moon, must approve and protect this grant of a hamlet.

(L. 15.) “For the holy Vyāsa, the arranger of the Vēdas, has spoken:—

[Here follow two of the customary verses.]

(L. 17.) Having enquired (regarding the necessary details of the grant?), (this edict) was written by me, the great minister for peace and war (*mahāsāndhivigrahika*) Karka, Halaśala being the messenger (*dātaka*), in the year 241, on the 15th (*tīthi*) of the bright (fortnight) of Kārttika.

No. 22.— FIVE BANA INSCRIPTIONS FROM GUDIMALLAM.¹

By V. VENKATYA, M.A., RAI BANADER.

Gudimallam is a village in the Kālahasti Zamindari of the modern Chittoor District, about 8 miles from Rāpiguṇṭa Junction, and 13 miles south-west of Kālahasti town. On a hurried visit to the village which I paid in August 1903, I found important inscriptions; and subsequently a member of the Madras epigraphical establishment was deputed to examine the place more leisurely. In all, 26 inscriptions were copied in the Paraśurāmēśvara temple at the village.² They belong to the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar (No. 229 of 1903); the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (No. 226 of 1903) and Nripatunga (No. 228 of 1903); the Bāṇa prince Vijayāditya (Nos. 223 and 224 of 1903); the Chōla king Parāntaka I. (No. 225 of 1903), Rājakēśarivarman (No. 222 of 1903), Vikrama-Chōla (Nos. 212 and 213 of 1903) and Rājārāja III. (Nos. 204-11, 214, 216-21 and 227 of 1903). The village is called Tiruvip̄perumbēḍu in Śilai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam in Perumbānappāḍi, a district of Jayaṅgaṇḍa-Chōla-maṇḍalam. In the earlier records (Nos. 226, 223, 224, 229 of 1903) the forms Tiruvippirambēḍu and Tiruvirpirambēḍu (Nos. 228 and 224 of 1903) and Tiruvip̄perumbēḍu (No. 222 of 1903) occur. In three of them, the village is mentioned without the district to which it belonged (Nos. 223, 226 and 229 of 1903). In four others Śilai-nāḍu and Vēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam are added. If we accept the form which occurs in the earliest inscription, *viz.* *Tiruvippirambēḍu*, the name may be analysed into *Tiruvippira* and *pēḍu*. *Vippira* is apparently a *taddhava* of the Sanskrit *vīra*, ‘a brāhmaṇa.’ Consequently, the name would signify ‘the sacred village of the brāhmaṇa.’ The temple receives the names— Paraśurāmīśvararattu-Mahādēva (A. below), Paraśurāmīśvararattu-Perumāṇḍigal (D. below), Paraśurāmīśvararattu-Pirāṇār (E.

¹ My thanks are due to Dr. Fleet who very kindly read two proofs of this article at my request and made a number of valuable suggestions, almost all of which I have adopted.

² Nos. 204 to 229 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1903.

below), Paraśurāmiśvarattu-Perumāṇḍiḡal (No. 222 of 1903) and Paraśurāmiśvaramuḍaiyār (No. 221 of 1903). Thus the temple is invariably called Paraśurāmiśvara from the time of the earliest inscriptions down to the present day. None of the epigraphs, however, furnishes any clue as to the circumstances which led to the choice of this name.

The subjoined inscriptions A. to E.¹ are the earliest records of the temple and are selected for publication as they throw some light on the history of a feudatory family, that of the Banas, the members of which appear to have played an important part in Southern India in ancient times: a general note on the history of this family is given on pp. 229 to 240, below. Most of the stones on which these inscriptions are engraved were found lying in the court-yard of the temple. The fact that three of them register gifts to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple may be taken to show that the stones belonged originally to it: perhaps they became detached from the temple when it was built (or rebuilt) during the reign of the Chōla king Vikrama-Chōla.²

The palæography of these records does not call for any special remarks. Attention may, however, be drawn to the fact that two dots placed one above the other are used as a sign of punctuation in line 10 of A.³ The initial vowel *i* is written in line 31 of B. and line 25 of D. exactly as in the Grantha portion of the Kaśakuḍi plates of the Pallava king Nandivarman Pallavamalla, while the more common form of the letter occurs in line 52 of the former record. Less important peculiarities are noticed in the footnotes to the text of each of the records. As regards the language, which is Tamil, the only point that deserves to be noted is the use of the phrase *chandrādityagatam* (ll. 32 to 35 of B; and l. 10 of E.) instead of the more common *chandrādityavat*.⁴

A. records a gift of land for a lamp to burn in the Paraśurāmiśvara temple by a certain Muḷḷirkiḷār who was one of the members of the committee administering the village of Tiruvippirambēḍu. The land granted was purchased by the donor from another member of the same committee. In B. a third member of the same committee granted land for removing silt from the tank called Vellēri at Tiruvippirambēḍu. Out of the produce of this land were to be met the charges for digging pits in the tank and depositing the silt on the tank-band. In C. the stone is mutilated on the right side, so that the writing has suffered on three sides of it. The missing letters on the first side can be restored with some certainty, while on the third side restoration is not possible. The object of the grant is consequently not clear; but it probably registers the gift of a lamp. In D. the Bāna queen Mādēvi-aḍiḡal granted 30 *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold from the interest of which was to be met the expenditure on account of twilight offerings and lamps to the Paraśurāmiśvara temple at Tiruvippirambēḍu. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēḍu accepted the endowment and undertook to provide twilight offerings and lamps. E. registers a gift of gold by a native of Viramaṅgalam for a perpetual lamp. The amount consisted of twenty *kaḷaṅḡu* of gold, and the interest on it was calculated at the rate of four *maṅḡaḍi* per year for each *kaḷaṅḡu*. Out of the interest amounting to 4 *kaḷaṅḡu*, 180 *nāḷi* of ghee was to be purchased at the rate of 45 *nāḷi* for each *kaḷaṅḡu*. At one *uri* of ghee per day, 180 *nāḷi* would be enough for the whole year. The assembly of Tiruvippirambēḍu took charge of the endowment and agreed to provide the ghee required every day.

¹ These five inscriptions have also been published by Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao, M.A., in the *Indian Anti-Quary*, Vol. XL, pp. 104-114. It will be seen that there are some differences both in the readings and in the translations. Further, ll. 46 to 58 of B. are altogether omitted by him and ll. 15 to 43 of C. are left out as they are fragmentary.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1903-04*, p. 24, No. 212 of 1903.

³ Compare *South-Ind. Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 111, note 1.

⁴ The expression *chandrādityagatam* occurs in an inscription of the Chōla king Paraśurāmarvarman at Kuḷamiyā-malai (No. 350 of 1904).

The relationship which the members of the committee or commissioners (*gaṇattār*) bore to the village assembly is not clear. In other words, their respective jurisdiction is not known. The commissioners are said to be ruling the village. Two other villages besides Tiruvipirambēḍu are at present known to have possessed this constitution, viz. Uttirapmērūr, the modern Uttaramallūr in the Chingleput district¹ and Aimbūḍi, the modern Ammanūḍi near Tiravaṇam in the North Arcot District.² These seem to have been pretty large villages. Perhaps the commissioners were expected to represent the interests of the king.

A.—Inscription of the time of Vikramāditya Māvali-Vāṇarāya : dated in the 23rd year of Nandippōttaraiyar.³

TEXT.

- | | | | | | | |
|----|--------------------------|------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 | Srasti | [\|\|*] | Śri-Nanti(ndi)- | 13 | r | Vēppamboja- |
| 2 | ppō[t*] | taraiyark- | | 14 | ppāl | ivv-ār-ālu- |
| 3 | ku | yāṇḍu | iru- | 15 | ā-gaṇattāru] | Ku- |
| 4 | battu-mūgrā ⁴ | | | 16 | laippa[\|] | ār-Kka- |
| 5 | vaḍu | Vikkiramā- | | 17 | piyar | [A]gnīśa[r]mma- |
| 6 | ditte(tta)-Māvali- | | | 18 | u | vilaśrāva[p]ai- |
| 7 | Vāṇarāyar | Vaḍu- | | 19 | yāl | viṅga kon- |
| 8 | gavaḷi-mērku | | | 20 | ḍu | ivv-ār Paraśu- |
| 9 | prithivirājyañ- | | | 21 | ra(rā) | mīśvarattu Mahādē ⁵ - |
| 10 | jeya : ⁶ | Tiruvi[p*]pira- | | 22 | varkku | tiruvī]ak- |
| 11 | mbēḍ-āḷuṅ-gaṇa- | | | 23 | ku-ney-ppuṇam=[A]- | |
| 12 | ttāru] | Muḷḷir-ki][a]- | | 24 | ga | kuḍattār [\|\|*] |
| | 25 | ivv-ār sabhaiyōmmum | i-nnilattē | ivv-ār-eh[che]kk-a][\|a]ṇa | ellām | |
| | 26 | naṭṭu-ttiruvī]akkukkēy | vāya | eṇṇai | kaḷvadāga=ppaṇittōm ⁷ | [\|\|*] |

TRANSLATION.

Hail ! In the twenty-third year (of the reign) of the glorious Nandippōttaraiyar,—while Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya was ruling over the Vaḍugavaḷi-mērku (province), Muḷḷir-kiḷār, (one) of the members of the committee (*gaṇa*) administering (the village of) Tiruvi[p]-pirambēḍu, purchased by a deed of sale⁸ (the field called) Vēppamboḷappāl (from) Kaṇiyar Agniśarman of Kuḷaippalūr, (one) of the members of the committee administering this village, and gave (it) to (the god) Mahādēva (Śiva) of (the temple of) Paraśurāmīśvara at this village, as an endowment for (supplying) ghee to the sacred lamps.⁹ The assembly of this village

¹ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 3.

² *Ibid.* p. 113. [Vāḷachcheri in the North Arcot district was another such village; see Nos. 302, 308, 312 and 315 of the Madras Epigraphical Collection for 1911.—H. K. S.]

³ No. 229 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photographic plate, ll. 1 to 24 are engraved on one of the broad sides of the stone and ll. 25-26 on one of the narrow sides.

⁴ The secondary *ā* of *rā* is a separate symbol.

⁵ The *ai* sign is used here as a sign of punctuation; compare *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. p. 111, note 1.

⁶ The *aksharas* *hādē* are much smaller than the rest of the inscription.

⁷ The *pulī* which is conspicuous by its absence in the whole inscription is marked on the last letter *m*.

⁸ The term *vilai-śrāvaṇai* occurs twice in a similar context in *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 105, text-line 5.

⁹ With *tiruvī]akku-ney-ppuṇam* compare *ambala-ppuṇam* (above, Vol. III. p. 285, text-line 7), *mandavāṇa-ppuṇam* (*South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 5, text-line 5), *paḍakku-ppuṇam* (*ibid.* p. 7, text-line 5) and *eyṇai]igai-ppuṇam* (*ibid.* p. 19, text-line 5).

ordered that all the oil-mills (*śekku*) of this village shall be set up on this land¹ and the oil required exclusively for the sacred lamps shall be procured (*from them*).

B.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vaṇarāya: dated in the 49th year of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman.

TEXT.²

On one of the broad faces of the stone.

| | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| 1 [Sva]sti [\|\|*] Śri-kō-Vi- | 9 jyañ=jeyya Ti- | 17 n\|\|ai Nandiku- |
| 2 ś[ai]ya-Dantivikki- | 10 ruvippiramb[ē]- | 18 nḍil=[ā]ṇa śer[ṇ] |
| 3 [ra]maparumarku y[ā]- | 11 ḍ-ā\|ṇā-gaṇat- | 19 ivv-ār Ve[\|]- |
| 4 nḍu nārpatto- | 12 tāru\| Kalīyama- | 20 lāriyḱku ē- |
| 5 pbadāvadu Vi- | 13 āgilāñ-gilār | 21 riḱḱeḱuv-āga |
| 6 jaiyāditta-Ma- | 14 Ayyappō[r]- | 22 vaittēṇ [i*] i- |
| 7 hāvali-Vā[ṇa]- | 15 riyeṇ eṇga- | 23 diḱ-bhōga[ā]- |
| 8 rāyar prithivirā- | 16 \| Tūmbanāri | 24 goḱṇ i-v- |

On one side of the same.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| 25 [ve]l[i]ā- | 32 rmañ-cha- | 39 Intti- |
| 26 riye[i]ē | 33 ndrādi- | 40 ṇāṇ 1000 ³ |
| 27 kuḷi knt- | 34 tyagata- | 41 aśvamē- |
| 28 ti aṭṭu- | 35 ā-jel- | 42 dhañ-jey- |
| 29 vadāga | 36 vadāy- | 43 da palan |
| 30 vaittē- | 37 ttu [i*] i- | 44 peruvā |
| 31 ṇ [i*] i ³ -ddha- | 38 ddharmañ-je- | 45 r [i*] |

On another side of the same.⁵

| | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------|
| 46 id-aḷi- | 51 tu=ppaḱu- | 56 ṇ muḱi- |
| 47 ttāṇ | 52 vār [i*] i-ddha- | 57 mēli- |
| 48 Vāraṇāśi ⁶ | 53 rmmam rakahi- | 58 ṇa [\|\|*] |
| 49 alittā- | 54 ttāṇ | |
| 50 ṇ pāvat- | 55 aḱi e ⁷ - | |

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the forty-ninth year of the glorious king Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman,—while Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vaṇarāya was ruling over the earth,—I, Ayyappōrri, the headman (*kūḷār*) of Kalīyamaṅgalam, (one) of the members of the committee administering (the village of) Tiruvippirambēḱu, gave the field called Nandikupḱil in (the tank) Tūmbanāri of our

¹ It is also possible that the reading is *śēkk-ajḱaga* (instead of *śēkk-ajḱaga*), in which case the translation would be "all (the crops) for which the fields of this village are (set) shall be raised on this field, and the oil required for the sacred lamps shall be purchased (out of the produce)."

² No. 226 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

³ This initial vowel *i* is written as is the Grantha portion of the Kāśikūḱi plates. The more usual form occurs in ll. 27, 46 and 52 below.

⁴ This symbol for one thousand occurs in one of the Nānāghāt inscriptions. This line has been read by Mr. Gopinatha Rao as *śārai, which is probably a printer's mistake for *śārai. The reading *śārai is unlikely as the symbol for *ai*, in other cases where it occurs in the inscription (ll. 6, 22 and 30), is not separated from the consonant to which it belongs. Besides the accusative *śārai would be wrong and would have to be corrected into *āḱa or *śāḱ.

⁵ This side of the stone is damaged, but no letters have suffered on that account.

⁶ The length of *ā* is added to the right of *ṇ* and goes up; compare *South-Ind. Ins.* Vol. I, p. 114 and Vol. II, p. 200, note 1.

⁷ The vowel *e* is almost a semicircle with a loop at the left end.

(village) to (the tank called) **Vellēri** of this village, as the tank-field (*ēriccheru*). I gave (it) so that (they) may dig pits in this **Vellēri** (tank) and deposit (the silt on the bund)—(paying the charges) from the produce (*bhōga*) of this (field).

This charity has to last (as long) as the moon and the sun endure. One who maintains this charity shall obtain the merit of having performed one thousand horse-sacrifices. One who destroys it shall incur the sin of ruining **Vaṇaśāli**. The feet of one who protects this charity shall be on my head.

C.—Inscription of the time of **Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya** : dated in the 24th year of **Nripatunga**.¹

TEXT.

On the first side of the stone.

- | | | | |
|---|--------------------------|----|------------------------|
| 1 | Sva[st]i [i*] [Śri*]- | 9 | ra-pratihārikṛita |
| 2 | Nṛi[pa][tuṇ*]- | 10 | śrī-Mahābali- |
| 3 | gar[ku y][āṇ*]- | 11 | kul-ōtbbhava(ōdbhava)- |
| 4 | ḍa iruba[ttu-nā*]- | 12 | śrī-Vāṇavi- |
| 5 | l[ā]vadu [sa][kala*]- | 13 | *jyādhara-Mah[ā]- |
| 6 | jagat-tr[ā][y-ābhi*]- | 14 | bali-Vāṇa- |
| 7 | vandita-[sa][r-āsur-ā*]- | 15 | rāyar Vaduga- |
| 8 | dhīśa-Parasā[va*]- | | |

On the second side of the stone.

- 16 valiyiṇ mērku pr[i](pṛi)thivirājyañ=jeyya-Ttīruvéṅgaḍa-k-
17 kōṭṭattu=[Ch]ohilai-nāṭṭu-Ttīruvirppirambēṭṭu sabhai-

On the third side of the stone.

- | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|----|---------------------|
| 18 | . . rkka ² | 30 | . . ga i-pparu- |
| 19 | . . . m vi[ṇ] | 31 | . . .śāda-muttāmē- |
| 20 | . . d[a]va[nā]r | 32 | r[pa]ḍu yēttuv[ō]- |
| 21 | . . nariyulā | 33 | [m]āṇam sabh[ai]- |
| 22 | . . [a] tēya | 34 | yōm [i*] ippa[ra]- |
| 23 | . . poṇ | 35 | . . ādit[t]aṇu- |
| 24 | . . ti oru-vi | 36 | ñ-jaandiraṇu- |
| 25 | . . . ira[n]- | 37 | mm=ṇ[a]a[va]- |
| 26 | . . . [yu]m[m]o | 38 | m uḍuvōmā- |
| 27 | . . [ṇ]ayya[ru] | 39 | ṇōm i-ppa- |
| 28 | . . mōrum o- | 40 | ra[s]u muttīṇar[n]- |
| 29 | . . yum . yu | | |

On the fourth side of the stone.³

- 41 . . . iṇaṇ uttamaṇ dha[r]mmamāva-
42 . . . mēṭṭu sabheyam⁴ [i*] i-dha-
43 . . . ttaṇ pādāṇ ep talai mōla [i*]

¹ No. 228 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. As will be seen from the accompanying photographic plate, ll. 1 to 15 and 18 to 40 are engraved on the two broad sides of the stone and the rest of the inscriptions on the two narrow sides.

² The secondary ś is added to the y at the bottom.

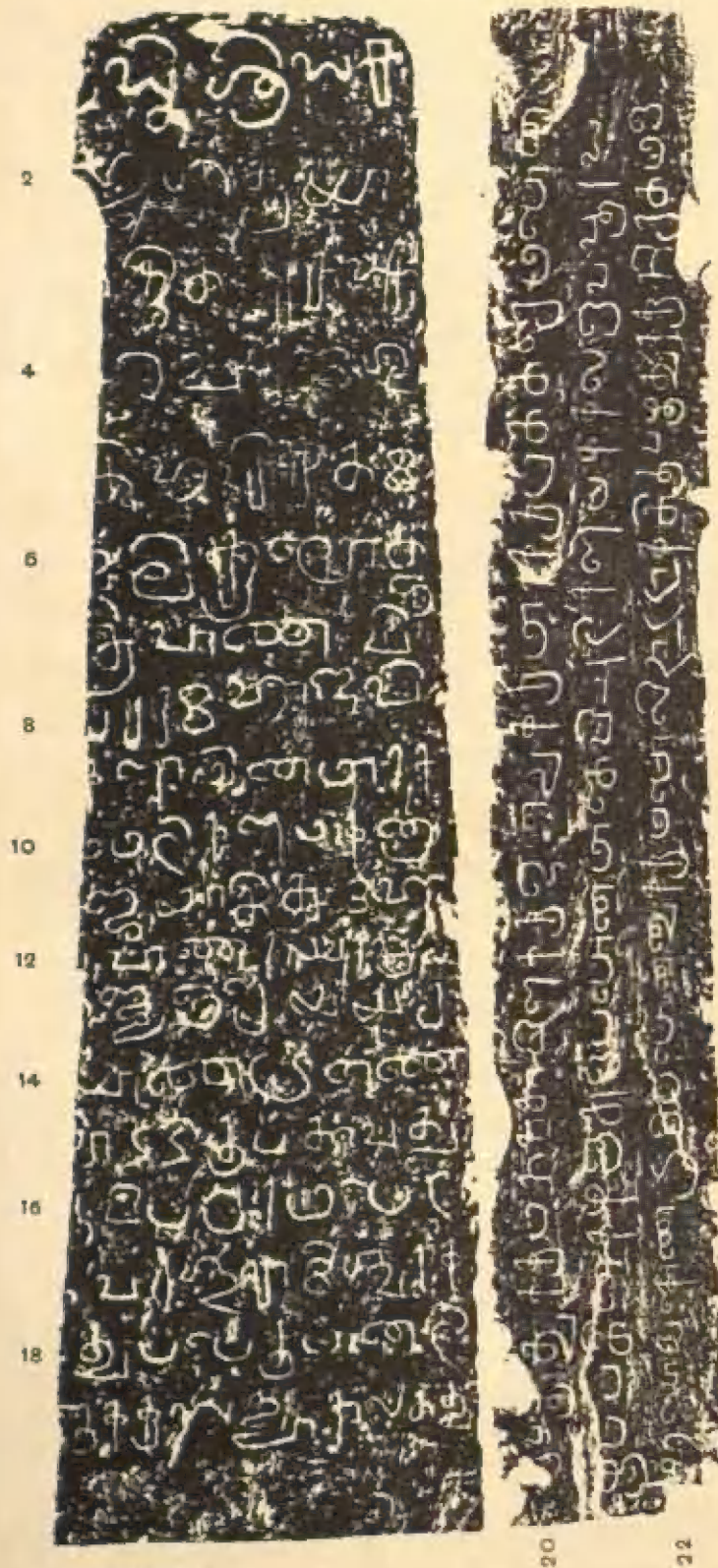
³ One or more lines of the inscription are completely broken at the top of this side of the stone.

⁴ A few akṣaras are lost at the beginning of each line on this side of the stone.

⁵ Read *sabhaigōm*.

Five Bana Inscriptions from Gudimallam.

D. Inscription dated Saka 820.

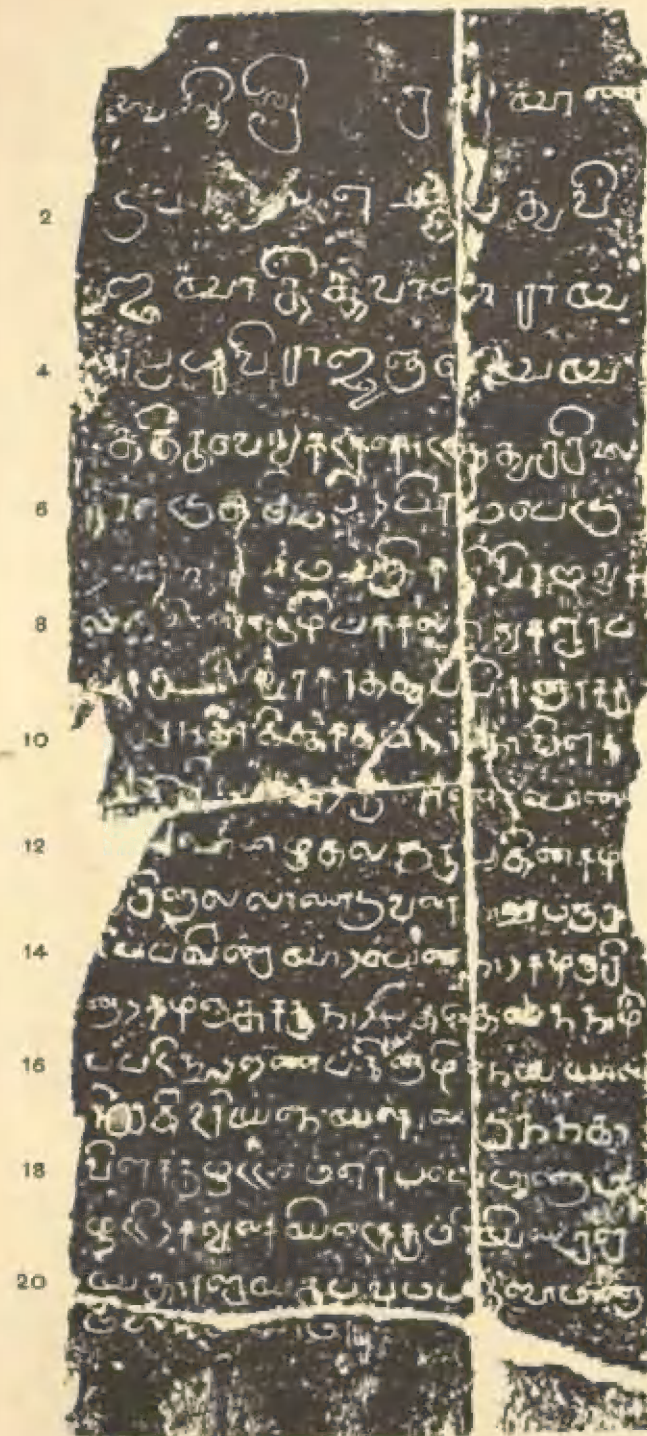


V. VENKAYYA.



SCALE: ONE-SIXTH.
FROM IMPRESSIONS PREPARED BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AIYAR.

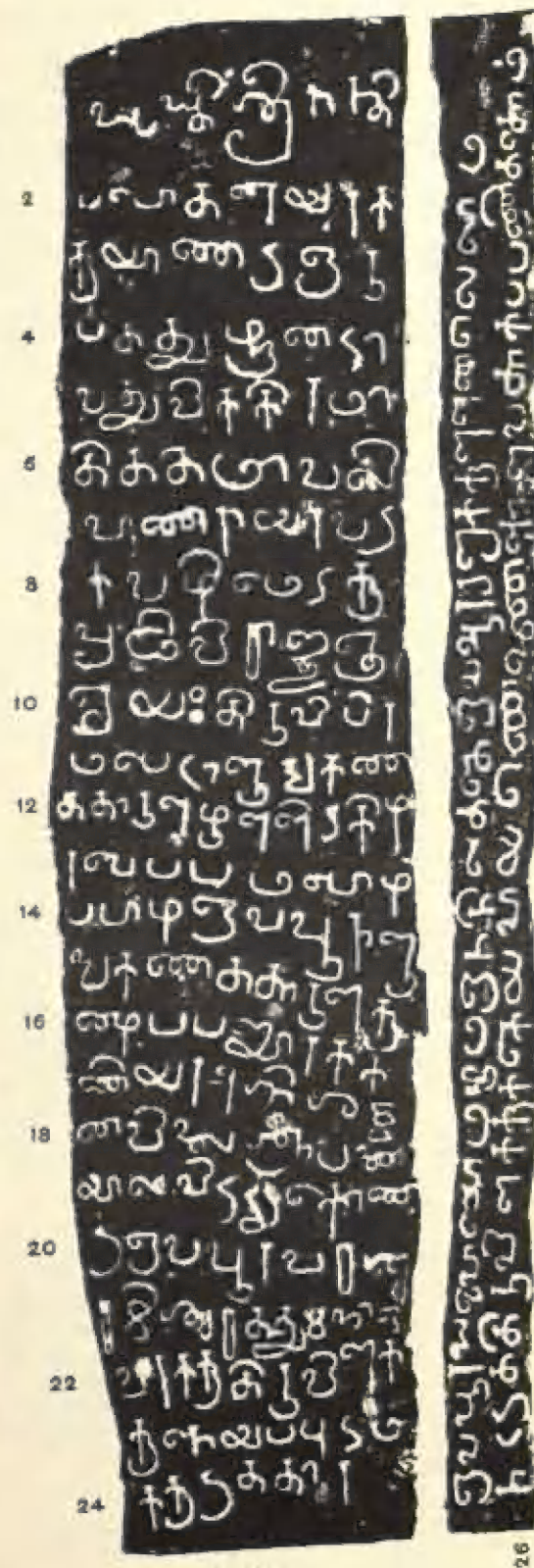
E. Inscription dated Saka 8[2]7.



W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH.

Five Bana Inscriptions from Gudimallam.

A. Inscription of Nandippottaraiyar.



V. VENKAYYA.

B. Inscription of Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman.



SCALE: ONE-SEVENTH.
FROM IMPRESSIONS PREPARED BY K. V. SUBRAHMANYA Aiyar.

C. Inscription of Nripatunga.



W. GRIGGS & SONS, LTD., PHOTO-LITH.

TRANSLATION.

Hail! In the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the glorious Nripatūṅga,—while the illustrious Vāṇavidyādharu-Mahābali-Vāṇarāya, born in the prosperous race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the west of Vaṇḍugavaḷi, (the members of) the assembly of Tiruvirpirambēḍu in Silai-nāḍu (a subdivision) of Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam

[The rest of the inscription is too fragmentary to be translated.]

D.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Māhābali-Vāṇarāya : dated Śaka 820.¹

TEXT.

On the first side of the stone.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 1 [Sva]sti śri [i*] Saka- | 11 [r Vi*]jayāditta-Mahā- |
| 2 [la*]-jagat-tray-ā- | 12 [ba*][li]-Vāṇarāyar p[ri]t[thi]- |
| 3 [bhiva*]ndita-sur-āsu- | 13 [vīrā*]jyañ-jeyya Śa- |
| 4 [r-ādhi*]śa-Paramēśva- | 14 [kar*] [y]āṇḍu en- |
| 5 [ra-pra*]tīhārikṛita-Ma- | 15 [nū]rr-irubadāvadu |
| 6 [hā*][ba]li-kul-otbha- | 16 [Ti*]ruvipirambēḍ- |
| 7 [va*](ādhava)-[śri]-Vāṇavi- | 17 [tu*] Paraśurāmiśva[ra]ga- |
| 8 [dyā*][dha]rar Mahādēvi- | 18 [rat*]tu-pperumāṇḍi- |
| 9 [aḍiga*]-āyīṇa Māraka- | 19 [ga*]ukku sandhyā ² -kālatu |
| 10 . . [m]maḍigaḷ magapā- | |

On the second side of the stone.

- 20 [tira]va[mu]dukkum nandāvilakku onṇukkum-āga-kkaṇḍatta śemboṇ
 21 muppaḍiṇ kaḷaṇḍu [i*] i-ppon Mādēvi-aḍigaḷ pakkal iev-ūṇ sa-
 22 bb[ai]yōṇ-gopḍu i-pponukku-ppoli-ūṭṭāga tiruvamadaḍu niśadam i

On the third side of the stone.

[One or more lines are mutilated here.]

- | | |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 23 [da]ñ-jelutū- | 29 [tōm*] [sa]bhāyōm [i*] |
| 24 [vō*]māpōm sa[bh]ai- | 30 [id-a*]or-epōm ³ Ga- |
| 25 [yō*]m [i*] i-ddha | 31 [ā*]gai-iḍai-Kkuma- |
| 26 | 32 [ri-i*]ḍai-chcheydā . |
| 27 [ko*]ḍu [śe]ln[itu]- | 33 [śe*]yda pāpattu-[p]- |
| 28 [vada*]ga oṭṭi-kkaṇḍu- | 34 [paḍu*]vārāpār [i*] |

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas, eight hundred and twenty, when [Vi]jayāditya-Mahā[ba]li-Vāṇarāya, son of Mahādēvi-Aḍigaḷ alias Māraka . . maḍigaḷ,

¹ No. 223 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

² The secondary ā is added to the right of y.

³ If my reading be correct, the old form of i is used here as in the Grantha portion of the Kāṇkuḍi grant; *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. plate facing p. 351, text-line 108.

⁴ This line is doubtful. Perhaps the reading is

25 . . i-ddharumam palma-

26 āḍicararēy-kkaik-

⁵ The ā of rō is a separate symbol instead of being added to the r as in modern Tamil; compare *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III. p. 90.

(queen)¹ of the glorious Vānavi[dyā]dhara, born from the race of Mahābali who had been made door-keepers by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva), who is worshipped in all the three worlds, was ruling the earth,— thirty *kaḷaṅḷu* of pure gold were given for a perpetual lamp and offerings at twilight to the god (*perumāṇaḍigaḷ*) of (the temple called) Paraśurāmiśvaragaram at Tiruvippirambēdu. We, (the members of) the assembly of this village received this gold from (the queen) Mādēvi-Aḍigaḷ every day for offerings as interest for this gold.

[A portion of the inscription is here lost.]

We, (the members of) the assembly shall pay We, (the members of) the assembly agreed and gave [that we] shall pay Those who deny this shall be guilty of the sins committed by all sinners between the Ganges and Kumari.

E.—Inscription of the time of Vijayāditya-Vānarāya: dated Śaka 827.²

TEXT.

- 1 Svasti Śri [||*] Śa[kar] yāṇ-
- 2 ḍu 8[2]7 [āva]ḍu Vi-
- 3 jayāditta-Vā[ṇa]rāya-
- 4 [r] pri[th]uvirāyaṇ-[j]eyya-
- 5 Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kkōṭ[ṭ]ttu-Chchilai-
- 6 nāṭṭu-Ttiruvirpirambēṭṭu
- 7 [sabhaiyō]m [a]ḍig[āri] Viramaṅga-
- 8 laṇ-[gi]lā[n]=Rāli-pakkal [e]ṅgaḷur(lār)=P-
- 9 paraśi[rāmi]śvaragaratt[u]-ppir[ā]ṇārkkū-
- 10 ch[cha]ndirāḍittagata[m] na[nḍ]āvilak-
- 11 [ku e]rip[paḍaḷ]ku ko[n]ḍa poṇ
- 12 [i-p*]poṇ mudal [i]rubadiṇ kaḷa-
- 13 [ā*]jipāll-āṇḍuvatai [nā]lu maṭṭi[ā]-
- 14 [di]-ppaliśaiyāṅ-poṇ [n]āṅ-kaḷaṅḷi³.
- 15 nāṅ-kaḷaṅḷukku nārpatt[ai]y-nnāli-
- 16 ppaḍi nāṅṅṅbadi-nāli n[e]yyāl
- 17 nīṣaḍi uriy ney ko[n]ḍu nandā-
- 18 vilakku muttāmai⁴ erip[pō]māṇōm [i*]
- 19 mutt[ir]-Kaṇḍaiy-iḍai-Kkuma[rī]y-iḍai-chche-
- 20 yḍār ſeyḍa pa(pā)vam pa[ḍu]vōmāṇō-
- 21 m sa[bhaiyō]m |||—

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the year of the Śakas 8[2]7, while Vijayāditya-Vānarāya was ruling the earth,— we, (the members of) the assembly of Tiruvirpirambēdu in Śilai-nāḍu, (a subdivision) of Tiruvēṅgaḍa-kōṭṭam, received gold from the magistrate (*aḍigāri*) Tēli, the headman of Viramaṅgalam, for burning (one) perpetual lamp, as long as the moon and the sun endure, to the god (*pirāṅṅār*) of (the temple called) Paraśurāmiśvaragaram in our village. The interest on this gold—the capital of twenty *kaḷaṅḷu*— is four *kaḷaṅḷu* of gold annually, at the rate

¹ Another translation of the passage is: "Son of Māraka . . . maḍigaḷ, who was the great queen māḍāḍēvi-Aḍigaḷ) of the glorious Vānavidyādhara."

² No. 224 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

³ The *akṣara* *ti* (*ji*) is corrected from *tu*.

⁴ Above the *akṣara* *ffā* is a secondary *i* which seems to have been erased by the engraver himself.

of four *mañjāḍi* (for each *kaḷaṇḍu*). One hundred and eighty *nāḷi* (may be purchased annually) for (this amount) at the rate of forty-five *nāḷi* of ghee for (each) *kaḷaṇḍu*. We shall without obstruction burn a perpetual lamp with one *uri* of ghee daily. If there be any obstruction, we (the members of) the assembly shall incur the sin committed by sinners between the Ganges and Kamari.

Note on the history of the Bāṇa princes.

Of the foregoing records, the inscription A. is dated during the reign of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar¹ whose feudatory was the Bāṇa chief Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya. B. belongs to the time of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Dantivikramavarman, who had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya for his feudatory, and C. to that of Nripatūṅga, who probably belonged to the same family, though the characteristic portions of the names of the kings of that line are here missing. The grant recorded in the latter was made while Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya was governing the Vaḍugavaḷi-merku (province). D. and E. are dated in the Śaka era² and belong to the time of the Bāṇa chief Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya. The tract of country in which Kālahasti and Guḍimallam are situated belonged to the Pallavas,³ and it is therefore no matter for surprise that an inscription of that dynasty and two of the Gaṅga-Pallavas have been found there.

The identity of Nandippōttaraiyar of the Guḍimallam inscription A. with Nandivarman Pallavamalla of the Kāśākṇḍi plates remains doubtful, though not unlikely. As regards Dantivikramavarman, another inscription of his reign dated two years later than his Guḍimallam record has been found at Tiruchchāṇṇūr near Tirupati;⁴ and we may, for the present, identify him with the first Gaṅga-Pallava king Dantivarman of the Bāhūr plates, and Nripatūṅga with his grandson Nripatūṅga-Vikramavarman. Earlier inscriptions of the former, ranging from the 10th to the 21st year, have been so far found in the vicinity of Conjeeveram⁵ and may be taken to show that his territory was limited. Why the two later inscriptions are found in a different part of the country is a point on which no information is at present forthcoming. His son Nandivikramavarman, too, seems to have been ruling a limited country, to judge from his inscriptions found

¹ Mr. Gopinatha Rao identifies Nandippōttaraiyar with K5-Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman and accordingly concludes that B. is older than A. It will be seen that the photo-lithographs of these two records issued with this paper do not bear out this conclusion. Apart from his wholesale identification of all kings in whose names the word *nandi* is found as well as of those with *danti* as part of their names, both of which I consider untenable, even Mr. Gopinatha Rao cannot deny that there were at least two kings with the name Nandivarman, viz. Nandivarman Pallavamalla and K5-Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman or -Nandivarman. Surely it cannot be contended that Nandivarman Pallavamalla has left no stone inscriptions. And as he is called Nandipōttarāja in the Kāśākṇḍi plates, Nandippōttaraiyar of A. may for the present be identified with him. This initial mistake of Mr. Gopinatha Rao has led him to other errors in the chronology of the Bāṇas.

² The fact that the Śaka era is used in them is probably due to the fact that the Gaṅga-Pallavas had completely collapsed and the overlordship of the Chōḷas had not yet been recognised in that part of the country. The Bāṇas who had been feudatories of the Gaṅga-Pallavas had probably not yet made up their minds to transfer their allegiance to the Chōḷas. Similarly, in a Tiruvallam inscription, we find the Śaka date 810 given and no overlord of the Bāṇa chief is mentioned (*South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. III, p. 95). Other Tamil epigraphs which are dated in the Śaka era are Nos. 338 and 350 of 1902 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 136 and 187) and No. 426 of 1903 (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1903-04*, paragraph 20). One of the inscriptions of the Chōḷa king Virarājendra I. is dated in the Śaka year coupled with the cyclic year (No. 273 of 1904). A record of Parāntaka I. found at Grāmam in the South Arcot District is dated in the Kaliyuga era and gives the number of days that had actually elapsed on a certain day during the reign of the Chōḷa king (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, p. 261). Another of Parakāśavarman Uttama-Chōḷa found at Tiruvijāyamarudūr in the Tanjore District is also dated in the Kaliyuga era (*Madras Epigraphical Report for 1907-08*, paragraph 53).

³ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1906-07*, Part II, paragraph 38.

⁴ No. 262 of the *Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904*.

⁵ See the *Director-General's Annual for 1906-07*, Part II, p. 238, note 7.

so far. Nandivarman's son Nripataṅga was evidently the most powerful king of the family, as his inscriptions are found both in the ancient Pallava territory and in the Chola country.¹ In fact, it may be presumed that the Gaṅga-Pallavas occupied a comparatively insignificant position during the reign of the first two kings. This partly accounts for the fact that the descendants of the original Pallavas of Conjeeveram continued until a very late period side by side with the Gaṅga-Pallavas.²

Apart from the Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas, the five subjoined records throw considerable light on the history of a feudatory family which played an important part in the ancient history of Southern India. These are the Bāṇas, who traced their descent to the demon Mahābali. They claim to be lords of Nandagiri, i.e. Nandidroog in the Chik-Ballāpur taluka, Kōlār District, Mysore State, and their traditional capital, the place of origin claimed by them, was Parivipura, regarding which place see p. 231 below. The inscriptions of this family have been found in the northern portion of the North Arcot District and in the Kōlār District of the Mysore State. They seem to have been the guardians of the Pallava and Gaṅga-Pallava territories in the north and often figure in cattle-raids and similar frontier wars.

The earliest mention of the Bāṇasis is in the Talgund pillar inscription of the Kadamba king Kākusthavarman. Here it is said that Mayūrasarman, the first Kadamba king, who may be assigned roughly to the 5th century A.D., levied tribute from 'the great Bāṇa' who was perhaps a Pallava feudatory. We are not told definitely where 'the great Bāṇa's' dominion lay.³

The country ruled over by the Bāṇasis is called *Āndhrāt pathaś paśchimāt kṣitih*, 'the land to the west of the Āndhra road (or of the country called Āndhrapatha),' in Sanskrit in the Udayādinam grant of Vikramāditya II;⁴ *Vaḍugavaḷi-mārku* in A. above; *Vaḍugavaḷiyin mārku* in C. above; the *Vaḍugavaḷi* twelve-thousand in a Tiruvallam inscription of Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman;⁵ *Vaḍugavaḷi 12,000 and Maṇne 200* in a record from the vicinity of Puṅganūr in the North Arcot District;⁶ and "the twelve-thousand villages in the Āndhra-Maṇḍala" in the Maḍiyanūr plates, professing to be dated in A.D. 338.⁷ The last mentioned record is spurious, but there seems to be no objection to admit its evidence on the geographical point.

Perumbāpappāḍi, which occurs in later Tamil inscriptions, was apparently another name for the Bāṇa territory. This province seems to have extended from Puṅganūr in the west to Kāla-hasti in the east. The river Pālār probably formed the southern boundary of the province in ancient times.⁸ None of the foregoing terms make it clear if the Bāṇa dominions formed part of the Āndhra country, or were situated to the west of it, or should be looked for to the west of a road running from the Tamil to the Vaḍuga, Āndhra or Telugu, country. The question is further complicated by the absence of any definite boundaries of the Āndhra country that could be

¹ See above, Vol. VIII, p. 203.

² See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-07, Part II, p. 239 f.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, paragraph 45.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 85. The *Bṛihad-Bāṇa* of verse 15 corresponds to the term *Perum-Bāṇa* of the territorial term Perumbāpappāḍi which appears to denote the Bāṇa dominions.

⁵ From the way in which he is here mentioned it looks as if his dominions were not very far from Śrīparvatam, i.e. Sitalam in the Kurnool District.

⁶ Above, Vol. III, p. 76, text-line 21.

⁷ *South-Ind. Insura.* Vol. III, p. 90.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-07, Part II, paragraph 45.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XV, p. 175. Dr. Fleet has told me that the real reading is not *Āndhramaṇḍalaś deśadāśa* but *Āndhramaṇḍalaś cāḍaśaśaśagrāma-sampāditaś*, etc., "lord of the seven and a half lakh country supplemented by the Āndhramaṇḍala twelve-thousand villages."

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 45.

easily recognised and identified. On the analogy of the terms *Dakṣiṇapatha* and *Uttarapatha*, *Āndhrapatha*, which actually occurs in the Mayilavolu plates with *Dharmākaṣa* or *Amarāvati* as its capital (or one of its towns),¹ may be taken to be a synonym of *Vaṇugavaḷi* occurring in Tamil inscriptions. In this case, it is not clear why the Bāṇas are said in some of the records to be ruling the western portion of it, and not the whole of it as the others make us believe. Besides, Perumbānappāḍi, which seems to have been another name of the Bāṇa territory, and which has been tentatively located in the northern portion of the modern North Arcot District, could not have formed part of the Āndhra country. On the other hand, we have reason to suppose that it was included in *Toṇḍai-nāḍu* or *-maṇḍalam*, also called *Drāviḍa*.² The Chinese pilgrim Hsuen-Tsiang who visited India in the 7th century A.D. locates Āndhra in the modern Godāvāri and Kistna districts.³ Varāhamihira's location of Āndhra in the 6th century A.D. also takes us to the same locality.⁴ The tract of country in which the inscriptions of the family have been found, i.e. the northern portion of the North Arcot District and a part of the Kolār District of the Mysore State, would correspond to the Perumbānappāḍi of Tamil inscriptions, but cannot be in the west of the Āndhra country, nor form any part of it, as implied in the term *Vaṇugavaḷi-mōṛku*, *Vaṇugavaḷiyin mōṛku* and *Āndhrāt pathaḥ paścīmataḥ*. Consequently we have to suppose, at least provisionally, either that there was a road leading to the Āndhra country (perhaps from *Drāviḍa*) or that the country which lay between Āndhra and *Drāviḍa* was called *Vaṇugavaḷi*, as the road to the Āndhra country lay through it, and it was the country to the west of this road or the western portion of it that was ruled by the Bāṇas. There is still a third possibility. It may be supposed that the name *Vaṇugavaḷi-mōṛku* or its equivalent was the name correctly applied to the Bāṇa dominions in very early times. Then they were probably ruling, as Pallava feudatories, a portion of the modern Ceded districts which would be situated to the west of the Āndhra country. That this is not altogether a wild conjecture is shown by the fact that the Pallava dominions originally extended into the Ceded districts and that the Bāṇas were also ruling some frontier province in that part of the country during the time of the Kadamba king Mayūrasarman. With the rise of the Chalukyas of Bādāmi in the 7th century, the Pallavas appear to have been driven out of the Telugu country and it may be supposed that the Bāṇas were forced into the northern portion of the North Arcot District. This province they continued to call *Vaṇugavaḷi* or *Vaṇugavaḷi-mōṛku*, though it was no longer to the west of the Āndhra country.⁵

Their traditional capital seems to have been *Parivipuri* (corrupted into *Prapuri*), *Parivai*, *Parigipura* or *Paṇvapura*. This place has not yet been identified. The form *Parigipura* may be taken to show that it may be identified with *Parigi* in the Hindupur taluka of the Anantapur District.⁶ This capital is mentioned for the first time in the Sholinghur rock-inscription of *Parāntaka I*.⁷ It may, therefore, be assumed that *Parivipura* became the chief town of the Bāṇas

¹ Above, Vol. VI. p. 88.

² See the Director-General's *Annual* for 1900-7, Part II. p. 238, note 2.

³ Beal's *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II. p. 217 f.

⁴ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 173.

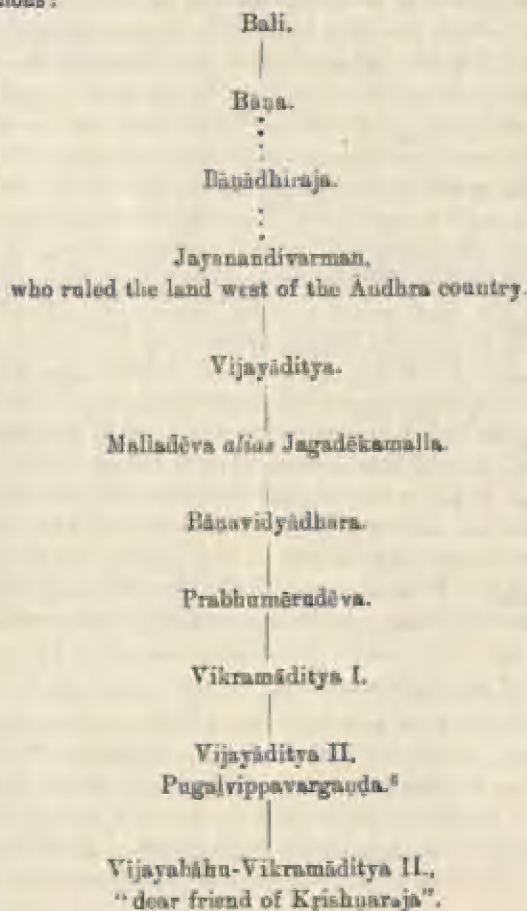
⁵ The Western Gāṇgas called themselves lords of *Kuvalāpura* though their capital was *Tajakāḍ*. The Telugu-Chōḍas claimed to be lords of *Uraiyūr*, though their dominions lay in the Telugu country. Similarly, local families claiming descent in the Pallava race called themselves lords of *Kāñchipura* and devotees of the goddess *Kāmakoṭyambikā* (i.e. the *Kāmākṣī* temple at Conjeeveram). In the same way, the Bāṇas might have applied the original name of their territory to any district occupied by them in later times. See also pp. 238 and 239 below.

⁶ Mr. Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities*, Vol. I. p. 122.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV. p. 221. Here the forms *Parivai* and *Prapuri* occur. *Parivipuri* occurs in the Udayasūdiram plates of *Prithivipati II.* (*South-Ind. Ins.* Vol. II. p. 388) and *Parigipura* in an inscription of the Bāṇa chief *Aggaparāja* (*Nellore Inscriptions* by Masara, Butterworth and Venugopaul Chetty, p. 1201) and *Parivipura* in No. 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1900 (*Annual Report for 1900-7*, Part II. paragraph 46). The form *Parai* is furnished by No. 194 of the same collection for 1899 (*Annual Report for 1899-1900*, paragraph 85).

after they were reduced to the position of Chōla feudatories. Tiruvallam in the North Arcot District seems to have borne the other name *Vāpapuram*, and it is not unlikely that it was one of the important towns, if not the capital, of the Bāṇa territory.¹ Long after the Bāṇas ceased to be rulers, members of the family claimed to be lords of Paṇivipura and Nandagiri.² The Bāṇa crest was a bull, and their banner bore the emblem of a black-buck, while their drum was called *Paṇḍaka*.³ Mahābali, the progenitor of the Bāṇas, is said to have been made door-keeper by the lord of gods and demons, Paramēśvara (Śiva) worshipped in all the three worlds.⁴

The Udayēndiram grant of Vikramāditya II,⁵ furnishes the following genealogy of the Bāṇas for eight generations :



¹ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. III, p. 89.

² See e.g. *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899-1900, paragraph 85.

³ These are mentioned for the first time in the Udayēndiram plates of the Gaṅga-Bāṇa king Prithivipati II. (*South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II, p. 388, verse 24.)

⁴ The expression *sakala-jagat-tray-ābhicandita-sur-āsur-ādāta-Paramēśvara-pratīhṛti-kṛita-Mahābali-kūṇḍakāca* is translated by Mr. Rice, on the strength of some Kanarese tradition, "born of the family of Mahābali, who had made Paramēśvara, lord of gods and demons worshipped in all the three worlds, (his) door-keeper;" *Ep. Cars.* Vol. X, p. II, note 5.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 74 f.

⁶ The title Pugalvipavargaṇḍa was also borne by a brother-in-law of the Chōla prince Rājāditya, son of Parantaka I. (above, Vol. VII, p. 134). This Pugalvipavargaṇḍa is called Ilājarāja (i.e. chief of Virāṣa or Benar) (*Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 65). His son Vira-Chōla was a contemporary of the Chōla king Rājārāja I and made a gift to the Jain shrine at Pañchapaṇḍavamalai in the North Arcot District (above Vol. IV, p. 139).

As the last of them, Vikramāditya II., is said to have been the "dear friend of Kṛishṇarāja," who is no doubt identical with the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. (A.D. 883 to 911-12),¹ we may assign him roughly to the beginning of the 10th century A.D. This would carry Jayanandivarman, the earliest known member of the family, to about the end of the 7th century A.D. But the Udayēndiram plates tell us that Jayanandivarman came to the throne after "many" Bāṇa princes had passed away. The antiquity of the family is carried farther by the Tālgunda inscription of Kākusthavarma,² which, as I have already noted, reports that Mayāraṣarma, the first Kadamba king, levied tribute from "the great Bāṇa." Thus the history of the family is carried back to the 5th century A.D.

According to the Tamil poem *Māṇiṇṇūlai*, the queen of the Chōḷa king Neḍumuḍikkilī³ was Śirtti, daughter of a descendant of Māvali. This is apparently a reference to the Bāṇa family. Śirtti was also called Rājamādēvi and she had a son named Udayakumara. The time when the Bāṇa father-in-law of the Chōḷa king flourished, cannot be made out satisfactorily at present. But it may be presumed that the former is earlier than Jayanandivarman, the first Bāṇa king mentioned in the Udayēndiram plates.

No authentic records of the earlier kings of the family have come down to us. Of Koṅgaṇivarman, the progenitor of the Gaṅgas of Kōlār, it is said that he was anointed to conquer the Bāṇa-maṇḍala.⁴ It may be presumed that this statement gives pointed expression to the hostility which generally existed between the Gaṅgas and Bāṇas in their later history, particularly during the period of supremacy of the Rāshtrakūṭas of Mālkhoḍ who were the suzerain lords of the Western Gaṅgas.

A stone inscription of the Gaṅga king śrī-Mādhava-Muttarasa at Tallapaḷḷi⁵ which Mr. Rice assigns approximately to A.D. 725,⁶ refers to his expedition against Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa and to a battle at Kōyāttūr, i.e. the modern Laddigam in the Pāṅgaur Zamindāri. At Kendattī-Maḍivāla in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nitimārga-Koṅgaṇivarman (Kl. 79) which Mr. Rice assigns to about A.D. 890. The Gaṅga king's feudatory Nōḷambādhirāja of the Pallava family is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāṇa

¹ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III. p. 92.

² Above, Vol. VIII. pp. 24 ff.

³ He also bore the other names Kilī-Vajavaṇ, Māvaṇkilī, Yaḍivārkilī and Venvārkilī and is said to have wedded a Nāga princess named Piliṇṇai. It is believed that he fought a battle on the bank of the river Kāri against the Chēras and Pāṇḍya. The Chōḷa king also overcame the former by besieging Karuvūr. It was apparently during his reign that Kāvīrppūṇṇattinam, the Chōḷa capital, was destroyed by a tidal wave. The king is said to have died at a place called Kuḷamurraṇ and he was known in later times as "Kilīvalavaṇ, who died at Kuḷamurraṇ." In the Tamil anthology known as *Paruṇḍāṇṟu*, there are 18 pieces in his honour composed by ten poets. In the note appended to each of these poems is mentioned the name of the king which does not figure in the body of the poem. Consequently, the assumption that these ten poets were contemporaries of the king is based on tradition current at the time when the notes were added. In the absence of definite information as to the authenticity of the tradition on which the notes are based, it is safer to abstain from drawing any historical conclusions from them. The anthology in which these 18 poems are included is believed to have been compiled by a poet named Perundēvaṇār, who probably flourished in the 8th or 9th century A.D. (*Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1898-99*, paragraph 16). The date A.D. 105-120 for Kilī-Vajavaṇ assigned by the late Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai is based on the Singhalese chronicles, whose chronology is far from satisfactory. Without being dogmatic on the point, I would leave the chronology of early Tamil literature an open question until indisputable evidence is available on the point. For a tentative date of the Chōḷa king Karikāḷa, who was the grandfather of Kilī-Vajavaṇ according to Mr. Kanakasabhai, see the Director-General's *Annual for 1906-7*, Part II, p. 224, note 1; and p. 235, note 10.

⁴ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. II. p. 337, verse 13.

⁵ *Ep. Carā*. Vol. X. Kōlār, Ep. 13.

⁶ *Ep. Carā*. Vol. X. Introduction, p. vi. The date given for the same record on p. 127 of the Translation is "about 890 A.D."

king (Bāṇarasa). At Baṅgavaḍi in the same district is a Bāṇa epigraph which refers to the capture by the Permanadigaḷ (i.e. the Western Ganga king), of Mahārājara-nāḍ which belonged to the Bāṇa chief (Mb. 228).¹ That the Gaṅgas and the Bāṇas were also occasionally on friendly terms is shown by the marriage of the Gaṅga princess Kundavvaiyār, daughter of Pṛithivipati I., with the Bāṇa king Bāṇavidyādhara.²

The kings mentioned in the stone inscriptions bear several names, and, consequently, it is often very difficult to identify them with those in the foregoing genealogical table. Though we have reason to suppose that the Bāṇas were feudatories of the Pallavas, the references to them in Pallava inscriptions are very few. In A. above, Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya, governing the Vaḍugavaḷi-maṅku, figures as a feudatory of the Pallava king Nandippōttaraiyar, who may be identical with Nandivarman Pallavamalla, the last powerful king of the Pallavas. If this be the case, the Bāṇa king Vikramāditya under reference, cannot be identified with Vikramāditya I. of the foregoing table. One of the earlier kings must have borne the surname Vikramāditya; perhaps Bāṇavidyādhara, or his predecessor.

After the downfall of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram, their empire seems to have been split up, and we find the Bāṇas playing a very important part in all the frontier wars. The Gaṅga-Pallava king Narasiṃha-Vikramavarman, whose initial date has been placed by Dr. Fleet between A.D. 760-70, had a feudatory named Skanda-Bāṇādhirāja.³ At Baṅgavaḍi in the Muḷbāḷaḷ taluka of the Kōlār District is an inscription recording the death of a servant of this king on the occasion of a cattle-raid.⁴ Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman of the Rāyakōṭa plates, who may have been a successor of Narasiṃha-Vikramavarman, also had a Bāṇa feudatory.⁵ Danti-Vikramavarman (B. above) had Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya for his feudatory. This Vijayāditya must be earlier than Vijayāditya II., in the foregoing table. Dantivikramavarman's son and successor Nandivikramavarman had Vikramāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāya for his feudatory in the 17th year of his reign⁶ and an unnamed Māvali-Vāṇarāya in the 62nd year of his reign.⁷ The former has perhaps to be identified with Vikramāditya I., as we have some reason to suppose that Nandivikrama married a daughter of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I. (814-15 to 877-78).⁸ This Vikramāditya is probably identical with Bāṇavidyādhara who married a daughter of the Western Gaṅga Pṛithivipati I., another contemporary of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Amoghavarsha I.⁹ The Bāṇa contemporary of Nandivikrama's son Nripataṅga was Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāya according to C. above. As Professor Hultzsch has tentatively identified the Pirudi-Gaṅgaraiyar, mentioned in the Āmbūr inscriptions as a feudatory of Nripataṅga, with the Gaṅga Pṛithivipati I.,¹⁰ it may be supposed, at least for the present, that this Vāṇavidyādhara is identical with the son-in-law of the Gaṅga king Pṛithivipati I.

The accompanying table shows at a glance the synchronisms of the Bāṇas, the Pallavas and the Gaṅga-Pallavas:—

| Bāṇas. | Pallava. |
|----------------------------------|---|
| 1. Vikramāditya Māvali-Vāṇarāya, | feudatory of Nandippōttaraiyar (23rd year). |

¹ EI. 235, Ep. 48 and Ep. 86 of the Kōlār volume mention a Mahāvali Bāṇarasa ruling the Gaṅga 6,000 provinces. The first two are assigned by Mr. Rice to about A.D. 890 and the third to about A.D. 770. These inscriptions may imply a temporary occupation of the Gaṅga country by the Bāṇas; see *Ep. Car. Vol. X. Introduction*, p. vi.

² *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III, p. 99.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 160. The first member of the name Skanda-Bāṇādhirāja might denote his overlord.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII, p. 23; see also *Ep. Car. Vol. X. Kōlār*, Mb. 228.

⁵ *Ibid.* Vol. V, p. 52.

⁶ Above, Vol. IV, p. 161.

⁷ *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III, p. 94.

⁸ *South-Ind. Inscri.* Vol. III, p. 99.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 21.

¹⁰ Above, Vol. IV, p. 182.

| Bānas. | | | Gaṅga-Pallavas. |
|--|-----------|-----|--|
| 2. Skanda-Bānādhirāja | feudatory | of | Vijaya-Narasimhavarman. |
| 3. Māvali-Vāṇarāja | do. | do. | Vijaya-Skandaśishya-Vikramavarman. |
| 4. Kārōniri-Bāṇarāja | do. | do. | Vijaya-Īśavaravarman. ¹ |
| 5. Vijayāditya-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāja | do. | do. | Vijaya-Dantivikramavarman (49th year). |
| 6. Vikramāditya (I.) Māvali-Vāṇarāja | do. | do. | Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (17th year). |
| 7. Māvali-Vāṇarāja | do. | do. | Vijaya-Nandivikramavarman (62nd year). |
| 8. Vāṇavidyādhara-Mahāvali-Vāṇarāja | do. | do. | Nripatunga (24th year). |
| 9. Mahāvali-Vāṇarāja, Śaka-Samvat 810. ² | | | |
| 10. Vijayāditya-Māvali-Vāṇarāja, son of 8, Śaka-Samvat 820, 827, 831. ³ | | | |
| 11. Vikramāditya (II), contemporary and "dear friend" of Krishṇarāja, i.e. the Rāshtrakūṭa-king Krishṇa II. (A.D. 888 and 911-12). | | | |

The inscriptions discovered in the Puṅganūr Zamindāri of the North Arcot District mention Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa-Vikramāditya-Bāṇakandarpa-Jayamēru, Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Bāṇavidyādhara and Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Vijayāditya-Virachūlānapi-Prabhumēru. One of the records of the first of these kings refers to a battle fought at Soremaṭi, where the Bāna opposed, on behalf of the Permanaḍi (i.e. the Western Gaṅga king?), the Nolamba (king?) and Rāchamalla and Mayindaḍi.⁴ A *stragal* at Madanapalle in the Cuddapah District refers to a battle at the same place, which probably took place during the reign of the Vaidumba king Gaṇḍa-Trināstra.⁵ A stone at Baṅgavāḍi in the Kōlār District refers to an encounter between the same parties.⁶ If the Rāchamalla in these *stragals* was a Gaṅga, he may be identified with the Satyavākya Kōṅgunivarma-Permanaḍi Rājamalla, whose final date is about A.D. 870-71.⁷ If this identification be correct, the date of the Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa of the Puṅganūr inscriptions may be taken roughly as the middle of the 9th century A.D.

According to the Gūlgānpode epigraphs,⁸ Vikramāditya, who has been identified by Dr. Fleet and Professor Hultzsch with Vikramāditya I. (No. 6 in the foregoing genealogical table) was also called Jayamēru.⁹ It may, therefore, be concluded that the above mentioned Mahāvali-Bāṇarasa-Vikramāditya-Bāṇakandarpa-Jayamēru is identical with Vikramāditya (No. 6 in the preceding table of synchronous kings). Perhaps the Mahāvali-Vāṇarasa-Bāṇavidyādhara mentioned in another Puṅganūr inscription is also identical with Vikramāditya I. In the two Gūlgānpode inscriptions, reference is made to a commander named Prabhumēru, who might have been a general called after the father of Vikramāditya I. It is, however, not unlikely that Vijayāditya-Virachūlānapi-Prabhumēru mentioned above is identical with Vijayāditya II., in which case the Prabhumēru of the Gūlgānpode records might be the son of Vikramāditya I. This identification receives some support from the fact that, in one of the Gūlgānpode tablets, it is said that, by order of Prabhumēru, a hero fought against the Kāḍuvāṭṭi force, while in the Puṅganūr record of Vijayāditya reference is made to a raid on Kōyatūr, i.e. Laddigam in the Puṅganūr Zamindāri, by Kāḍuvāṭṭi-Muttarasa.¹⁰

As Vikramāditya II. was a friend of Krishṇarāja, who has been identified with the Rāshtrakūṭa Krishṇa II. (A.D. 888 and 911-12), it may be concluded that the Vijayāditya.

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 25.

² *South-Ind. Inters.* Vol. III. p. 95.

³ No. 99 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1899.

⁴ No. 543 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁵ No. 295 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII. p. 23.

⁷ Above, Vol. V. p. 153.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.* Vol. X. p. 39 and *Ep. Carn.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Sp. 5, 6.

⁹ *South-Ind. Inters.* Vol. III. p. 99.

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1906-7, Part II., paragraph 45.*

son of Bāpavidyādharma, mentioned in D. and E. above, must be identical with Vijayāditya II. This identification, if confirmed by future researches, would show that Vikramāditya I. also bore the surname Bāpavidyādharma—a fact already surmised by Dr. Fleet from the Gulgānpode records.

The fact that the two Guḍmalai inscriptions of Vijayāditya are dated in the Śaka era and that they mention no overlord is significant: the dates are Śaka-Saṃvat 820 and 827 corresponding to A.D. 897-98 and 904-5. We have another date for the same king in an inscription at Maṇigaṭṭa-Gollaraha|||:¹ here the Bāpa prince Bejeyitta-Bānarasa is said to be ruling in Śaka-Saṃvat 831, corresponding to A.D. 909-10. If this be the case, the Bāpa king Vikramāditya II. must have assumed the leadership of the Bāpas towards the close of the reign of the Rāshtrakūṭa king Kṛishṇa II. The reasons which must have led to Vikramāditya's courting the friendship of the Rāshtrakūṭas may now be examined.

We have already seen that the Gaṅgas and Bāpas were often fighting with one another. At Kendatṭi-Maḍivāla in the Kōlār District is a stone inscription of Nītimārga Koṅṅupivarman which Mr. Rice assigns to about A.D. 890.² The Gaṅga king's feudatory, Noḷambādhiraḷa of the Pallava family, is here said to have ordered a general of his to fight against the Bāpa king (Bāpārasa). Another unnamed Bāpa king is said in a *stūpa* at Baṅgavāḍi in the same district to have opposed a confederacy of the Noḷamba king, Rāchamalla, Mayindaḍi and Daḍiga.³ At Dharmapuri in the Salem District is a pillar (now removed to the Madras Museum) which records a gift by the Pallava king Mahēndrādhiraḷa-Noḷamba. The latter claimed to have "destroyed the Mahābali (i.e. Bāpa) family." The inscription is dated in A.D. 892-93. Mahēndrādhiraḷa-Noḷamba was the son of Noḷambādhiraḷa by Jāyabbe, the daughter of the Gaṅga king Rājamalla.⁴ As the latter was the grandfather of the Noḷamba king Mahēndrādhiraḷa, whose date is A.D. 892, we may identify the Gaṅga king Rājamalla with the Satya-vākya-Koṅṅupivarman-Permanaḍi Rājamalla for whom Dr. Fleet gives the date A.D. 840 to 870-71.⁵ The Nītimārga-Koṅṅupivarman of the Maḍivāla inscription, whose contemporary and feudatory was the Noḷamba king Noḷambādhiraḷa, has to be identified with Rājamalla's father Raṇavikrama, for whom Dr. Fleet gives the approximate dates A.D. 810 to 840. It is just possible that Noḷambādhiraḷa was contemporaneous with both Rājamalla and his father Raṇavikrama and fought against the Bāpas. We have already seen that the northern portion of the North Arcot District was included in the Bāpa dominions. At Vaḷḷimalai, which would be almost in the centre of the Bāpa territory, we have an inscription of the Gaṅga king Rājamalla. Of him it is said that, having seen the Vaḷḷimalai hill, he took possession of it and caused a Jaina *baṭī* to be made on it.⁶ Though it is not stated from whom the Gaṅga king took possession of the hill, we may suppose that it was wrested from the Bāpas. An image of a pupil of the Bāpa prince's spiritual preceptor is cut in relief on the hill not far from the Gaṅga inscription. This unfortunately is the only vestige of Bāpa rule which is now traceable on the hill. But Mēlpāḍi, which is only a mile from the hill, is said to have belonged to Perumbāpappāḍi in the Chōḷa inscriptions found in two Śiva temples at the village.⁷ It may, therefore, be supposed that the Gaṅgas and Noḷambas had joined together⁸ to fight against the Bāpas.⁹ The capture of Vaḷḷimalai by the Gaṅga king Rājamalla was effected apparently in the campaign

¹ *Ep. Car.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Mb. 229.

² *Ibid.*, Kl. 79. In the introduction to the Kōlār volume, p. vii, Mr. Rice assigns the Bāpa prince mentioned in the inscription to about A.D. 880.

³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 23.

⁴ Above, Vol. IV. p. 141.

⁵ Above, Vol. X. p. 56.

⁶ Above, Vol. VI. p. 66.

⁷ *South-Ind. Ins.*, Vol. III. p. 22.

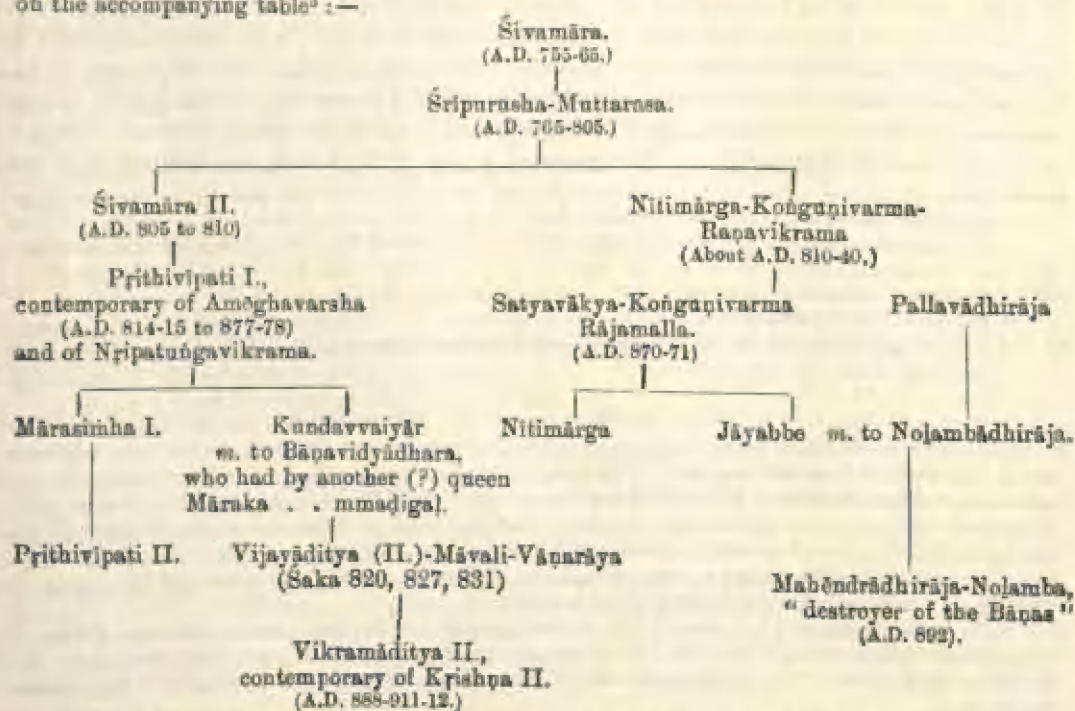
⁸ In the 10th century the relationship between the Gaṅgas and Noḷambas seems to have been completely altered and the Gaṅga prince Mārasimha II. boasted of having destroyed the Noḷambas; above, Vol. V. p. 179.

⁹ The amity between the Bāpas and Noḷambas is also indirectly shown by the fact that the Gaṅga 6,000 district was sometimes governed by the Bāpas and at other times by the Noḷambas; see *Ep. Car.* Vol. X., Kōlār, Introduction, pp. vi and vii.

against the Bāṇas.¹ The claim of the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja, grandson of the Gaṅga king Rājamalla, to have destroyed the Mahābali family was evidently not an empty boast. Consequently, the Bāṇas must have been driven to a corner about the time of which we are now speaking.

Again, in the Tamil country, the Gaṅga-Pallavas who had been overlords of the Bāṇas were evidently tottering at the time. Prior to A.D. 897-98, the date of the earlier Gudimallam inscription (D.), the decisive battle of Tiruppurambiyam must have been fought between the Gaṅga-Pallava Aparājita and the Pāṇḍya king Varaguna. The Chōlas must also have taken the place of the Gaṅga-Pallavas in the tract of country of which we are at present speaking. It was evidently a time when the Gaṅga-Pallavas had disappeared from the scene and their place had not been actually taken by the Chōlas. Perhaps this was why the two last of the subjoined inscriptions do not mention any overlord, but are dated in the Śaka era. This state of things probably continued for some time. For, in Śaka-Samvat 831, corresponding to A.D. 908-9,² the same Bāṇa prince Vijayāditya II. was ruling, but there is no mention of any overlord in the inscription. Perhaps his son Vikramāditya II. of the Udayēndiram plates represents himself as an independent king for this reason. The political condition of Southern India at the time rendered it necessary for Vikramāditya II. to make friends with some powerful king. As the Bāṇa prince Vijayāditya seems to have ruled until at least A.D. 909, his successor Vikramāditya II. must have assumed the leadership of the Bāṇas subsequent to that date. In this case, he must have become the friend of Kṛishṇa II. towards the close of the latter's reign.

Though the Nolamba king Mahēndrādhirāja claims to have "destroyed" the Bāṇas, they continued much longer. They appear to have lost their power and influence with the decline of the Gaṅga-Pallavas. The synchronisms of the Gaṅga, Bāṇa and Nolamba dynasties are shown on the accompanying table³ :—



¹ Reference is made in a Bāṇa inscription to an invasion of Kāśchī by the Gaṅga king Rājamalla. The Bāṇa prince was apparently ruling the Gaṅga 6,000 district at the time; see *Ep. Cora.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Bp. 83.

² *Ep. Cora.* Vol. X. Kōlār, Introduction, p. vi.

³ For the Gaṅgas, compare the table given by Dr. Fleet, Vol. VI. above, p. 59.

The subsequent history of this feudatory family is not altogether devoid of interest. How long Vikramāditya II. continued to rule, we have at present no means of ascertaining. Either he or his successor must have been conquered by the Chōla king Parāntaka I. in or before A.D. 921-22. The latter claims to have uprooted by force two lords of the Bāṇa kings.¹ We are not, however, told whether he uprooted two Bāṇa kings in succession or simultaneously. Anyhow, he made over the Bāṇa kingdom to his Gaṅga feudatory Prithivipati II. Hastimalla in or before A.D. 915-16² and called him Śembiyan Māvalivāparāyaṇ, i.e. "the Māvalivāparāja (who was a feudatory) of the Chōla king."³ At Yedarūr in the Kolār District of the Mysore State is a stone inscription dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 888 corresponding to A.D. 961 which mentions a Bāṇa chief named Sambayya as a feudatory of Iriva-Nolamba.⁴ Again at Sannamūru in the Podili division of the Nellore District is another stone inscription of the Bāṇa family. I have read the date tentatively as Śaka-Saṃvat 890 (corresponding to A.D. 968) and the name of the Bāṇa chief as Aggaparāju.⁵ The latter does not mention any overlord and this may be taken to show that he was semi-independent. The date falls into the reign of the Eastern Chālukya king Amma II.⁶ and is a few years prior to the interregnum in the Vēṅgī country.⁷ What part, if any, this Bāṇa king played in the interregnum we have at present no means of ascertaining. We shall not be far wrong if we suppose that the Chūraballirāju, who figures in a stone inscription at Konidena (near Narsaraopet in the Guntur District)⁸ was a descendant of Aggaparāju. The inscription of Chūraballirāju is dated in Śaka-Saṃvat 1073, corresponding to A.D. 1150-51, which falls into the reign of the Chālukya king Rājarāja II.⁹

In the Tamil districts of the Madras Presidency, the history of the Bāṇas does not come to an end with their conquest by Parāntaka and the transfer of their dominions to their rivals, the Gaṅgas. It has been surmised that the Bāṇas were originally settled in the Telugu country and that at a later stage in their history they moved into the northern part of the modern North Arcot District but retained the original designation of their territory. After Perumbānappāḍi was transferred to the Gaṅgas, or perhaps at an earlier period in their history,¹⁰ the Bāṇas seem to have moved further south, crossed the river Palar which seems to have been originally the southern boundary of their territory, and settled on the banks of the river Southern Ponnar, calling the new province Vāṇakōppāḍi or Vāṇagappāḍi.¹¹ In A.D. 948-9, the Rāshtrakūṭa king

¹ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. p. 387, verse 9.

² The Sholinghar rock inscription which refers to this event (above, Vol. IV. p. 225, verse 5) is dated in the 9th year of Parāntaka I. corresponding to A.D. 915-6.

³ *South-Ind. Insers.* Vol. II. p. 389.

⁴ *Ep. Cars.* Vol. X. Introduction, p. viii.

⁵ *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Battenworth and Venugopaul Chetty, p. 1201 ff.

⁶ He reigned from A.D. 945 to 970.

⁷ Above, Vol. VI. p. 349.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1899-00, paragraph 85. The description of Chūraballirāju is as follows:—*Sakala-sar-āṇa-ādhitara-Paramāvara-pratīhārīkṛita-(rīkṛita)-Vatishṭa-gōtra-kṛishṇa(kṛishṇa)dhraja - Paitūchika-paṭu-paṭa-ghōṣhaṇa-rishabha(rishabha)-lā-mchchana(lāuchhana)-Nandagirinātka - P a r a i - purasar-ādhitara-kārmukha(kārmuka)-Bāma-monege-mukhola-shita-Dhananjaya-patitābharaṇa-sahaja-bhikāra-tarapāḍa-rajapṛākāra-samarakamārtta[uda*]-yubhagarāya-katakama ne[rva-chālcānegal-a g a j a - dānamalla-kirttiganalla - Viraperbbā[ṇa]-trimaṇṇahāmaṇḍalāvara-Chūraballirāju.*

⁹ A later reference to the Bāṇas occurs in the Sanskrit work *Pratāparudraya-tōṭhāṣhaṇa* of Vidyānātha. But this does not throw any light on the history of the family.

¹⁰ The name Vāṇakōvaraiyar occurs already in two inscriptions of the 17th year of the Gaṅga-Pallava king Vijaya-Nandivikramavarma (above, Vol. VII. p. 129 and No. 302 of the *Madras Epigraphical* collection for 1902). Perhaps a small colony of the Bāṇas moved out of Perumbānappāḍi soon after the decline of the Pallavas of Conjeeveram.

¹¹ In the time of Rājendra-Chōla I, Vāṇagappāḍi or Vāṇagurāi-Vāṇagappāḍi was called Madurantaka-vāṇaḍu and Rājendra-vāṇaḍu during the reign of Kulottunga I; *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 46.

Krishna III. had a Gaṅga feudatory named Prithivigaṅgaraiyar, whose wife was the daughter of Vāṇakōvaraiyar.¹ This may be taken to show that the province of Vāṇagappādi had come into existence prior to A.D. 948-9. Krishna III. appears to have made over the province to a Vaidumba feudatory of his, as it figures among the territories administered by the latter.² We have, however, no reason to suppose that the Bāṇas were completely driven out of Vāṇagappādi at the time. The Vāṇarāja Alagamaraiyar who is mentioned in a Tirumālpuram inscription of Pārthivēndravarman was apparently a member of the family who had settled in the vicinity of Conjeevaram.³ We have a certain Maṇavaṇ Narasiṃhavarman *alias* Rājārāja-Vāṇakōvaraiyar, with the usual Bāṇa titles, as a feudatory of the Chōla king Rājārāja I. in an inscription at Jambai in the South Arcot District.⁴ The same Bāṇa chief built the tank at Neṅkunram *alias* Vayiramēga-chaṭurvēdimaṅgalam.⁵ In an inscription of a Chōla king named Karikāla, whose time is at present unknown, reference is made to a certain Vāṇakōvaraiyar Viraparumar (*i.e.* Viravarman).⁶

In later times⁷ there was a chief named Ponparappiṇa Vāṇakōvaraiyar, a feudatory or officer of Sakalabhuvanachakravartin Peruṇjiṅgaḍēva.⁸ He is apparently identical with Magadēṣaṇ Vāṇakulōttaman and Viramāgadāṇ Rājārājaḍēvaṇ Ponparappiṇāṇ⁹ Magadaipperumāl,¹⁰ mentioned in certain inscriptions from Tiruvannāmalai in the South Arcot District and Kuḍumiyāmalai in the Pudukkōṭṭai State. A number of Tamil verses in his praise have been found engraved on stone in the South Arcot District and in the Pudukkōṭṭai State.¹¹ His title Magadēṣaṇ or Magadaipperumāl is interesting. From Hoysala inscriptions we know that the Hoysala king Narasiṃha II. uprooted the Makara or Magara kingdom.¹² The Tiruvāṇḍipuram inscription of the Chōla king Rājārāja III. informs us that Narasiṃha II. "uprooted the Mahara kingdom, seized him (*i.e.* the Mahara chief), his women and treasures and halted at Pāchchūr." In editing the inscription Dr. Hultzsch had remarked that the Magara kingdom has to be looked for in the Coimbatore or Salem District.¹³

At Tiṭṭagaḍi on the border between the districts of Trichinopoly and South Arcot has been found an epigraph of Magadēṣaṇ Ponparappiṇa Vāṇakōvaraiyar recording the gift of a

¹ Above, Vol. VII. p. 195. This Prithivigaṅgaraiyar, who also bore the surname Hastimala, was different from and later than his namesake who was a contemporary of the Chōla king Parāntaka I. In a Tirukkōvalūr inscription of the Chōla king Parakāśavarman, the queen of Vāṇakōvaraiyar figures as the donor (*ibid.* p. 141).

² *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1904-5, Part II, paragraph 23.

³ *Ibid.* for 1906-7, Part II, paragraph 45.

⁴ No. 86 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906. This is how he is described in the inscription: *Sakala-vara-dura-namadikkala(-gala)-vijaya-tri-maṇōhāri-vallabha-mahārāja-Maṇu(hā)balli-kula-tilakāya-māno-[-Pa]ṇaiṭṭarirudaiyananda-Nandagiri(giri)nātha-Paṇaiṭṭar-paṇamēṣara-ṇeṇai-chinnāl a ṇ ḡ ḡ ṛ i t a* (Chōla-ālaṅkṛita)-*ṇṇiṣṭabhaḷāṇṇaṇ* (*ṇṇiṣṭabhaṇ*).

⁵ No. 84 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁶ No. 109 of the same collection.

⁷ In the time of Kulōttuṅga I., his throne at Muṇḍiṇḍaḍḍipuram was called Vāṇāthirājan (Nos. 93, 94, 95 and 96 of 1910). One of his officers was Vāṇarājan or Vāṇarāya (No. 128 of 1896 and No. 312 of 1901). Vikrama-Chōla had also an officer named Mahāballi-Vāṇarāya (No. 545 of 1904 from Tiruvārūr) and another called Virudakābbayāṅkōra-Vāṇakōvaraiyar (No. 112 of 1895).

⁸ No. 159 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

⁹ It is doubtful if this chief is identical with Rājārājaḍēvaṇ Ponparappiṇāṇ *alias* Vāṇakōvaraiyar of Ārkālūr who was a feudatory of Kulōttuṅga III. (Nos. 532, 533 and 557 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902).

¹⁰ Nos. 507, 543 and 544 of 1902 and Nos. 381, 382, 383 and 385 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1906.

¹¹ The chief's claim to have covered with gold (*ponparappiṇa*) is obscure. He might have gilt the Tiruvannāmalai temple. It may also be that he rebuilt the Śiva temple at Chidambaram.

¹² *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 507.

¹³ Above, Vol. VII. p. 161. Toḷadagalyūr, where Śōjakōṇ, an adherent of the rebel Peruṇjiṅga, was staying is probably identical with Toḷadūr on the Madras-Trichinopoly road, 8 miles from Vālikanḍapuram and 28 miles west-south-west of Vriddhāchalam.

village in Magadai-maṇḍalam.¹ Three other records from the same village² show that the district of Magadai should have been close to the village, if it was not actually included in it. It would not be an altogether wild conjecture to suppose that Mahara, Makara and Magara of the Hoysala inscriptions, is identical with the Magadai-maṇḍalam ruled over by the Vāṇādhārāyār Poṅgarappiṇṇ mentioned in the foregoing paragraph.³ If this identification be true, it would indicate the movement of the Bāṇas farther south as far as the Puḍukkōṭṭai State. The chief of this province who was evidently a feudatory of the rebel Peruñjiṅga had to be overcome before the latter could be attacked by the Hoysala generals commissioned to liberate the Chōla king Rājārāja III. from captivity.⁴

We have traced the movement of the Bāṇas as far south as the Puḍukkōṭṭai State. In still later times they figure as feudatories and officers of the Pāṇḍyas in the 13th century A.D.⁵ Mr. Sewell mentions two chiefs, one named Sundara Tōḷ Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar and the other Muttarasa Tirumalai Mahāvilivāṇādirāyar as rulers of Madura in the period A.D. 1451—1499.⁶ We have a few inscriptions of the 16th century which show that the Bāṇas continued to wield some power and influence. These have been found at Kaḷaiyārkoṭṭai, Tiruppallāṇi and Dēvipattanam in the Madura district. The earliest of the chiefs mentioned in them is Mahābali-Vāṇādhārāya-Nāyaka.⁷ Then came Sundarattōḷ-Uḍaiyār Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar⁸ or Sundarattōḷuḍaiya Mahābali-Vāṇādarāyar.⁹ He was apparently also known as Māvali-Vāṇādarāyar without any additional designation.¹⁰ In two of them he bears the epithet *irandakālam eḍitta* 'who revived the past,' (i.e. re-established the Pāṇḍya kingdom). This may be taken to show that he took some part in the attempt made by the contemporaneous Pāṇḍya princes Śrivalabha and Kulasekhara to set up a show of Pāṇḍya sovereignty.¹¹

Thus the history of the Bāṇas furnishes another instance of the movement of a tribe from one part of Southern India to another. This aspect of Indian history has already been explained in my article on the Pallavas published in the Director-General's *Annual* for 1906-7.

¹ No. 10 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903. The stones in the Madras Museum plates of the Pāṇḍya king Jaṭavarman was a native of Śābdāji in the province of Magadha. In editing the plates, I assumed (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXII. p. 74, footnote 91) that this was the well-known province of that name in Northern India. It is, however, not impossible that the former is identical with Magadai-maṇḍalam.

² Nos. 12, 14 and 15 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

³ It is worthy of note that there is a village named Poṅgarappi in the Kaḷjakottai tāluks of the South Arcot District which may be supposed to have been included in the dominions of the Bāṇa chief Magadāṇṇ. It is just possible that the name Poṅgarappi has to be traced to the Bāṇa chief of whom we are now speaking.

⁴ Above, Vol. VII. p. 168.

⁵ In the Sir Walter Elliot collection is an impression of Tribhuvanachakravartin Kōṇḍarimakkōṇḍāṇ, whose feudatory was Aḷagōṇḍār alias Mahābali-Vāṇādarāyar. The king's surname was apparently Avaḷivēndarāma which may be that of a Pāṇḍya king; *Arch. Surv. of Southern India*, Vol. IV. p. 185. In the reign of Mūgavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1216-35) the throne of the Pāṇḍya king at Madura was called Vāṇādhārāyaṇ, while Vikrama-Pāṇḍya-Vāṇādarāyaṇ was one of the officers of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. (A.D. 1251-61). Prince Kulasekhara-Mahābali-Vāṇādarāyar figures in a record of Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍyadeva from Siṅṅamaṇḍūr in the Madura District.

⁶ *List of Antiquities*, Vol. II. p. 223.

⁷ No. 113 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

⁸ No. 585 of the same collection for 1902 and No. 109 of 1903.

⁹ No. 121 of the same collection for 1904.

¹⁰ No. 587 of the same collection for 1902.

¹¹ See the *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, Part II. paragraph 32, and the same report for 1909-10, Part II. paragraph 38.

No. 23.—DATES OF CHOLA KINGS.

By R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.), M.R.A.S.

RAJARAJA I.

223.—In the Umamahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.¹

1 [Sva]sti śr[i] [||*] Tirumaga[] pō[]la 2]6
 4 śrī-Kōv-Irājarāja-Rājakēsariparua[rk]k-ty[ā]n[du]
 āvadu
 5 i[y]-ā[t]tai [Kar]ka[da]ga-nā[ya*]r[ra] apara-pakshattu
 padi[nā] . . . m Bu[da]g-kijamai²
 6 per[ra] P[un]ar[pūsat]ti-³[v]āgru.

"In the [2]8th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Rājarāja-Rājakēsarivarman,—on the day of Punarvasu, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the [four]teenth⁴ [tithi] of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka of this year."

The date in this case is, like most others of this early period, worded in a manner a little different from the stereotyped form of later years in South India; so much so that while Mr. Krishna Sastri has stated it as referring to the 14th, or possibly 16th, solar day in Karkāṭaka, I find that it tallies with the 14th tithi of the second fortnight of Āshāḍha but with the 19th solar day of Karkāṭaka, and, since the word for "14th", padi[nā] . . . m, occurs in the original between apara-pakshattu and Bu[da]g-kijamai, I presume that it is possible that the number "14" refers rather to the tithi than to the solar day.⁴

In the 26th year of Rājarāja I Rājakēsarivarman, the 14th tithi of the second fortnight of Āshāḍha was current at mean sunrise on Thursday, July 13th A.D. 1010, which was the 19th solar day of Karka. Now the 14th tithi of Āshāḍha is devoted to one of the Śivarātri festivals, and accordingly this tithi is liable to be joined with the Wednesday rather than with the Thursday, the midnight between the two having been included in it (Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.* 1897, pp. 177, 181). This 14th kṛishṇa tithi began 13h. 15m. before mean sunrise on the Thursday and included the midnight in question; while the nakshatra Punarvasu began, according to the equal-space system, 18h. 6m. before that mean sunrise, and considerably earlier than that by the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta, being current both at midnight on Wednesday and at mean sunrise on Thursday. I think therefore that the day corresponding to the given day was Wednesday, July 12th A.D. 1010. If this is correct the accession of this sovereign must have taken place between June 25th and July 12th A.D. 985.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA I.

224.—In the Umamahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.⁵

1 Svasti śrī [||*] Puḡa[]mādu vi[]āṅga
 7 [śrī-Rājakē-
 8 śariva]nmar-āna *Dhīribhvanachakkaravatt[i]ga[i] śrī-

¹ No. 624 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1902.² The tithi may also be the sixteenth.³ The letter m is engraved at the beginning of line 6.⁴ Mr. Krishna Sastri's reason for thinking of the solar day and not of the tithi is that the numbers of lunar tithis are in South India commonly given in Sanskrit and not in Tamil. But neither the 14th nor the 16th solar day of Karka was Wednesday in this year, but Saturday and Monday respectively, and the use of the Tamil numeral is probably a consequence of the high age of the record.⁵ No. 647 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1900.⁶ Read Trishāṅga.

- 9 [Kulō]ttu[ō]ga-Sōladēvarkku iyaṇ-
 10 ḍu [nāipattion]badāvaḍu Mēsha-nāyarru pūrvva-
 11 [pak]sha[ttu Utti]ramam Budan-kilamaiyum [p]e-
 12 [ira] tra[y]ōdasi-nāṅgu.¹

"In the forty-ninth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Rājakēsarivarman, *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day (which was) the thirteenth *tīthi* and which corresponded to a Wednesday and to (*the day of*) [Uttara-Phalguni] of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The given date corresponds to Wednesday, March 26th A.D. 1119, on which day the 13th śukla *tīthi* of the first fortnight of Chaitra was current at mean sunrise, as also the *nakshatra* Uttara-Phalguni. This day was the 3rd solar day of Mēsha.

Thus the 49th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōja I began on, or later than, 27th March A.D. 1118 and the reign must have begun on, or later than that date in A.D. 1070; so that for this king's accession we now have the period March 27th to October 8th A.D. 1070.

225.—In the Umāmahēśvara temple at Kōnērirājapuram.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [i*] [Puga] śōḷḍa
 13 Kō[v-i]rājakēśaka(ri)[va]rmmar-āṇa Tr[i]-
 bhruva[nach]chakkarava[r]ttiga] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Sōladēva[ku] yāṇḍu
 47avadu Dhan[u]-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu piradamaiyum Tiṅga]-
 14 kilamaiyum perga Mūlatti-nā].

"In the 47th year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the first *tīthi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

To paraphrase the opening passage of Professor Kielhorn's remarks on his Chōja date No. 40 (Vol. VI, p. 279),—"a date in the month of Dhanu of the 47th year of the king's reign will be expected to fall near the end of A.D. 1116." Now, as detailed, the given date is incorrect for the 47th regnal year. But it is perfectly correct for the 48th year, *viz.*, towards the end of A.D. 1117. Now Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that the figures 47 are perfectly clear in the original and cannot be read 48. We must therefore assume that the composer of the record made a mistake.

The given date, except for that mistake, corresponds with Monday, November 26th A.D. 1117, which was the 2nd solar day of Dhanu, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tīthi* of the first fortnight of Pausa was current. By the equal-space system the *nakshatra* current at that mean sunrise was Mūla, but by the system of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta the current *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Aśāḍha. I conclude that the date is genuine, but that the composer erroneously stated the 47th instead of the 48th regnal year.

226.—In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchirai.³

- 1 4Tr[i]bhuvanachchakrava[t]tiga] [4i-Kulōttu]ga-Sōladēvarku yāṇḍu
 47 āva[ḍu] Ishala-[u]yarru apara-pakshattu daśami[y]um Budan-
 k[i]lamaiyum
 2 perga Śadaiya[t]ti-nā].

¹ Read *nāṅgu*.

² No. 653 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1900.

³ No. 630 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1900.

⁴ Read *Triḷḷa*.

"In the 47th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is unreliable. In the 47th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I the 10th *krishṇa tithi* of Vriṣhabha was current on Tuesday, May 9th A.D. 1116 (not on Wednesday), and on that Tuesday at mean sunrise the *nakṣatra* current was Uttara Bhādrapadā; so that it was not possible for any moment of the Wednesday to be connected either with the *nakṣatra* Śatabhishaj or with the 10th *krishṇa tithi*. Śatabhishaj had expired before mean sunrise on the previous Monday. Working for the 48th year of this king I find that in that year the 10th *krishṇa tithi* fell on Saturday, the 5th day of Vriṣhabha, the *nakṣatra* current at mean sunrise being Pūrva-Bhādrapadā. The corresponding day in European reckoning was April 28th A.D. 1117.

It is incorrect for a possible 47th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla II, or of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III.

VIKRAMA-CHOLA.

227.—In the Sāra-Paramēśvara temple at Tiruchchirāi.¹

- 1 T[ri]bhuvanach[akravattiga] śri-Vi[kki]ra[ma-Śōladēva]ṛka yāḍu Sāvadu
Miduna-[n]āya[ṛṛa] apa[ra-pa]kshat[ta] tra-
2 [yōḍe]ṣiyum Viyāla-kk[i]la[maiyum] perṛa Urōṣaṇi-nā].

"In the 5th year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

This date is unsatisfactory. Given that the accession day of this sovereign was, as settled by Professor Kielhorn (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, p. 5), the 29th of June A.D. 1118, the date should correspond to a day in A.D. 1122 or 1123. In A.D. 1122 the 10th day of Mithuna was Sunday, June 4th, and on that day the 13th *tithi* of the second fortnight of Jyēṣṭha and the *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇi were current at mean sunrise. The week-day stated in the inscription is, however, Thursday. Consequently I hesitate to accept it. Moreover, that June 4th would be in the king's 4th not 5th year.

For A.D. 1123 both week-day and *nakṣatra* would differ from those stated in the original; the week-day of June 23rd, which was the day on which the 13th *śukla tithi* in Mithuna was current at mean sunrise, being Saturday, and the then current *nakṣatra* being Mṛgaśīras.

Nor does the result agree with the given details for the 5th year of the king, on the supposition that his reign began, as originally set forward by Kielhorn, on 18th July A.D. 1108. Hence I can find no exact agreement in any case.

228.—In the Māgaśēśvara temple at Tirumālam.²

- 1 ||@. S[va]sti [śr]i [||*]Pā-mādu puṣara
3 Ko-³Pparakēsa[r]ipannar-āna Tri[buva]nachechakravattiga] śri-Vikrama-
Śōladēvaṛka yā[ḍu]⁴ 1[3]āvadu⁵ Āni-māsattu Tīngat-kkijamai perṛa
Tiruvōḍamum tr[i]tigaiyum-āna nā].

¹ No. 621 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 97 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

³ The syllable *ppo* is written as a group.

⁴ The syllable *ḍu* is perhaps written as a group.

⁵ *śeḍa* is denoted also by an incomplete flourish added immediately after the figure 13.

"In the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Chōladēva,—on the day which was the third *tīthi* and (*the day*) of (*the nakshatra*) Śravana, which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Āpi."

This date is correct in all respects for the 13th year of the reign of Vikrama-Chōla as fixed by Professor Kielhorn, who established the day of the king's accession as June 29th A.D. 1118. It corresponds to Monday, June 15th A.D. 1131, the fourteenth year of the reign beginning June 29th of that year and June 15th being still in the thirteenth year. The date proves that the reign could not have begun before June 16th A.D. 1118.

On that Monday, June 15th A.D. 1131, the 3rd *tīthi* of the second fortnight of solar Āpi (or Mithuna), was current at mean sunrise, as was also the *nakshatra* Śravana.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA II.

229.—In the Māgālēśvara temple at Tirumālam.¹

1 || || ॐ Svasti śri [11*] Pāmapaṇa padumam
4 Kōv-Ir[ajakōsaripaṇmar-āpa Tribhuvana-
chakravartiga] śri-Kulōt[un]ga-Śōladōvarku yāda.
11 pa[di]n-ouṛavada Danu-nāyarru iraṇḍān-diyadiyum Śani-kkilamaiyum perra
[Pā]śatti-[nā].

"In the 11th—eleventh—year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Pushya, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the second solar day of the month of Dhanu."

The date regularly corresponds to Saturday, November 27th A.D. 1143, which was the second day of the solar month Dhanu, and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in the *nakshatra* Pushya by all systems. This day fell in the eleventh year of Kulōttunga Chōla II, which began, as at present found by me (Vol. X, p. 138, No. 190), between 26th March and 14th July A. D. 1143, his accession having taken place on some day between those dates in A.D. 1133.

The stated date would be incorrect for the eleventh year of Kulōttunga-Chōla I, in which year the 2nd Dhanu fell on a Thursday (November 26 A.D. 1080), with Bharapi as the *nakshatra* current at sunrise. And the record cannot belong to the reign of the third king of that name whose title was Parakēsarivarman.

PARAKESARIVARMAN VIRARAJENDRA-CHOLA (KULOTTUNGA III.)

230.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.²

1 Svasti śri [11*] Puyal vāytta vaḷam peruga
11 Kō-Pparakōsa-
12 ri[panma]r-āpa Tiribuvanachchakkaravattiga]³
13 śri-[V1]rarājēndira-[Śōlad]ō[va]rku yā-
14 nḍa nājāva[du Mē]sha-nāyarru pūrvva-
15 [pa]kshattu *pra[dha]m[īya] [Śa]ni-kkilamaiyum pe-
16 rra Aśvati-nā].

¹ No. 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

² No. 733 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

³ There is, in the original, a letter erased between the syllables *ra* and *sa*.

⁴ Read *prathamaigum*.

"In the fifth year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Virarājendra-Chōladēva,—on the day of Aśvini, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

Virarājendra (Kulōttuṅga III) having come to the throne between the 6th and 8th July A.D. 1178 (Vol. IV, p. 266; VIII, p. 264, No. 108) the month of Mēsha in his fifth year must fall in A.D. 1183, and the details of the date are perfectly correct for Saturday, March 26th A.D. 1183, which day was the 2nd solar day of Mēsha. On that day the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight of *adhika-Vaiśākha* was current at mean sunrise, the moon being then in the *nakshatra* Aśvini.

231.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Payal vāyttu
 4 Kō=Pparakēsarivarman-āna T[r]ib[hu]vaṇachchakkara-
 vattigal śri-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅku yāḍu ḍvadu² Viruchchiga-n[āy]arṇu
 irubāt-
 5 t[a]-nālān-diyadiyum pūrvva-pakshattu saptamiyam Viyāla-kkiamaaiyum perṇa
 Śadaiyattu nāl.

"In the 9th year (*of the reign*) of king Parakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Thursday, to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twenty-fourth solar day of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The date regularly corresponds to Thursday, November 30th A.D. 1183, a day in the 9th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III, which was the 24th day of Vṛiśchika, and at whose mean sunrise the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, the moon being, by the equal-space system, in Śatabhishaj. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* was Pūrva Bhādrapadā, but they do not seem to have been used. By the equal-space system Śatabhishaj ended 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise; whereas by Garga that *nakshatra* had ended 4h. 16m., and by the Brahma-siddhānta 3h. 17m. before that moment.

232.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambākkam.³

- 1 Svasti śri [||*]
 2 Payal vāyttu
 21 Kō=[Ppa]rakō[sari]pa[uma]r-ā-
 22 ṇa Tiribuva[ṇachcha]kkarava[tti]ga Madu-
 23 rai[ya]m Ilā[ma]n-Garuvā[rum] P[āṇḍi].
 24 yṇai mudi-t[ta]laiy[u]m kopd-arū-
 25 [liya] śr[i]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladē[va]ṅku [y]āḍu 26
 26 [vadu Ku]m[ba]-n[ā]ya[rṇu] pūrvva-pa[kshattu] m Ti-
 27 ṇgaṭ-[kila]maiym per[ṇa] Kārtti[gai]-nā[li].

"In the 26th year (*of the reign*) of king [Pa]rakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura), Ilam (Ceylon), Karuvār and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of Kṛittikā, which corresponded to a Monday and to the . . . [*tithi*] of the first fortnight of the month of [Kumbha]."

¹ No. 400 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² *vadu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 9.

³ No. 732 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

The 26th year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III began between the 6th and 8th July A.D. 1203, and in that 26th year this date corresponds to Monday, February 9th A.D. 1204. At sunrise on that day, which was the 17th day of Kumbha, the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the moon was then in Kṛittikā.

233.—In the Umamahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.¹

- 1 Svast[i] śr[i]h—Tr[i]bhuvanachchakravatt[ī]ga [Ma]darai[y]am [P]āndi[y]aṅ
[muḍi]-tta[laiyū-gō]ḍ-ara[i]-
- 2 na śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaḥ y[ā]pdu padip-ārāvadu Mīṇa-nā[yax]ra apara-
pa[kashat]tu pra[ta]maiṇum Budaṅ-
- 3 kīlamaiṇum peṇra Atta[t^{*}]tu nā.

"In the sixteenth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva who was pleased to take Madurai (Madura) and the crowned head of the Pāṇḍya,—on the day of **Hasta** which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the first *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Mina**."

This date regularly corresponds to Wednesday, March 9th A.D. 1194, which was the 15th of Mina and was in the sixteenth year of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla III. At mean sunrise on that day the 1st *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, and the moon was in the *nakṣatra* Hasta.

234.—In the Unnatapuriśvara temple at Melatūr.²

- 1 [a.] Tiribava[na]chechakkara[va]ritiga ś[ri]-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēva[r^{*}]kku yāṇḍu
[3]vadu Ishaba-nāyaru [pā]rva-paahattu³ t[i]r[ī]t[iy]aiṇum Budaṅ-k[i]a]m-
[aiṇum peṇra Pa]ṇarpāsa[ttu] n[ā].

"In the [3]rd year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of **Punarvasu** which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Ṛishabha**."

Since this date is so worded as to afford no clue as to which of the three known Kulōttuṅga' reign it belongs, I have tested it for each of those sovereigns; with an unsatisfactory result in the end.

In the third year of the reign of Kulōttuṅga-Chōla I the 3rd *śukla tithi* of Vaisākha in the solar month Vṛishabha was current at mean sunrise on Tuesday, April 24th, A.D. 1072, and also at mean sunrise on Sunday, May 12th, A.D. 1073; either of which days, according to our present knowledge as to the date of that king's accession, might have fallen in his third year. In the first case the *nakṣatra* current at mean sunrise was either Mṛigaśiras or Ārdra according to the authority used, and in the second case was Ārdra by all systems.

For the reign of Kulōttuṅga II we also have the choice of two years; and the day mentioned in the record, so far as the *tithi* is a guide, may have been Friday, May 17th, A.D. 1135 when the *nakṣatra* was Ārdra by the equal-space system for 7h. 1m. after mean sunrise, but **Punarvasu** by Garga and the **Brahma-siddhānta**; or it may have been Wednesday, May 6th A.D. 1136, when the corresponding *nakṣatra* was similar to that in the last case, Ārdra lasting by the equal-space system for 7h. 36m. after mean sunrise.

This latter date, therefore, would exactly tally with the given details if we could assume that the *pañcāṅgas* of that day were calculated, in the matter of the *nakṣatra*, either by the

¹ No. 662 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 30 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

³ Read *paahattu*.

system of Garga or that of the Brahma-siddhānta; but at present I think that the weight of evidence shows that the equal-space system was then in use. Though the week-day is correct therefore the *nakṣatra* is not so. And for that reason I hesitate to accept the date.

For the reign of Kulottuṅga-Chōla III the 3rd śukla *tithi* of Jyēṣṭha corresponded to Monday, May 18th, A.D. 1181, which was the 25th solar day of Vṛiṣabha; on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Punarvasu by all systems. This therefore would coincide with the given date if we presumed that the week-day had been wrongly stated as Monday instead of Wednesday. The 3rd śukla *tithi* in question ended at 1h. 41m. after mean sunrise on the Monday, so that it could not be connected with the Tuesday, still less with Wednesday. I am therefore, as before, unable to accept that date as correct.

From the above transliteration it appears that the number of the regnal year "3" is somewhat doubtful. If the number is capable of being certainly ascertained, no doubt the date could be conclusively verified.¹

RAJADHIRAJA II (?).

235.—In the Kailāsanātha temple at Ālambakkam.²

1 Svasti śri [||*] Tiribuvannachakkara[va]ttiga[ī] śrī-Rājādhirājādēvaṛkku yāṇḍu paṇṇirapḍā[va]ḍu ³[Si]mha-nāyaru apara-pakṣattu daśa[mi]yum Tiṅga[ī-k]-ilamaiyum perṇa Mūlattu nā.

"In the twelfth year (*of the reign*) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājādhirājādēva,—on the day of Mūla which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of [Si]mha."

This date is intrinsically wrong. During the month of Siṃha a tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight can never be connected with the *nakṣatra* Mūla; but a tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight can be so, and I have therefore tested the date for both these days in the reigns of Rājādhirāja I and II respectively.

Taking the latter first, the date must, for his 12th year, fall in A.D. 1174. In that year, in the month of Siṃha, the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* fell on a Friday, and the 10th śukla *tithi* also on a Friday; the *nakṣatra* in the second case being Mūla by all systems. As the week-day is thus altogether wrong I reject this date, although in the second case the *nakṣatra* stood as stated.

For the reign of Rājādhirāja I we have it, as established by Kielhorn, that his twelfth year began between March 15th and December 3rd, A.D. 1029. Hence the month of Siṃha in that regnal year may have been either in A.D. 1029 or 1030. In the first of these two cases the 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* of Siṃha fell on a Thursday, the *nakṣatra* being Mṛgaśīras. This is plainly wrong. The 10th śukla *tithi* of Siṃha in A.D. 1029 was current at sunrise on a Thursday, the *nakṣatra* Mūla having expired 3h. 36m. before that sunrise. This also does not fit the description.

Now for the second case, *viz.*, the Siṃha of the year A.D. 1030 (Śaka 952). The 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* was current at sunrise of Monday, July 27th, A.D. 1030, which was the 1st day of Siṃha; but the *nakṣatra* then current was Rohiṇi. This is altogether wrong. In the same year, A.D. 1030, the 10th śukla *tithi* was current at sunrise of Tuesday, August 11th, which

¹ After examination of the original Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that it is possible, though not probable, that the regnal year was "2," and not "3." I have consequently calculated the date for the 2nd year of each of these kings, finding it irregular in each case, both week-day and *nakṣatra* being different to the given ones.

² No. 728 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1900.

³ The letter *Si* appears to be a correction; read *Siṃha*.

was the 16th Śukla, the then current *nakṣatra* being, by the equal-space system, Māla. This 10th śukla *tithi* had begun 13h. 54m. before mean sunrise on the Tuesday, and had been current during that time on the latter part of Monday, August 10th. During the whole of that period of 13h. 54m. on Monday, Māla had been current. If, therefore, it is assumed that the *tithi* quoted in the record was the *tithi* current at the time the action referred to in the inscription was accomplished, and not the *tithi* current at sunrise, the date may be accepted as genuine and stated as corresponding to Monday, August 10th, A.D. 1030, the second fortnight having been wrongly stated instead of the first. In that case—and it is possibly correct—we shall have the period within which this king's accession must have taken place narrowed to the interval between March 15th and August 11th, A.D. 1018.

But I am rather doubtful about this date because the *tithi* in question was the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada, and according to Albēruṇi the 10th śukla *tithi* of Bhādrapada was considered an unlucky day.¹

RAJARAJA III.

236.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Tribhuvana[ch]chakkaravattiga| śrī-Rājarajadēvar[ka] yāṇḍa 14-
vadu Dhanu-nāya-
2 ru-ppārvva-pakṣattu prathamaiyum Uttirādamum perṇa nā|.

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarajadēva,—on the day which corresponded to the (day of the *nakṣatra*) Uttarāṣhāḍhā and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanu."

No week-day being given here we can only be guided by the *nakṣatra*. The date corresponds to Tuesday, December 18th A.D. 1229, which was the 23rd Dhanu, and on which day at mean sunrise the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of Pausa, and, by all systems, the *nakṣatra* Uttara-Āshāḍha, were current.

237.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.³

- 1 Svasti[ī] śr[ī] [||*] T[ri]buvana[che]chakkara[va]rtiga| śr[ī]-Irājarā[ja]dēvar[k]ku
3[ā]vada⁴ Magara-nāya-
2 ru-p[ā]rvva-[pa]kṣattu ⁵saturitiyum Mōlam[u]m perṇa [N]āya[r]a-kki[jama]i-
nā|.

"In the 3rd (year) (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarajadēva,—on the day (which was a) Sunday, (and) which corresponded to (the day of) Mūla and to the fourth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara.

This date is irregular in itself, besides being wrong in other respects. On a 4th *tithi* of the first fortnight in Makara the moon cannot be in the *nakṣatra* Mūla. Makara in the 3rd year of Rājarāja III occurred late in A.D. 1218 and early in 1219. The 4th śukla *tithi* corresponded to Monday, January 21st, A.D. 1219, which was the 27th day of Makara, on which day

¹ Mr. Krishna Sastri informs me that it is just possible to read the solar month in the original as "Rishabha," and that the characters show that it could not belong to the reign of Rājādhirāja I. I have freshly computed the date: finding that it is irregular for the solar month Vṛishabha in the reign of either of the known Rājādhirājas. In no case can either a 10th śukla or 10th kṛishṇa *tithi* in solar Vṛishabha be connected with the *nakṣatra* Mūla. The week days also do not correspond.

² No. 264 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No. 270 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁴ The usual flourish for expressing *āraḍa* is also written in continuation of the figure '3'.

⁵ Read *chaturthi*.

at mean sunrise the *nakshatra* was Uttara-Bhadrapadā. The day corresponding to Māla in that solar month was Tuesday, January 15, A.D. 1219, which was the 21st day of Makara, and on that day the 12th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise.

238.—In the Chōlīśvara temple at Turaiyūr.¹

1 Svast[i] śri [i*] Tribhuvagachchakkara[va]t[ti]ga śri-Rājarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu
3vadu Mipv-nāyarru apara-pakshattu [e]kādaśi[ya]m Śaṅi-kki[am]miyum perṟa
Śadaiyattu nā[.].

"In the 3rd year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śatabhishaj, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mīna."

This date is also irregular. In the third year of Rājarāja III the month of Mīna fell early in A.D. 1219. The eleventh *tithi* of the second fortnight in that month corresponded to Thursday, March 14th 1219, which was the twentieth day of Mīna. On that day at mean sunrise the 11th *kṛishṇa tithi* and the *nakshatra* Dhanishṭhā were current. On Friday, March 15th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 12th *kṛishṇa* and the current *nakshatra* was Śatabhishaj. On Saturday, March 16th, at mean sunrise the current *tithi* was the 14th *kṛishṇa*, the 13th being expanded, and the current *nakshatra* was Pūrva-Bhadrapadā. So that it is not possible in that year to form at any time a combination, even at any time of a day, of a Saturday, the 11th *kṛishṇa tithi*, and the *nakshatra* Śatabhishaj; nor can we arrive at any solution without altering two out of three of the elements given in the date as stated. This would be dangerous.

The date is irregular for the reigns of Rājarāja I or II.

239.—In the Umamahēśvara temple at Kōnērīrājapuram.²

1 Svast[i] śr[i]b [i*] T[i]riḃa[va]gachchakkaravatt[i]ga śri-R[ā]jarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu
irubattanālāvadig ed[i]rām-āṇḍu Mēsha-nāyarru a[pa]ra-[pakshattu a]shṭamiyum
Ve[[i]-kki]amaiyum perṟa T[i]r[u]va[vo]ṣattu nā.

"In the year opposite the twenty-fourth year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Śravaṇa, which corresponded to a Friday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The given date corresponds to Friday, April 5th A.D. 1241, which was the 12th day of Mēsha. On that day at mean sunrise the 8th *kṛishṇa tithi* was current, and the moon was in Śravaṇa.

240.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Samayavaram.⁴

1 [Svas]ū śri [i] Tirubava[eh]chakkaravattiga śri-Rāsarājadēvaṅku yāṇḍu
[G]-
2 ā[va]du [Mē]sha-[ṇa]yarru apara-pakshattu pañchamiyum Baḷaṅ-giḷamai perṟa
Māla-
3 [tta] nā

"In the [G]th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Rājarājadēva,—on the day of Māla, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

¹ No. 701 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 661 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The syllable *rā* seems to be a correction from *trā*.

⁴ No. 740 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

The date is unsatisfactory. From the details given it would seem that the number of the regnal year is not clear. On the supposition that the number of the year is shown by a single *akshara* I have tested the date for every year of Rājārāja III's reign from the first to the ninth inclusive, and in no case have obtained the desired combination.¹

The nearest approach was found in the 1st regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1217, the 4th regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1220, and the 8th regnal year, Mēsha of A.D. 1224.

In A.D. 1217 the week-day corresponding to the 5th *krishna tithi* was Wednesday, and the day was the 5th day of Mēsha, or March 29th; but the *nakshatra* Mūla only began, by the equal space system, at 1h. 23m. after mean sunrise on that day, though at that moment (mean sunrise) the moon was in Mūla by the systems of Garga and by the Brahma-siddhānta. This was in the king's first regnal year.

In A.D. 1220 the 5th *krishna tithi* was current at mean sunrise of Thursday, March 26th which was the 2nd day of Mēsha, having been current for the last 20h. 3m. on the previous Wednesday. According to the equal-space system Jyēsthā was the *nakshatra* current during all those hours of Wednesday, Mūla only beginning 1h. 38m. after mean sunrise on Thursday; though by the system of Garga Mūla was current for the last 11h. 12m. and by the Brahma-siddhānta for the last 16h. 12m. on the Wednesday. So that by these latter authorities Mūla and the 5th *krishna tithi* ran together for a considerable period on Wednesday, March 25th. But I can ascertain no reason why the Wednesday and not the Thursday, at whose sunrise the 5th *krishna tithi* was current, should have been coupled with that *tithi*. There was nothing special, so far as I can gather, in that *tithi* which would warrant a departure from the usual procedure of naming the day from the *tithi* current at sunrise. These days in A.D. 1220 were in the king's fourth regnal year.

In A.D. 1224 the 5th *krishna tithi* fell on Wednesday, April 10th, which was the 17th day of Mēsha, but the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise of that day was Pūrva-Āshādhā by all systems, Mūla having ended on the Tuesday. This was in the eighth regnal year of Rājārāja III.

The date is irregular for his other regnal years from the first to the ninth inclusive.

It is also irregular for the 6th year of either Rājārāja I or II.

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBURAYA.

241.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 S[va]sti śrī[!]* Irājanārāyaṇaṇ *Sambā(bu)rīyaṇku yāṇṇ⁴
- 2 13 āvaṇḍ⁵ Tuḷā-ravi apara-pakshattu *duṭṭiṇai[ya]ṇ Na-
- 3 yāṇṇ-kīḷṇaiyūṇ per[ra] Katti[ga]i nāi.

"In the 13th year (of the reign) of Rājanārāyaṇaṇ Samburāya,—on the day of Krittikā which corresponded to a Sunday and to the second *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Tuli."

¹ When the above was in print I have been informed that a clause in the body of the inscription makes it clear that the 6th regnal year was intended. This being so the date must be held to be irregular.

² No. 268 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1869.

³ Śa is engraved below the line.

⁴ The syllable *ade* is represented by a flourish added to *yā*.

⁵ The word *āvaṇḍ* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 13.

⁶ Read *duṭṭigai*.

Two inscriptions, one at the Ulagaṇḍa-Perumā temple at Kañchi, and the other at the Kailāsanātha temple at Śērvallimēḍu, are dated in the year Vyaya, and expressly state the year as Ś. 1268 (A.D. 1346-47) and as being in the 9th year of this king's reign. A third record of the 7th year also exists at Śērvallimēḍu. If these are found on examination to contain fuller details of the date it may be possible to gather from them sufficient evidence as to the date of his accession. But so far this can only be fixed as being in Ś. 1259 or 1260, *i.e.*, on some day between March 26th A.D. 1337, the first solar day of Mēsha-Śaka 1259, and March 25th A.D. 1339, the last solar day of Mīna Śaka 1260. Consequently the thirteenth year must lie between March A.D. 1349 and March 1351, and the month of Tulā stated in the present inscription at Tirukachchūr must correspond either to (about) October A.D. 1349 or the same month in A.D. 1350.

The details of the date are irregular for A.D. 1349, the second *tithi* of the second fortnight in Tulā in that year falling on Tuesday, September 29th, on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī. I doubt even if the date can be accepted as regular for A.D. 1350. In that year the second *krishṇa tithi* of Kārttika was current at mean sunrise of Monday, October 18th, that day being the 20th day of Tulā, and the moon at its sunrise being in Rohiṇī. The *tithi* had been current for the last 21h. 11m. of Sunday, October 17th, and up to 3h. 5m. before sunrise on the Monday the moon had been in Kṛttikā, according to the equal-space system. By the system of Garga the moon had been in Kṛttikā up to 15h. 13m. and by the brahma-siddhānta up to 15h. 56m. before the Monday sunrise. If therefore the week-day had been stated as Sunday, the date given would have proved regular as regards the *nakṣatra* but wrong as regards the *tithi*, which should have been stated as the 1st *krishṇa*. The 2nd *krishṇa tithi* and the *nakṣatra* Kṛttikā had been together current for some hours on the Sunday, but not on the Monday; and I can ascertain no ceremonial reason why a 2nd *krishṇa* in Kārttika should be coupled with the day prior to that on whose sunrise it was current.

I have tested the date for several other years about this period but quite without success. It is not correct for A.D. 1351, in which year the given *tithi* corresponded to Friday, October 6th, which was the 9th Tulā and on which day at mean sunrise the moon was in Bharanī.

[Incidentally I may mention that I find the date quoted by Professor Hultzsch for the 17th year of this king's predecessor, Veṅṛumaskoṇḍa Śambuvārāya (*South-Indian Inscriptions* I, p. 78, No. 52) to be perfectly regular. The date corresponds to May 10th A.D. 1339, and the king's accession is fixed as having taken place between May 11 A.D. 1322 and May 10 1323].

RAJANARAYANAN SAMBUVARAYA.

242. — In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamadam.¹

1 Svās[ti] [śrī] [||*] Sakalalōkacheha[kra]²vatt[i] Irāṣaṇārā[ya]ṇaṁ Śambuvārāyarku yiyāṇḍu³ 20 āvāṇa⁴

2 Magava-nāyaru pārvva-pakṣhatta⁵ titigaiyum⁶ Buda[ṇa]m perṛa Tiruvāṇa[ti]tanā.

"In the 20th year (of the reign) of Rajanrāyaṇa Śambuvārāya the emperor of all the worlds,—on the day of Śrāvana, which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the third *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ No. 306 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Between the syllables *śra* and *ra* is a letter which is indistinct.

³ Cancel the syllable *gi*.

⁴ The word *āvāṇa* is represented by a flourish added to the figure 20.

⁵ Read *trilipai*.

⁶ The word *Budagum* is written below the line.

It is almost certain that the *nakshatra* or the *tithi* quoted in this inscription must be wrong, for by the equal-space system and that of Garga the 3rd śukla *tithi* in the solar month Makara can never correspond to Śravana, while by the Brahma-siddhānta it could only do so for about 12 minutes at the beginning of the *tithi*. The moon could, however, be in Śravana on the 1st or 2nd śukla *tithi* of that month. In the present case I think that the quoted *tithi* is correct, since it fell on a Wednesday as stated, but that the *nakshatra* has been wrongly quoted as Śravana when it should have been Dhanishthā.

If I am correct in this apposition the given date corresponds to Wednesday, January 2nd A.D. 1359, on which day at mean sunrise the 3rd śukla *tithi* was current, the day being the 7th civil day of Makara. The current *nakshatra* at mean sunrise was, however, Dhanishthā and not Śravana. This day being in the 20th regnal year of Rājanārāyaṇa Śambavarāya we have it that his accession occurred on some day between January 3rd A.D. 1339 and January 2nd 1340. As stated above, p. 251, the Kāñchi and Śervallimēdu inscriptions show that the accession could not have taken place later than the last day of Śaka 1260, which was March 25th A.D. 1339. And consequently, if the present date is accepted, the reign of this king began between January 3rd and March 25th A.D. 1339.

But if so, the last date examined, No. 241, is not regular, for it should have corresponded with a day in September-October A.D. 1351, being in the 13th year. And for that year it is incorrect.

PERUNJINGADEVA.

243.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [H*] Sakalabavapachakkaravattigal śri-Kō=P[p]erunjings-[d]ē-
- 2 varaku yāḍu 19 rad[u] Rishabha-nāya[r]a apara-pakshattu t[r]i-
- 3 tiyāyum Tiṅga[-k]āmaiyum peṇra Malattu nā.

"In the 19th year (of the reign) of the emperor of all the worlds, the glorious king Perunjingadēva,—on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Monday and to the third *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

The reign of this king has been previously determined by the late Prof. Kielhorn to have begun between 11th February and 30th July A.D. 1243.

The present date is quite regular for the 19th regnal year. It corresponds to Monday, May 8th A.D. 1261, which was the 14th Vṛishabha, Śaka 1184 expired. On that day at mean sunrise, and thereafter for 13h. 34m., the 3rd kṛishṇa *tithi* of Vaiśākha was current; the moon being by the equal-space system in Mūla at sunrise and for 3h. 40m. after it. By the systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakshatra* current at mean sunrise was Pūrva-Aśāḍhā.

We now therefore know that the accession of Perunjingadēva took place between May 9th and July 30th A.D. 1243.

¹ No. 417 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896.

No. 24—DATES OF PANDYA KINGS.

By R. SEWELL, I.C.S. (RETD.), M.R.A.S.

MARANJADAIYAN.

99.—In the Jambunāthasvāmin temple at Tiruvellārai.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō Mārañjadaiyaṅku yāṇḍu nāl[ā]-
- 2 vadaṅk-eḍir oṇḍāṇḍadu Vṛiśchika-ñāirru Ti-
- 3 ṅgaṭ-ki[ama]i perṛa Aśvati [muda]l-āga.

"In the ninth (year) opposite to the fourth year (of the reign) of king Mārañjadaiyan.—from (the day of) Aśvini which corresponded to a Monday of the month of Vṛiśchika."

The names of two sovereigns bearing the title Mārañjadaiyan have been brought to light in the territories at one time subject to the Pandyan kings. The earlier was alive in A.D. 770 as is gathered from the Āṇaimalai inscription; the later is believed to have succeeded to the throne some time in A.D. 862-63 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 88). No sufficient details exist for verification of the date given for the former. I have examined the date of the present record on the supposition that it might refer to that Mārañjadaiyan whose reign is said to have begun in A.D. 862-63.

It appears to belong to his thirteenth year, which would perhaps be the year A.D. 874-75. The date given is so far regular that on Monday, the 29th day of the solar month Vṛiśchika, the *nakṣatra* Aśvini was current for 3h. 24m. at the end of the day by all the three *nakṣatra* systems. This civil day corresponded to Monday, November 22nd A.D. 874. On that day Rōvati expired and Aśvini began at 20h. 36m. after mean sunrise. Therefore according to the ordinary practice of Southern India the Monday in question would have been coupled with Rōvati and not with Aśvini. The lunar day current at the Monday sunrise was the 10th śukla of Mārgaśīrsha. The 11th śukla *tithi* began at 18h. 34m. on that Monday, or 34m. after mid-night.

Now I understand that the 10th śukla of Mārgaśīrsha is considered an unlucky *tithi* (at least Alberūni says that it is so); but that the 11th is peculiarly auspicious since it is the occasion of the great *Mukkōṣi-ṣkādasi*, or *Mukkōṣi-ṣkādasi*, festival in Southern India, and of the *mokṣada ṣkādasi* in other parts.² And as this *tithi* ran for about 8½ hours before the end of the civil day, Monday, while the *nakṣatra* Aśvini was similarly current for about 3½ hours before the end of the day, it seems quite possible that this constituted an occasion justifying a departure from the usual practice and the coupling of the Monday in question with Aśvini instead of with Rōvati.

If I am right in this surmise the date may be accepted as genuine, and if so this king's reign began some time between November 23rd, A.D. 861, and November 22nd, 862; always supposing that "in the ninth year opposite the fourth year" means "in the thirteenth year." Coupling with this the date given in the Āṇaimalai record (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 88), which makes Śaka 792 synchronous with the king's eighth year, we have for his accession the period March 22nd to November 22nd A.D. 862. This presupposes that the quoted Śaka year 792 was the current year.

¹ No. 64 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

² That the *Mukkōṣi-ṣkādasi* festival takes place on 11th śukla of Mārgaśīrsha I gather from the late S. M. Natesa Sastri's *Hindu Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies*, p. 60. Mr. L. D. Swamikannu Pillai (*Indian Chronology*, p. 50) places it on the 11th śukla of Pausa; but I believe that this is not the case.

MARAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

97.—In the Muṇḍiāṣaramuḍaiyār temple at Maṇappaḍaiviḍu.¹

- 1 a. Svasti śri [||*] Kō Mārappanmar-āpa Tribhavaṇachchakravattiga[|] emmaṇḍala-muṇ-gōṇḍ-arai[|]ya* śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṅka yāṇḍa 10vada Vṛiśchikanāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu aṣṭamiyum perṛa Rēvati-nā[|].

"In the 10th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to the 8th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Vṛiśchika."

I have tested this date for the 10th year of the three known Māravarman Sundara-Pāṇḍyas, the first of whom began to reign between March 29 and September 4, A.D. 1216, the second between June 15, A.D. 1238, and January 18, 1239, and the third between June 2, A.D. 1531, and June 1, 1532; that is to say I have calculated the *tithi* and *nakṣatra* mentioned, during the course of the solar month Vṛiśchika, in each of the years A.D. 1225, 1226, 1247, 1248, 1540, 1541. In no case was Rēvati current at any time during the civil day which might have been connected with the 8th śukla *tithi* of a lunar month. I must therefore hold this date to be unsatisfactory.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA.

98.—In the Neḍuṅgaḷanāthasvāmīn temple at Tiruneḍuṅgaḷam.²

- 1 Svasti śri [||]*Kō-Chchadāipannmar-āpa T[|]r[i]bavāṇachchakkara[vat]tīgā[|] śr[|] Sundara-P[|]āṇḍiyadēvarṅka yāṇḍa
2 mōṇṇāvadu Rishabha-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu ēkādaśiyum Tiṅgaṭ-kīḷa[m]ai-[yū]m perṛa Pūṣattu nā[|].

"In the third year (of the reign) of king Jātavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is also irregular when examined for the third year of any known king of the name declared in the record. Tested for the reigns of the first or second Jātavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya the stated day must fall in either A.D. 1253, 1278, or 1279. In the first case the given *tithi* fell on a Saturday, in the second on a Wednesday, in the third on a Tuesday; in the first two cases the *nakṣatra* was Hasta and in the third Chitrā. On an 11th śukla *tithi* in Vṛiśabha the moon cannot be in Pushya.

99.—In the Kachchhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.³

- 1 Svasti[|] śri[||*] [Kōr-Śaḍai]
2 buvaṇachcha[k]karavatti[ga] śri-Śundara-[P]āṇḍi[ya]dēvarṅka y[ā]p[|]-
3 ḍu 7vadu⁴ Mīna-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu deśamiyum Nāyarru-[kī]ḷa[|]-
4 maiyum [p]erṛa⁵ Atta[t*]ta nā[|].

"In the 7th year (of the reign) of king Jāta[varman *alias*] the emperor of the [three] worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Sunday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

¹ No. 446 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 680 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ There is some space between Śri and Kō which might have been intended for a punctuation.

⁴ No. 303 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁵ *adu* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 7.

This date is altogether unsatisfactory. In the 7th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the 10th śukla tithi in Mīna corresponded to Saturday, March 10th A.D. 1258, the Pushya nakshatra being current at mean sunrise.

For the 7th year of the reign of Jatāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II I have tried all the possible years. In no case is the nakshatra quoted correct for the day corresponding to the 10th śukla tithi in Mīna, these being always either Panarvasu, Pushya, or Āślēshā, and never Hasta. Only in one year, A.D. 1284, does the 10th śukla tithi correspond to a Sunday, and that was on 27th February of that year; but the nakshatra for that day was Panarvasu.

The record cannot belong to the reign of any possible king of the name coming between Māravarman Kulasekhara I, whose last known date is June 9th A.D. 1303, and the second king of that name, whose reign began in March A.D. 1314; since in all the possible years that I have tried, the nakshatra, on the given day, is either Panarvasu or Pushya. Indeed during the month of Mīna the moon cannot be in Hasta on a 10th śukla tithi.

100.—In the Vighnēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [[*] Kōr-Chadapagmar-āpa Tiribhu[va]ṅga²chechakkaravattiga[
o[m*]maṇḍa[la]maṇ-gonḍ-araliya śri-Sundara Pāṇḍyadēvaṅka yāṇḍu Svadu³
Rishu-
- 2 bha-nāyarru pūrvva-pakshattu tradiyāyu[m*]⁴ Viyā[ā-ikki[la*]maiyum per[ra]
Pūṣattu nā[ī].

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jatāvarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Pushya which corresponded to a Thursday and to the third tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Rishabha."

This date is irregular. To correspond with the 8th year of the named king, either the first or the second of the dynasty, the day must fall in either A.D. 1258, 1283, or 1284. In 1258 the 3rd śukla tithi in Vriṣabha was current at sunrise of a Tuesday, and the nakshatra was Mṛigaśiras or Ārdra at sunrise. In 1283 the week-day was Saturday, and the nakshatra was Mṛigaśiras by all systems. In 1284 the week-day was Friday, and the nakshatra at sunrise was Panarvasu by all systems. Part of the 3rd śukla tithi, in this last case, coincided with Thursday; it did so in fact for the last 10½ hours of that day; but during that period the nakshatra was Ārdra or Panarvasu.

101.—In the Neḍuṅgaḷaṇṭhasvāmin temple at Tiraneḍuṅgaḷam.⁵

- 1 [Sva]s[ti]i [[*]samasta-jagad-ādihāra
- 5 [Sun]da[ra]-Pā[ṇḍi]ya[de]va[ṅka] yāṇḍu pa[ṭi]to[ṇ]ṇāvadu⁶ Makara-nāyarru pū[rvva]-
pakshattu [sha]sh[th]iy[u]m Budhan-ki[ḷa]maiyum
- 6 per[ra] Urōṣaṅ[ī]-ṇa[ḷ].

"In the eleventh year (of the reign) of [Sun]dara-Pāṇḍyadēva, —on the day of Rōhiṇi which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the sixth tithi of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

¹ No. 319 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Read *Trikkavasa*.

³ *vadu* is represented by a flourish.

⁴ Read *tridigayum*.

⁵ No. 677 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

⁶ The portion of this line, from *ediga* to *vadu*, is written over an erasure.

⁷ Read *padigayavadu*.

The date is irregular whether for the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, or for the second king of that name. The given *tithi* in Makara corresponded with a Wednesday in A.D. 1261, the 11th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara I, and in January of A.D. 1286 which might possibly have been in the 11th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara II; but the corresponding *nakṣatra* on those Wednesdays was either Pūrva or Uttara-Bhādrapadā. In January 1287 the 6th śukla *tithi* in Makara fell on a Tuesday, with the *nakṣatra* Aśvinī current at mean sunrise, and in January 1288 it fell on a Sunday, with the *nakṣatra* Rēvatī current at mean sunrise.

102.—In the Kaṇṇhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri[||*] 6. Ko-Ch[cha]da[pa]pmar-āpa
Tiribavagachchakkaravattiga! śri-[-Śu]ndara-Pāṇḍiyadēvar[ka] yā[pa]da 13vada²
pad[i]pam[ra]r[ā]vadu Kum[bha]-nāyagga pārvva-[pa]kshattu paṇṇamiyum Bu-
2 dan-ki[la]mai[ra]m perga Aśvati-nā[la].

"In the 13th—thirteenth—year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Aśvinī which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the fifth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kumbha."

This date is irregular. For the 13th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the 5th śukla *tithi* in Kumbha has Aśvinī for *nakṣatra*, but the week-day was Monday. It corresponded to 4 February, A.D. 1264. For the 13th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II we may test the date in two ways, according as we accept one or the other of the accession periods fixed by the two groups of inscriptions. If we accept the earlier period, the 5th śukla *tithi* of Kumbha in the 13th year corresponded to 8 February, A.D. 1288, and at sunrise on that day the *nakṣatra* was Aśvinī; but the week-day was Sunday. If we accept the later, the quoted day corresponded to 27 January, A.D. 1289; but on that day at sunrise the *nakṣatra* current was Rēvatī, and the week-day was Thursday. The fifth śukla *tithi* was current for 3h. 24m. at the end of Wednesday, but the *nakṣatra* Aśvinī did not begin till 13h. 46m. after mean sunrise on the Thursday, so that it could not possibly be connected with the Wednesday previous.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA I.

103.—In the Kaṇṇhapēśvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.³

- 1 Svasti[i] śr[i] [||*] [Kōr-Chada]pammar-āpa
T[i]ribuva[va]chcha[k]karavati[i]ga! śr[i]-Śundara-P[ā]ṇḍ[i]yadēvar[k].
2 ku yāpda Śva[ra] Miduna-nāyagga apara-pakshatt[u] Tiaga-kiḷammiyum perga
Uttara[ra]jādi-nā[la].

"In the 8th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Uttara-Bhādrapadā which corresponded to a Monday of the second fortnight of the month of Mithuna."

The month of Mithuna in the 8th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I fell in A.D. 1258, in which year the 1st day of that month corresponded to Monday, May 27th, and the 8th *krishṇa tithi*. The *nakṣatra* current at mean sunrise by the systems of Garga and Brahmagupta was Uttara-Bhādrapadā, but by the equal-space system Pūrva-Bhādrapadā was

¹ No. 315 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

² *ada* is represented by a flourish.

³ No. 305 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1903.

⁴ *ada* is expressed by a flourish added to the figure 8.

then current. Examining Kielhorn's dates Nos. 11 to 18 (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VI, pp. 306 ff.) I find that in six cases it is impossible to say which system was generally in use in the Chingleput tract during that reign; but No. 12 proves that in A.D. 1253, near Trichinopoly, neither the system of Garga nor that of the Brahma-siddhānta was in use, and No. 16 from near Tanjore shows that the latter was not used there in A.D. 1260.

On the morning in question, according to the equal-space system, Uttara-Bhadrapadā began 55 m. after mean sunrise; and though this throws a slight doubt on the date I think it may be accepted.

For the reign of the second king of that name the date must fall in A.D. 1283 or 1284 and for those years the quoted *nakṣatra* would be incorrect; though it is correct in all respects for Monday, June 1st, A.D. 1282, which was the 6th day of Mithuna. And if the quoted regnal year had been the 6th instead of the 8th, I should have had no hesitation in accepting it.¹ As the case stands, however, I think that the date is genuine and that it belongs to the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I.

104.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil.²

- 1 Svast[i] śri [||*] Kō-Ch[cha]ḍai[paṇma]r-ā[ṇa Tribhuva]na[chchakkarava]-
- 2 tti[ga] śri]-Śundara-[Pāṇḍiya]dēvaṛku [yā]ṇḍu llvadu
- 3 Kapp[i]-nā[ya]ṛṛu [apara-pa]ksha[ttu] [yām Buda]ṇ-ki[ḷa[m]ai-
- 4 [yū]m peṛṛa Śōdi-nā.

"In the 11th year (of the reign) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Svāti which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

The given elements of the date do not correspond to any possible 11th or—supposing a wrong regnal year to have been stated,—10th or 12th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II; nor to any śukla *tithi* on a Wednesday in Kanyā in any of those years, supposing that the fortnight was wrongly recorded.

The day apparently corresponds to Wednesday, August 31st A.D. 1261, which was in the 11th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, and on which day at mean sunrise, which was the 3rd day of Kanyā, the 4th śukla *tithi* was current, the current *nakṣatra* being, by the equal-space system, Svāti. By the other two systems of Garga and the Brahma-siddhānta the *nakṣatra* was Viśākhā.

I think that the record is one of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I, and that the fortnight was wrongly stated. The date does not correspond to any day in the dark fortnight during the given solar month.

JATAVARMAN SUNDARA-PANDYA II.

105.—In the Neṇḍuṅgaḷanāthasvāmin temple at Tiruneṇḍuṅgaḷam.³

- 1 Svast[i] śri [||*] svast[i] samasta-jagad-ādhāra
- 5 śr[i] K[ō]-Ch[cha]ḍai[paṇma]r-āna T[i]ribuvapa-
chchakkaravattigal śri-Śundara-Pāṇ-

¹ Since the text was in print I am informed that the figure "8" is quite clear in the original.

² No. 741 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ No. 667 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

6 [diya]dēvaṅ[k]ku yāḍu Svadu¹ | Ma[ka]ra-[n]āyerra [p]ūrvva-pakshattu
daśamiyūm Budaḍ-[k]iḷamaiyūm perṛa Rō-

7 [śagi]-nāḷ.

"In the 8th year (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi which corresponded to a Wednesday and to the tenth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makara."

For the 8th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, the 10th śukla *tithi* in solar Makara fell on a Sunday, at whose sunrise the *nakṣatra* was Kṛittikā. Neither Rōhiṇi nor the 10th śukla *tithi* could be connected with a Wednesday.

For the 8th year of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II the year may correspond either with A.D. 1282-83, or 1283-84, according to the initial date accepted for the reign. The given date is irregular for both these years. It is, however, perfectly regular for the 9th regnal year of this king, if his accession dated from some day in the year 1276-77; for the given lunar day falling on the 23rd day of Makara, corresponds regularly to Wednesday, January 17th A.D. 1285, on which day at mean sunrise the 10th śukla *tithi* and the *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇi were current. Since this date is regular in all its details, I think it should be accepted. But in that case either it clashes with most of the other records of this king as to the initial date of his reign, or the regnal year is wrongly given as the 8th, when it should have been stated as the 9th. A mistake of this kind is frequently made, and I believe it to have been made in this instance.

106.—In the Vyaghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhaliṅgamaḍam.¹

1 Svasti śri: Kō[r]-Śaḍaipagmar-āṇa Tirubu[va]ṇa[oh]chak[ka]ra[va]ttigal śri-

2 Śandara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āḍu 13[vadu] Mīna-[nāya]ḡḡu pā[rvva]-paksha-

3 tta Śagi=kkiḷamaiyūm² shash[ṭh]iya[m]⁴ perṛa Rō[śa]ṇi-nā[ḷ].³

"In the 13th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Rōhiṇi which corresponded to the sixth *tithi* and to a Saturday of the first fortnight of the month of Mīna."

For the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I the date is irregular, as the given *tithi* in his 13th year fell on a Wednesday, though the *nakṣatra* was Rōhiṇi.

Working by the group of inscriptions which fixes the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II as beginning in 1276 and, therefore, his 13th year as beginning in 1288, I find the date so far satisfactory that for 4h. 31m. at the end of Saturday, February 26, A.D. 1289, which was the 4th day of Mīna, the 6th śukla *tithi* of Phālguna and the *nakṣatra* Rōhiṇi were together current. At sunrise on Sunday, both this *tithi* and *nakṣatra* were current, and by ordinary practice they would have been coupled with Sunday, February 27, and not with Saturday, February 26th. Phālguna śukla 6th began 7h. 8m. after mean sunrise on that Saturday.

Working by the earlier accession-date fixed by the other inscription-group the date is irregular.

With the reservation above stated the date corresponds to Saturday, February 26th, A.D. 1289; and this fixes the beginning of the reign as subsequent to February 26th, A.D. 1276.

¹ *caḍa* is represented by a flourish.

² No. 418 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The syllables *paṇ* are engraved below the line.

⁴ The *akṣara* *ṣ* is engraved below the line.

⁵ The *akṣara* *ḷ* is engraved below the line.

107.—In the Kachchhapésvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō-Chchadapag-na[r]-āpa
Tiribuvanaachchakkaravattigal śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadē[va]rkku yāṇḍu 1[3]vaḍukku
edirām-ā-
2 ṇḍu Karkadaga-nāyarra apara-pakshattu deśamiyum Tiṅgal-kkilamaiyum perṇa
Kattigai-nā].

"In the year opposite to the 1[3]th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Kṛittikā which corresponded to a Monday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Karkāṭaka."

The date given is incorrect for the 14th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, but correct for that of the second of that name. It corresponds to Monday, July 3rd, A.D. 1290, which was the 6th day of solar Karkāṭaka, or Karka, and on which day the 10th *krishṇa tithi* of Jyēṣṭha was current at sunrise. At sunrise, also, on that day the *nakṣatra* Kṛittikā was current according to all the three systems of calculation. According to this the accession-day of Jaṭavarman-Sundara-Pāṇḍya II must have been subsequent to July 3rd A.D. 1276.

108.—In the Kachchhapésvara temple at Tirukkachchūr.²

- 1 Kō Śadapagmar- āpa Tiribuvanaachchakkaravattigal śri-Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku [y]āṇḍu 17vaḍu Siṁha-nāyarra pūrvva-pakshattu
2 . . . miyum Tiṅgal-kilamaiyum perṇa Uttirāḍattu nā].

"In the 17th year (*of the reign*) of king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Sundara-Pāṇḍiyadēva,—on the day of Uttarāṣāḍhā which corresponded to a Monday and to the . . . *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Siṁha."

This date is incorrect for the 17th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I. It is, however, correct for the reign of the second king of that name. It corresponds to Monday, August 25th A.D. 1292, which was the 28th Siṁha, and on which day at sunrise the 11th *śukla tithi* was current, the *nakṣatra* being Uttarā-Āṣāḍhā by all systems. This was in the 17th year of the reign of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II., if his accession took place on or before August 25th, A.D. 1276.

I have given great attention to the question of the date of accession of Jaṭavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, because the evidence regarding it has hitherto been in a very unsatisfactory condition; and after concluding my examination of the eleven inscription dates sent to me this year, which, with those previously examined by the late Professor Kielhorn and myself, make a total of twenty-six records, I have come to the conclusion that this king ascended the throne on a day between the 6th and 25th August A.D. 1276.

As I differ from the opinion expressed by the late Professor Kielhorn and have modified the conclusions I had previously formed (above, Vol. X, pp. 144 f.) it is necessary to state the case at some length. The difference of opinion alluded to has reference to records Nos. 23 to 27. Kielhorn considered that the regnal years stated in Nos. 23 and 24 were wrong, and adhered to those given in Nos. 25 and 27. He considered that a wrong *tithi* had been stated in No. 26, and corrected, rightly as I think, the "13th" *tithi* to the 3rd. After this correction the date

¹ No. 303 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 305 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

agrees with Nos. 23 and 24 as regards the day of the king's accession. Accepting this alteration I think that instead of altering the regnal years given in Nos. 23 and 24, it was those given in Nos. 25 and 27 that required correction. It is only fair to remember that apparently Professor Kielhorn had, at the time that he wrote, very few inscriptions of this king before him.

With these preliminary remarks I proceed to summarize the results for all the records yet examined, from which it will be seen that there is now a strong presumption in favour of the accession-date put forward by me. In the list, "K" stands for Kielhorn, and "S" for Sewell. The inscription-dates are published above, in Vols. VI, pp. 310-12, VIII, pp. 278-280, and X, pp. 127-28 as well as in the present article.

| No. | Date of inscription A. D. | Regnal year. | Accession later than A. D. | Notes. |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| K 23 | Mon. 1 Aug. 1289 . | 13 | 1 Aug. 1276. | |
| " 24 | Fri. 5 Aug. 1289 . | 13 | 5 Aug. 1276. | |
| " 25 | Mon. 21 July 1281 . | 6 | 21 July 1275 . | Year 6 should be year 5. |
| " 26 | Fri. 12 Sept. 1287 . | 12 | 12 Sept. 1275 . | " 13th tithi" should be "3rd." |
| " 27 | Mon. 15 May 1290 . | 15 | 15 May 1275 . | Year 15 should be year 14. |
| " 52 | Mon. 23 July 1235 . | 10 | 23 July 1275 . | Year 10 should be year 9. |
| " 53 | Wed. 29 Oct. 1287 . | 11 | 29 Oct. 1276 . | Year 11 should be year 12. |
| " 54 | Wed. 27 Aug. 1287 . | 12 | 27 Aug. 1275. | |
| " 55 | Mon. 28 Aug. 1290 . | 15 | 28 Aug. 1275 . | " Kmyā " should be "Simha." |
| " 56 | (Doubtful). | | | |
| S 74 | Mon. 30 Sept. 1286 . | 10 | 30 Sept. 1276 . | Year 10 should be year 11. |
| " 75 | Mon. 20 Feb. 1290 . | 15 (?) | 20 Feb. 1275 . | Year 15 should be year 14. |
| " 76 | Wed. 18 Mar. 1293 . | 17 | 18 Mar. 1276. | |
| " 77 | Sat. 14 Mar. 1293 . | 17 | 14 Mar. 1276. | |
| " 78 | (Irregular). | | | |
| " 98 | (Irregular). | | | |
| " 99 | (Irregular). | | | |
| " 100 | (Irregular). | | | |
| " 101 | (Irregular). | | | |
| " 102 | (Irregular). | | | |
| " 103 | (Reign of J. San. P.I.) | | | |

| No. | Date of inscription A. D. | Regnal year. | Accession later than A. D. | Notes. |
|-------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| S 104 | (Reign of J. S. P. I.) | | | |
| " 105 | Wed. 17 Jan. 1285 | 8 | 17 Jan. 1277 | Year 8 should be year 2. |
| " 106 | Sat. 26 Feb. 1289 | 13 | 26 Feb. 1276. | |
| " 107 | Mon. 3 July 1290 | 14 | 3 July 1276. | |
| " 108 | Mon. 25 Aug. 1292 | 17 | 25 Aug. 1275. | |

From this statement it will be seen that we have six dates, viz., Nos. 23, 24, 76, 77, 106 and 107 which as they stand, without any alteration, show that the king's accession took place in 1276 A.D. after August the 5th; one, No. 108, which shows that it may have taken place on or before August 25, 1276; and two, which, as they stand show that it took place before August 27th in that year. These are Nos. 54 and 55. Also one, No. 26, which, without alteration of the regnal year, supports that conclusion though a wrong *tithi* was quoted. Seven others, Nos. 25, 27, 52, 53, 74, 75 and 105, are not inconsistent with it if one year is either added to or deducted from the given regnal year. Nine others are either irregular or belong to the reign of a different king.¹

Referring to my remarks on the accession-date of this king at p. 129 of Vol. X, it will be seen that I now accept K. 26, with Kielhorn's proposed alteration. It was "intrinsically wrong" for the stated *tithi*, but, with the alteration made, it supports the accession-date which I now believe to be the correct one. With regard to two other dates, Nos. 55 and 75, I was doubtful on account of apparent errors in them; but in view of the light since thrown on the matter they may be accepted with those errors corrected.

JATAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

109.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai.²

- 1 || Svasti śr[ī]: śrī³ Kō-Chcha-
- 2 dāyavarmanmar-āna Tribh[uv*]a-
- 3 nach[cha]kravattiga| śrī.³
- 4 Kulāśēkharadēva-
- 5 rkku yāḍu 2vadu
- 6 Midhana-nāyaru iru-
- 7 badān-diyadiyum pā-
- 8 rva-pakshattu trayō-
- 9 dāsiyum Budhap-kīla-
- 10 māiyum peṭ[ra A]-
- 11 pīlattu nā|.

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of the glorious king Jaṭavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulāśēkharadēva,—on the day of Anurādha which corre-

¹ Since this paper was in print I have seen Professor Jacobi's article above (pp. 132, ff.). His No. 86 (p. 136) confirms my opinion, since it shows that the king could not have begun to reign earlier than 10th August A.D. 1276, 9th August of that year being still in his 14th year. This still further reduces the doubtful days of his accession, and, being accepted, proves that he ascended the throne on a day between 10th and 25th August A.D. 1276.

² No. 135 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

³ A letter *ka* has been engraved and erased after *śrī*; *ka* is written over an erasure.

sponded to a Wednesday and to the thirteenth *tithi* of the first fortnight and to the twentieth solar day of the month of Mithuna."

This date is irregular for any year in the reign of Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara I, as well as for any in the reign of Mājavarman Kulasekhara II; nor is it correct for any date between A.D. 1190 and 1350 except in the case of two years. One is in A.D. 1239 and the other is in A.D. 1334. In each case the 13th śukla *tithi* coincided with the 20th day of solar Mithuna; and in each case the week-day was Wednesday and the *nakṣatra* current at mean sunrise was Anurādhā; the only exception being that in A.D. 1239, if the calculation were made by the Brahmasiddhānta, Anurādhā had expired 20m. before mean sunrise on that day. But this objection need not be taken into account, since that *nakṣatra* was probably current at true sunrise.

For the year A.D. 1334 the coincidence is absolute. In the first case the given date corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A.D. 1233; in the second case it corresponds to Wednesday, June 15, A.D. 1334. In the first case the king's reign began after June 15, 1237, and before June 15, 1238; in the second case the reign began after June 15, 1332, and before June 15, 1333. Careful study of the characters and form of the original inscription will doubtless lead to certain determination as to which of these two years is the correct one.¹ If this king's reign should be found to begin between 1332 and 1333 A.D., we shall have the name of a hitherto unknown Pāṇḍya king, coming probably between Mājavarman Kulasekhara II and Mājavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya, and bearing the title "Jaṭavarman" according to custom. And if his reign began between 1237 and 1238 A.D. we shall similarly have a new "Jaṭavarman" between Mājavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I and Mājavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya II, but with a certain overlapping of reigns. In the other case there is no overlapping; and if this should prove correct the king's title will have to be, at least provisionally, stated as "Jaṭavarman Kulasekhara II."

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA.

110.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Tenkarai.²

- 1 Svast[i] śri: śri: Ko Mā[ra]paṇmar-āna Tribhuvanachcha-
kkaṇavatti-
- 2 ga| e[m*][ma]ḍalamuṇ-gonḍ-arali[ya śri]-Kulaśēgaradēva[r][k]u yāḍu 23va[du
Ma]gara-
- 3 nāyaṅṇa pūrvva-pakṣhatta [sapta]m[i]y[um] T[ih]ga|-kkiḷamaiyum perṛa Attatti-
nā|.

"In the 23rd year (of the reign) of the glorious king Mājavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva, who was pleased to take every country,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Makāra."

This date is irregular. In the first place the moon can never be in Hasta on a 7th śukla *tithi* during the solar month Makāra. For the 23rd year of either of the known kings of the name stated, which correspond, for the 7th śukla *tithi* of Makāra, to a day in January A.D. 1291 or January A.D. 1337, the week-day is Monday in the first case, and Friday in the second; and the corresponding *nakṣatras* are Rēvatī in the first case, and Aśvinī in the second. Working for a possible 7th kṛishṇa *tithi*, on the supposition that a mistake had been made by the engraver, I find the week-days to have been respectively Tuesday and Friday, with *nakṣatras* Chitrā and Viśākhā.

¹ I have since been informed that, while it is difficult to decide the point from characters alone, the earlier date is the more probable.

² No. 123 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

111.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pūrattukkōyil.¹

- 1 Svasti² śrī [i] Kō Mārappanmar-āpa Tir[i]buvaṇachchakkaravatt[iga] śrī[i]-Kulaś-
garadēvarku yāḍu
2 28vadu Kapp[i]-nāyarru [ama]ru-pakkashattu³ deśamiyū Vell[i]-kkiamaiyū perṇa
Attattu
3 nā].

"In the 28th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekhara⁴dēva, — on the day of Hasta which corresponded to a Friday and to the tenth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

This date is intrinsically wrong, for on a tenth *kṛishṇa tithi* in solar Kanyā the moon cannot be in the *nakṣatra* Hasta. In such a month the day of Hasta must be either the 14th or 15th *kṛishṇa*, or the 1st or 2nd *śukla tithi*. Moreover the week-day given is incorrect for the tenth *kṛishṇa tithi* in Kanyā, both in the 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I (A.D. 1295) and in a possible 28th year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara II, which would fall in A.D. 1341.

MĀRAVARMAN KULASEKHARA I.

112.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Teṇkarai.⁴

- 1 || Svasti śrī : śrī-Kō Mārappanmar-āpa Tiribuva-
[ṇa]chchakkaravattiga[em]maṇḍalamu-
2 [gōḍ-a]ru[i]ya śrī-Kulaśēgaradēva[r]ku yā[ṇ]ḍu 14vadu Kappi-nāya[r]ru
pō[r]va-pakshattu [sa]pta[m]iyū [N]āyarru-kki[la]maiya perṇa
3 [M]ālatu nā].

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekhara⁵dēva, who was pleased to take every country, — on the day of Mūla, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the seventh *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

This date is regular for the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara I, and incorrect for that of M. Kulaśekhara II. For the former it corresponds to Sunday, September 21st, A.D. 1281, which was the 24th day of solar Kanyā. At mean sunrise on that day the 7th *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, and the current *nakṣatra* was Mūla, by all systems.

For the 14th year of Māravarman Kulaśekhara II the given day would correspond to September 23rd, A.D. 1327; but that day was Wednesday.

113.—In the Mūlasthānēśvara temple at Teṇkarai.⁵

- 1 Svasti[i] śrī[i] : śrī-Kō [Mārappanmar-āpa Tri]bhuvā[ṇa]chcha-
kravatt[i]ga[em]maṇḍalamu[ā]-gō[ṇa]-aru[i]ya [śrī]-Kula[ś]ēgaradēvar-
[kka yāṇ]ḍu [2]8vadu⁶ Vriśchika-[nāya]rru
2 apara-pakshattu chatu[r]thiyū Nā[ya]rru-kkiamaiyū perṇa Pūsat[ta] nā].

"In the [2]8th year (of the reign) of the glorious king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulaśekhara⁷dēva, who was pleased to take every country, —

¹ No. 794 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² The *ea* of *Sea* is not added in the right place.

³ Read *apara-pakshattu datamiyū*.

⁴ No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

⁵ No. 126 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1910.

⁶ The year might also be read as 20. What is taken for 8 would in that case be the first letter *ā* of *śeṣa*.

on the day of **Pushya**, which corresponded to a **Sunday** and to the fourth *tīthi* of the second fortnight of the month of **Vṛiśchika**."

For the 28th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulasekhara I, which began in June A.D. 1295, this date is perfectly regular. It corresponds to **Sunday, November 27th, A.D. 1295**, on which day, the 30th day of solar Vṛiśchika, the 4th *tīthi* of the second lunar fortnight was current at mean sunrise, the *nakshatra* then being **Pushya** by all systems.

It would be incorrect for the 20th year of that king, or for a possible 20th or 28th year of the second king of that name.

MARAVARMAN KULASEKHARA II.

114.—In the Muktiśvara temple at Pārattukkōyil.¹

- 1 Sva[s]t[i] śr[i] [||*] Kō Māra[pa]ma[r-ā]pa T[i]rubu[va]nache[ka]ravattiga[
[śri]-Kulaś[ga]radēvarkku y[ā]v[du] vradu]
2 Magara-nāya[r]ru pūrva-pakṣat[ta] pratha[mai]yum Śapi-kki[a[m]ai]y[u]m p[er]ra
Aviṭṭattu nā].

"In the [28th] year (*of the reign*) of king Māgavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulasekharadēva,—on the day of Dhanishṭhā which corresponded to a **Saturday** and to the [first] *tīthi* of the first fortnight of the month of **Makara**."

This date regularly corresponds, for the 6th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulasekhara II, to **Saturday January 12th, A.D. 1320**, which was the 17th day of **Makara**; on which day at mean sunrise the 1st śukla *tīthi* was current, the *nakshatra* being **Dhanishṭhā** by all systems.

It is incorrect for the 6th year of the reign of Māgavarman Kulasekhara I.

JATAVARMAN PARAKRAMA-PANDYA.

115.—In the Vikrama-Pāṇḍyēśvara temple at Sōlapuram.²

- 1 Svasti śr[i] [||*] Śakābdam āyirattu-iru-[n]ārru-[nār]pattu-nālig mēl śrī-Kō-
Chchadāipa[umar-āpa] Tr[i]bhuvā[na]chchakravatt[iga] śrī-Parākrama-
P[ā]ṇḍiyadēva[rku] yāṇḍu 8] M[ī]pa-nāya[r]ru 28³[tēdi]yu[m]
pau[r]v[ai]y[u]m Budag-kilamai[y]um perra Sittirai-n[ā].

"After the Śaka year (one) thousand two hundred and forty-four (had passed)—in the year 8 (*of the reign*) of the glorious king Jatavarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Chitrā, which corresponded to a **Wednesday**, to the full-moon *tīthi*, and to the 28th solar day of the month of **Mina**."

This date is regular when calculated by the Ārya-siddhānta. It corresponds to **Wednesday, 28rd March, A.D. 1323**, on which day at mean sunrise—the day being the 28th of **Mina**,—the full moon, or 15th śukla *tīthi*, was current; it having begun 15h. 35m. in mean time before, and ending 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise.

The *nakshatra*, however, is found to have begun, by the equal-space and Garga systems, 1h. 30m. *after* mean sunrise; though by the Brahma-siddhānta it was current at mean sunrise, having begun 2h. 14m. earlier. I have calculated the date by the Brahma-siddhānta, and find that that authority was *not* used by the framers of the *pañchāṅga* in current use at the

¹ No. 742 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² No. 487 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

³ The syllable *tēdi* are expressed by a symbol.

time; for by it the day of the week, of the solar month and the number of the *tithi* all work out differently, as also does the *nakshatra* for mean sunrise of the day so established. It follows that the date was calculated by the *Ārya-siddhānta*; but that (i) either there was a slight error in the calculation of the *nakshatra*, or (ii) the *nakshatra* for which calculation was made was the one current at the time of the action recorded in the inscription,—which action probably took place between 1h. 30m. and 7h. 52m. after mean sunrise on the same 23rd March. The inscription belongs to the reign of a king named Jaṭavarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍya whose reign began between 24th March A.D. 1315 and 23rd March 1316.

MARAVARMAN VIKRAMA-PANDYA.

116.—In the Vyāghrapādēśvara temple at Siddhalingamaḍam.¹

1 [S]vasti śri [i*] Kā [M]ārapatmar-āṇa² Tribhuvana[ch]akkaravattigal śri-
*Vikrama-Pāṇḍ[ya]yadēvaru yāṇu

2 [6]vadu [Kaṇṇi]-nāyaru pūrvva-pakshattu prathamaiyum Nāyaru-k[ti]lamaiyum
perra At[ta][t*]tu nā.

"In the [6]th year (*of the reign*) of king Māravarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Sunday and to the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Kanyā."

According to the information supplied to me, doubtless from palaeographic deduction, this inscription belongs to a period later than the fifteenth century A.D., and consequently to a king whose date has not yet been established, and with whose name we are not yet familiar. This may well be so, but I find it impossible, the details being given as they are here, to find a date which would correspond with those details, without examining them separately for every year; and this would entail a vast and perhaps unnecessary amount of labour.⁴

Meanwhile I would point out that, if it is permissible to suppose that this Māravarman Vikrama may be identical with the Kōṭṛipmaikopdān Vikrama whose reign began (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 228) between 13th January and 27th July, A.D. 1401, the given date very fairly well fits in with his reign. In the 6th year of this king's reign the 15th day of Kanyā corresponded to Monday, September 13th, A.D. 1406. On that day at mean sunrise the 1st *tithi* of the first fortnight was current, as also, by all systems, the *nakshatra* Hasta. The 1st śukla *tithi* had begun 11h. 20m. before mean sunrise, that is to say, it had been current for 11h. 20m. on the Sunday (September 12); and during that time the *nakshatra* Hasta had been current by all systems, it having begun by the equal-space system and that of Garga 17h. 11m., and by the *Brahma-siddhānta* 20h. 35m. before the Monday sunrise. That Sunday was a particularly sacred day being the Mahālaya-amāvāsyā day, with both sun and moon in Hasta. The moon's *nakshatra* has been already stated. At the moment when the 1st śukla *tithi* began on the Sunday the sun's mean longitude was 165° 4' 27", proving him to have been in Hasta.

It may be that the same conditions existed at an altogether later date, and the years can be examined individually if a palaeographic study of the original inscription can be undertaken which would confine possibilities within a limit of, say, 50 years.

¹ No. 410 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² The length of *rā* is written in continuation of the letter *r*.

³ Read *Vikrama-Pāṇḍyadē*.

⁴ [Mr. Krishna Sastri now informs Mr. Sewell that palaeographically the inscription more probably belongs to the end of the 13th century. Mr. Swamikannu Pillai has accordingly calculated the date as corresponding to Sunday, August 29, A.D. 1288.—S.K.]

MARAVARMAN VIRA-PANDYADEVA.

117.—In the Vyāghrapādāśvara temple at Siddhalingamaṣam.¹

- 1 Svasti śri [H*] Kṣ Mārapaṇmar 'Ntribhuvanachchakkaravattiga] śri-Vira-Pāṇḍiyadēvarṇa yāṇḍu 15vadu Dhanusu-nāyaggu [a]para-
2 pakabattu ash[ta]m[i]yum Sapi-kkilamaiyum peṇṇa Attattu nā].

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Māravarman, the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva,—on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Saturday and to the eighth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣa."

The date is incorrect for the reign of the only Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍya as yet known to history, whose 15th year began between 13th March and 28th July, A.D. 1457. In that year the 12th Dhanuṣa corresponded to Friday, December 9th, A.D. 1457, on which day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current at mean sunrise. But the week-day was not Saturday, and the given *tithi* could not be connected with Saturday; while though the *nakṣatra* at mean sunrise was Hasta by the Brahma-siddhānta having begun 2h. 26m. earlier, it was Uttara-Phalguni by the equal-space system and that of Garga.

In the previous year the given *tithi* was current at sunrise on a Monday.

The date, however, is perfectly regular for the 15th year of Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya which year began between the 11th November A.D. 1266 and the 13th July 1267. In that 15th regnal year the 14th day of Dhanuṣa corresponded to Saturday, December 10th A.D. 1267, and at mean sunrise on that day the 8th *tithi* of the second fortnight was current, having begun 5h. 40m. before mean sunrise. At that sunrise the *nakṣatra* Hasta was current by all systems.

I think, therefore, that the date is correct, but that the record belongs to the reign of Jaṭavarman Vira, and not of Māravarman Vira-Pāṇḍyadēva. A study of the palmography of the record will settle this question, since of course the inscription may belong to the reign of a later sovereign, bearing the name as given, who is not yet known to us historically.²

If my identification is considered satisfactory the commencement of the reign of Jaṭavarman Vira-Pāṇḍya is fixed as having taken place between December 11th, A.D. 1252, and July 13th, 1253.

No. 25.—THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

By A. H. FRANKS.

Tibetan accounts of its origin.

As regards Tibetan historiography in general, there are two distinct schools of it, viz. the Central Tibetan and the West Tibetan school. Thus, the records referring to the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet vary to a certain degree, according to the schools of writers.

Central Tibetan records.—The Petersburg *rgyal rabs gsalbaṣ melong*, Sarat Ch. Das' *The Tibeto-Mongolian dictionary*, Togbarlova and the Bodhimör. They all agree on the following points: king Sroṅ btsan sgampo (c. 600—650 A.D.) sent his minister Thonmi to Hindustan, Southern Hindustan or Magadha, to learn reading and writing. He received instruction from a certain Lā byin (the Lajin of the Mongols) in reading and writing, and formed the Tibetan alphabet after the Laṭṭṭha and Vartula characters, Tibetan dBu chan after Laṭṭṭha, and Tibetan dBu med after Vartula. He brought the Tibetan alphabet up to 30 characters,

¹ No. 395 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1909.

² Read *Triśāvarana*.

³ Since the above was in print I am assured that the title *Māravarman* is quite clear in the original.

by taking 24 from the Indian alphabet, and inventing six new characters himself. For the expression of the Tibetan vowels he added four vowel signs.

The West Tibetan school states that king Sroñ btsan sgampo sent his minister Thonmi and 16 fellow students to Kashmir, to learn the characters. They learnt the characters from the Brahman Li byin, and pandit Senge taught them the language (Sanskrit). Bringing them into agreement with the Tibetan language, they formed 24 *gSal byed* and 6 *Riñs*, altogether 30 characters. (The following sentence is probably a later addition) : Besides, they made them to agree with the Nagara characters of Kashmir and brought them into shape.

Looking at these two, the West Tibetan record strikes me as being the more original of the two. In the first place, the country from which the alphabet was brought to Tibet, is given here as being **Kashmir**. This is more in accordance with the result of Dr. Vogel's examination of the alphabet. Then, the passage about the forming of the Tibetan alphabet after the Indian *Lañtsha* and *Vartula* characters, which is altogether doubtful, is omitted here. The West Tibetan account makes mention of the Indian *Nāgarī* alphabet, it is true, but this passage looks like a later interpolation.

European statements.—The Central Tibetan account, which makes the Indian *Lañtsha* and *Vartula* characters the parents of the Tibetan alphabet, was accepted by a number of European and Indian writers on this subject. Thus, Jäschke in his Tibetan grammar, p. 1, says that the Tibetan script was adapted from the *Lañtsha* form of Indian characters. Grünwedel, in his *Mythology* says, that the Tibetan script was formed after the Indian characters of those times, the so-called *Vartula*; and Sarat Ch. Das, in his article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet' (J. A. S. B., Vol. LVII, p. 41) speaks of the 'letters which *Sambhoṭa* had introduced from *Magadha*, and which he had shaped partly after the form of some of the *Wartu* characters of *Magadha*'.

As we now know, the Tibetan characters were directly derived from Indian **Gupta**. And this fact was already recognised by Csoma de Kőrös, the Nestor of Tibetan studies. He says on p. 204 of his grammar: "The Tibetan alphabet itself, as has been noticed in other places, is stated to have been formed from the *Dēvanāgarī* prevalent in Central India in the seventh century. On comparing the forms of its letters with those of various ancient Sanskrit inscriptions, particularly that at *Gaya*, translated by Mr. (now Sir Charles) Wilkins, and that on the column at *Allahabad*, translated by Capt. Trevor and Dr. Mill, a striking similitude will be observed." When Csoma wrote this, the term of **Gupta** had not yet been coined for that particular kind of script. Otherwise he would have used the term.

The next student of Tibetan, who told me the same thing, was Dr. F. W. Thomas of the India Office Library. In his opinion, this fact was so apparent and firmly established, that he did not think it necessary to write a line about it. And in his letter of the 7th June, 1906, he sent me a list of Gupta characters from *Indore*, of the year 465 A.D., which agree very closely with the Tibetan characters.

The same view has been expressed more recently by Col. Waddell, in his article on ancient Tibetan inscriptions from *Lhasa* (J. R. A. S., 1910).

With regard to the date of the introduction of the Tibetan alphabet, and the place of its provenience, Dr. Vogel has favoured me with the following note:—

Relation of Tibetan to Indian scripts.

"Besides the ordinary Tibetan character, the lamas have the so-called *Lañtsha* which is exclusively used for Sanskrit formulas. The local tradition (of Central Tibet) holds, that the

Lañtsha is the older of the two, and that from it the ordinary Tibetan alphabet has been derived. This has been repeated by European writers, but in view of palaeographical evidence there cannot be the slightest doubt that the tradition has reversed the real facts.

"The ordinary Tibetan character is the more ancient of the two, and the Lañtsha originated several centuries later. Both were derived from Indian scripts, but quite independently of each other. The time of their origin can be approximately fixed, by a comparison with the characters used in Indian Sanskrit inscriptions.

"The Tibetan alphabet is based on the Indian script, which had developed from the Western Gupta and which used to be designated by the name of Kuṭila. Bühler has rejected this appellation and has proposed to call it 'acute-angled' (spitz-winklig).¹ The Tibetan has retained the characteristics of this script; acute angles at the lower ends, small wedges at the tops, and in general a very ornamental and elegant appearance. As regards the date, when it was introduced into Tibet, the following points may be noted.

"Initial *ā* is indicated by the sign for initial *a* with a curve attached to the bottom of the vertical, and not by a stroke to the right as in Nāgarī. The stroke came into general use in India from about 900 A.D. [Let me note that this curve is a subjoined small 'a' (No. 23 of the Tibetan alphabet). But another ancient form of *a* is found in inscriptions near Khalatse.

There the syllable *ām* is written like that  —F.]

"The *ja* has the ancient type of the Gupta period (with central bar to the right) which was preserved in India till about 700 A.D. [The Śāradā has kept this form throughout].

"The *ta* closely agrees with the corresponding Śāradā letter in that the left half of the curve has disappeared. [But see some forms of the 8th century.—F.]

"The *da* has no wedge at the lower end, as is found in India from about 700 A.D.

"In *pa* the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happens in India from about 700. Neither is this the case in Śāradā.

"The *pha* has retained its Gupta type, which existed in India till about 700 A.D. It differs considerably from the Śāradā *pha*.

"The *ba* resembles Śāradā *va*. The vertical, as in *pa* is not prolonged beneath. [But see one case from the 8th century.—F.]

"The *ma* has a loop, but the vertical is not prolonged beneath. It is therefore different from the Śāradā letter, but closely resembles the Indian *ma* of about 700 A.D.

"The *ya* is of special importance, as it has the tripartite shape, which in India became changed into the bipartite form in the seventh century. [The most ancient Ladakhi *ye dharma* formula from Khalatse which Dr. Vogel believes to date from c. 600 A.D., exhibits already the bipartite form of *ya*.—F.] The Śāradā has the bipartite type.

"In *la* we observe the same as in *pa* and *ba*: the vertical is not prolonged beneath, as happened in India after 700 A.D. The absence of these prolongations is the more remarkable, as the Tibetan is fond of long down-strokes.

¹ *Indische Palaeographie*, p. 49.

"Our conclusion is, that the Tibetan is derived from the Northern Indian script, which was used in the 7th century. It is not based on the Śāradā, but has certain points of similarity with this script, which suggest that both were derived from the same Northern Indian character."

My own view is, that the Tibetan alphabet was quietly worked out in the ancient monasteries of Turkistan, the Tibetan *Li yul* and that *Sroñ btsan agampo's* minister *Thonmi* reaped the fruit of such learning. My reasons are the following: The script used for Sanskrit in Turkistan, the so-called Central Asian Brāhmī, is another descendant of Indian Gupta, and closely related to the Tibetan script.¹ Similar characters were used also in Ladakh for Sanskrit formulas between 600 and 800 A.D. These characters were probably the parent of the so-called *Brutsha* (*Brusha*, *Dard*) form of writing.² The Turkistan monasteries were the very places where any new kind of script might have been invented, as is shown by a number of new languages which were first reduced to writing in Turkistan. Then, the man who taught *Thonmi* in Kashmir, is called *Li byin* which name doubtless means, 'Blessing of the land *Li*' (blessing of *Khotan*). This name may be compared with such names as *Khri bdun yul byin*, 'Blessing of the land *Khri bdun*.' Thus, the man who taught *Thonmi* may have been a native of Turkistan. We have a single testimony of history for the early use of Indian characters in Western Tibet, in the Chinese *Sui shu*, where it is stated, that such characters were used in the Empire of the 'Eastern Women' (*Guge*), etc. The Tibetan alphabet, though probably invented earlier, may have followed the development of the North Indian alphabets, until it remained stationary from the 7th or 8th century.

Regarding the language for which the alphabet was invented, I am of opinion, that it certainly was the classical Tibetan. But we must not believe that classical Tibetan was generally spoken in the 7th century. From passages occurring in a good number of documents excavated by *Sir Aurel Stein* in the deserts of Turkistan, we know for certain that the Tibetan dialects were then already developed to an advanced degree. It is very improbable that the prefixes should have been pronounced in full in those days. There is a possibility that Tibet was in possession of an archaic sacred language from time immemorial, that it was this language which was first reduced to writing, and that this already sacred language was accepted as the language of Buddhism. In this connection the following note from *Dr. Barnett's* article 'Tibetan MSS., in the Stein collection' (*J. R. A. S.*, 1903, p. 112) will be of interest. "It was probably in the reign of *Khri Sroñ lde btsan*, if not later, that the larger part of the Northern Canon, including the Śālistambā Sūtra, was translated into Tibetan. If this be so, it is singular, that a nation, which according to tradition had been hitherto buried in barbarism, should within a century and a half have accepted a new faith, assimilated its doctrines in the most scholastic form of Mahāyāna, and concurrently developed a culture and a political organisation, which made it a formidable rival to the older homes of civilisation on its north-western frontier. Probably tradition has exaggerated the facts; it may be that Buddhism was fairly well known in Tibet before the seventh century, and *Sroñ btsan agampo* was only its Constantine. A new page of history is opening before us."

The Tibetans themselves distinguish between two types of characters in their alphabet. One type was taken directly from the Indian alphabet, whilst the other was invented by *Thonmi Sambhoṭa*, or his forerunners. The first type is called *gSal byed* (consonants), and the second,

¹ Compare *A. H. Franks*, *The similarity of the Tibetan to the Kashgar-Brāhmī Alphabet*. *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. I, pp. 43 ff. [The correspondence between Central Asian Gupta and Tibetan is not so great that it is necessary to assume that they have been developed in the same locality. They have both been developed from the same source, and that explains the similarity—S. K.]

² Plate III, *s* of *Sarat Ch. Das's* article 'The Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet', *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVII, p. 41.

Rîns. The order of the Tibetan alphabet is of Indian origin. But it is strange to observe, that the group of gSal byed was divided into two parts, by inserting the Rîns between them. The Tibetan alphabet was arranged as follows :

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|-----------|---|-----|-----------|----|----|------|----|-----|-----------|----|---|
| gSal byed | 1 | k | gSal byed | 9 | t | Rîns | 17 | ts | gSal byed | 24 | y |
| | 2 | kh | | 10 | th | | 18 | tsh | | 25 | r |
| | 3 | g | | 11 | d | | 19 | dz | | 26 | l |
| | 4 | n | | 12 | n | | 20 | w | | 27 | ś |
| | 5 | ch | | 13 | p | | 21 | z | | 28 | s |
| | 6 | chh | | 14 | ph | | 22 | 'a | | 29 | h |
| | 7 | j | | 15 | b | | 23 | | | 30 | a |
| | 8 | ñ | | 16 | m | | | | | | |

As we see, there are seven Rîns, instead of six. Regarding the gSal byed, Dr. Vogel's note will suffice. Let me add a few words about the Rîns. The sibilants *ts*, *tsh*, and *dz* are distinguished from the signs for the ordinary palatals by an additional stroke.—The Tibetan *w* is a combination of *l* and *b*. We may say it is a *b* with a prefixed *l*. Also *b* with other prefixes may become a *w*; thus, the West Tibetan pronunciation of the word *dbañ*, power, is *wañ*.—The Tibetan *ś* was derived directly from the most ancient form of the Tibetan *ś*, by omitting the stroke on the left side of the *ś*.—The letter *s* is simply an inverted *j*.—The Tibetan character for 'a may have been developed from the Indian *g*. 'A as initial is in many dialects pronounced like *gh*. But as a prefix it generally has a nasal sound. Before the noose of the Tibetan *g* was properly developed, the characters for *g* and 'a may have looked much the same. To distinguish them, 'a was furnished for a time with an additional stroke. Compare the accompanying tables.¹

It is strange that *a*, the first letter of the Indian alphabet, should be found at the end of the Tibetan alphabet. I am rather inclined to believe that it was a later development. In many ancient documents, the Tibetan *a* looks almost exactly like a *ya*, and there are a number of words in which an original *ya* has been dropped, or been turned into a vowel-bearer *a*. Thus, *yañ* becomes 'añ; *yid* becomes *id*; *yoñ* becomes 'oñ, etc. But in its later development the letter *a* became decidedly similar to the *a* of the Takari script, for which reason it was derived from it by General Cunningham. As has been noticed, old forms of the *a* in Ladakh are furnished with a hook at the lower left hand corner.

Lañtsha and Vartula.

Dr. Vogel has favoured me with the following note on Lañtsha: "As regards the Lañtsha, it is based on the Indian script of the tenth century. A characteristic of this script, to which Bühler has drawn attention, are the small tails, slanting to the right from the ends of the verticals. These are most prominent in the Nāgari of the 10th century. Notice also the long straight topstrokes found in Nāgari. Notice especially the letters *gha*, *ja*, *ya* (bipartite), *ra* (with loop). See plates in Sarat Ch. Das' 'Sacred and Ornamental Characters of Tibet,' *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LVII, and Hodgson's plates in *Asiat. Res.*, Vol. XVI (1828).

¹ There are several incomplete tables of Tibetan alphabets from the eighth or ninth century among the documents of the Stein collection. There, the arrangement of the characters is in the following respect different from the present day arrangement: The letter *b* (often pronounced *c*) is not placed between *pā* and *m*, as shown above, but between *l* and *ś*. Thus it has the place of the *c* in the Sanskrit alphabet. In the same tables the letter *w* appears as a *ba* with a superadded 'a. This ancient alphabet consists of 29 letters only.

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE I.

| | STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY. | | C. 1000-1200 A.D. | | | 13TH, 15TH CENTURY AND AFTER. | | Modern. |
|------|------------------------------------|------|-------------------|-----|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|
| | dba | chan | dba | med | Atha's time.
dba chan | Kyelang
document.
dba | Ala
inscriptions.
med | |
| ka | ཀ | | ཀ | | ཀ | ཀ | ཀ | ཀ |
| ki | ཀི | | ཀི | | ཀི | ཀི | | ཀི |
| ku | | | ཀུ | | ཀུ | | | ཀུ |
| ke | | | ཀེ | | | | ཀེ | ཀེ |
| ko | | | ཀོ | | ཀོ | | ཀོ | ཀོ |
| kya | ཀྱ | | ཀྱ | | ཀྱ | ཀྱ | ཀྱ | ཀྱ |
| kra | ཀྲ | | | | | | | ཀྲ |
| kla | ཀླ | | ཀླ | | ཀླ | | | ཀླ |
| rka | རྐ | | | | | | | རྐ |
| aka | ཀ་ཀ | ཀ་ཀ | ཀ་ཀ | | ཀ་ཀ | ཀ་ཀ | | ཀ་ཀ |
| sky. | ཀྱི | ཀྱི | ཀྱི | | ཀྱི | ཀྱི | | ཀྱི |
| kha | ཀྲ | | ཀྲ | | ཀྲ | | | ཀྲ |
| khi | ཀླ | | | | | | ཀླ | ཀླ |
| khu | ཀྴ | | | | | | | ཀྴ |
| khe | | | ཀྵ | | ཀྵ | | | ཀྵ |
| kho | ཀྶ | | ཀྶ | | ཀྶ | ཀྶ | | ཀྶ |
| khy | ཀྷ | | ཀྷ | | ཀྷ | ཀྷ | | ཀྷ |
| khra | ཀྸ | | ཀྸ | | ཀྸ | ཀྸ | | ཀྸ |
| ga | ག | | ག | | ག | ག | | ག |
| gi | གི | | གི | | གི | གི | | གི |
| gu | གུ | | གུ | | གུ | | | གུ |
| go | གེ | | གེ | | གེ | | གེ | གེ |
| ko | གོ | | གོ | | གོ | | གོ | གོ |
| gya | གྱ | | གྱ | | གྱ | གྱ | | གྱ |
| gyu | གྲ | | གྲ | | གྲ | | | གྲ |
| gra | གླ | | གླ | | གླ | | | གླ |
| gru | གྴ | | གྴ | | གྴ | | | གྴ |
| gla | | | གྵ | | གྵ | | | གྵ |
| rga | རྐ | | | | | | | རྐ |
| rgya | རྐྱ | | རྐྱ | | རྐྱ | རྐྱ | | རྐྱ |
| aga | རྐྲ | | རྐྲ | | རྐྲ | | | རྐྲ |
| agru | རྐླ | | རྐླ | | རྐླ | | | རྐླ |
| da | ད | | ད | | ད | | | ད |

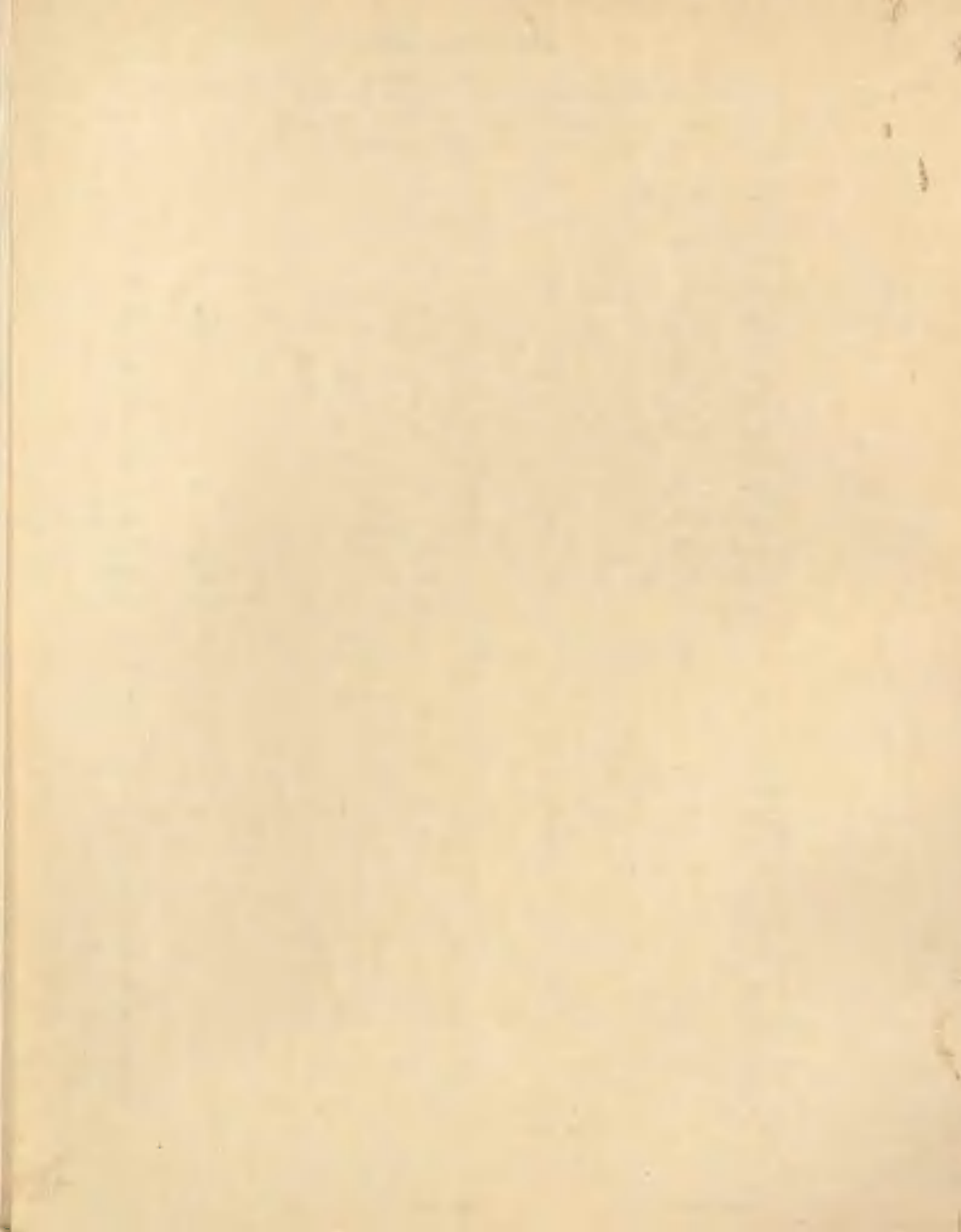
A. H. Francke, fecit.

Scale—Seven-tenths.

B. I. O., Calcutta.



| | STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY. | | | | C. 1000-1200 A.D. | | | | 13TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER. | | Modern. |
|------|------------------------------------|------|-----|-----|--------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|-----|---------|
| | dba | chan | dba | nal | Atise's time
dba chan | Kyising
document.
dba | Alt
inscriptions.
nal | dba | chan | | |
| ai | | | | | | | | | | | ᠠᠢ |
| au | ᠠᠤ | ᠠᠤ | | | ᠠᠤ | | | | | | ᠠᠤ |
| ae | ᠠᠡ | | | | | | | | | | ᠠᠡ |
| ao | ᠠᠦ | | | | | | | | | | ᠠᠦ |
| sia | ᠰᠢᠠ | | ᠰᠢᠠ | | | ᠰᠢᠠ | | | | | ᠰᠢᠠ |
| cha | ᠴᠠ | | | | ᠴᠠ | ᠴᠠ | ᠴᠠ | | ᠴᠠ | | ᠴᠠ |
| chi | ᠴᠢ | | ᠴᠢ | ᠴᠢ | ᠴᠢ | | ᠴᠢ | ᠴᠢ | | ᠴᠢ | ᠴᠢ |
| chu | ᠴᠡ | | ᠴᠡ | ᠴᠡ | ᠴᠡ | | ᠴᠡ | ᠴᠡ | | ᠴᠡ | ᠴᠡ |
| che | ᠴᠦ | | ᠴᠦ | ᠴᠦ | ᠴᠦ | | ᠴᠦ | ᠴᠦ | | ᠴᠦ | ᠴᠦ |
| cho | ᠴᠣ | | ᠴᠣ | ᠴᠣ | ᠴᠣ | | ᠴᠣ | ᠴᠣ | | ᠴᠣ | ᠴᠣ |
| leha | | | | | | | ᠯᠡᠬᠠ | | | | ᠯᠡᠬᠠ |
| chha | ᠴᠬᠠ | | ᠴᠬᠠ | | ᠴᠬᠠ | ᠴᠬᠠ | ᠴᠬᠠ | ᠴᠬᠠ | | ᠴᠬᠠ | ᠴᠬᠠ |
| chhi | ᠴᠬᠢ | | ᠴᠬᠢ | ᠴᠬᠢ | ᠴᠬᠢ | | ᠴᠬᠢ | ᠴᠬᠢ | | ᠴᠬᠢ | ᠴᠬᠢ |
| chhu | ᠴᠬᠡ | | ᠴᠬᠡ | ᠴᠬᠡ | ᠴᠬᠡ | | ᠴᠬᠡ | ᠴᠬᠡ | | ᠴᠬᠡ | ᠴᠬᠡ |
| chhe | ᠴᠬᠦ | | ᠴᠬᠦ | ᠴᠬᠦ | ᠴᠬᠦ | | ᠴᠬᠦ | ᠴᠬᠦ | | ᠴᠬᠦ | ᠴᠬᠦ |
| chho | ᠴᠬᠣ | | ᠴᠬᠣ | ᠴᠬᠣ | ᠴᠬᠣ | | ᠴᠬᠣ | ᠴᠬᠣ | | ᠴᠬᠣ | ᠴᠬᠣ |
| ja | ᠵᠠ | | ᠵᠠ | | ᠵᠠ | ᠵᠠ | ᠵᠠ | ᠵᠠ | | ᠵᠠ | ᠵᠠ |
| ji | ᠵᠢ | ᠵᠢ | | | | | | | | | ᠵᠢ |
| ju | ᠵᠡ | | | | | ᠵᠡ | | | | | ᠵᠡ |
| je | ᠵᠦ | | | | | | | | | | ᠵᠦ |
| jo | ᠵᠣ | ᠵᠣ | | | | | | ᠵᠣ | | | ᠵᠣ |
| rj | ᠷᠵᠠ | ᠷᠵᠠ | | ᠷᠵᠠ | ᠷᠵᠠ | ᠷᠵᠠ | | | ᠷᠵᠠ | | ᠷᠵᠠ |
| ha | ᠬᠠ | ᠬᠠ | | ᠬᠠ | ᠬᠠ | ᠬᠠ | | | | | ᠬᠠ |
| hi | ᠬᠢ | ᠬᠢ | | ᠬᠢ | ᠬᠢ | ᠬᠢ | | | | | ᠬᠢ |
| hu | ᠬᠡ | | | ᠬᠡ | ᠬᠡ | | | | | | ᠬᠡ |
| he | ᠬᠦ | | | ᠬᠦ | ᠬᠦ | | | | | | ᠬᠦ |
| ho | ᠬᠣ | | | ᠬᠣ | ᠬᠣ | | | | | | ᠬᠣ |
| rha | ᠷᠬᠠ | | ᠷᠬᠠ | | ᠷᠬᠠ | ᠷᠬᠠ | | | | | ᠷᠬᠠ |
| sia | ᠰᠢᠠ | | ᠰᠢᠠ | | ᠰᠢᠠ | ᠰᠢᠠ | | | | | ᠰᠢᠠ |
| ta | ᠲᠠ | ᠲᠠ | ᠲᠠ | | ᠲᠠ | ᠲᠠ | | ᠲᠠ | | ᠲᠠ | ᠲᠠ |
| ti | ᠲᠢ | | | | ᠲᠢ | ᠲᠢ | | | | | ᠲᠢ |
| tu | | | ᠲᠡ | | ᠲᠡ | ᠲᠡ | | | | | ᠲᠡ |



THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE III.

| | 8TH CENTURY. | | | | C. 1000 - 1200 A.D. | | | | 13TH, 14TH CENTURY AND AFTER. | | Modern |
|-----|--------------|------|-----|-----|----------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|---|--------|
| | dba | shan | dba | med | Atisha's time:
dba chan | Kyising
document:
dba | Alci
inscriptions:
med | dba | chan | | |
| te | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| to | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | |
| ta | ཏ | ཏ | | ཏ | | ཏ | | | | ཏ | |
| la | ཏ | | ཏ | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| sta | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | | ཏ | |
| tra | ཏ | | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| tha | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | | ཏ | | ཏ | |
| thi | | | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| thu | ཏ | | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | | ཏ | |
| the | ཏ | | ཏ | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| tbo | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | | ཏ | ཏ | | ཏ | | ཏ | |
| da | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | ཏ | | ཏ | |
| di | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| du | ཏ | ཏ | ཏ | | ཏ | | | ཏ | | ཏ | |
| de | ཏ | ཏ | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| do | ཏ | ཏ | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| dra | ཏ | ཏ | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| dru | ཏ | ཏ | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| lda | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| sda | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| na | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | ཏ | | ཏ | |
| ni | ཏ | ཏ | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| nu | | | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| ne | ཏ | | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| no | ཏ | | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| rna | ཏ | | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| ma | | | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |
| pa | ཏ | | | | ཏ | | | ཏ | | ཏ | |
| pi | ཏ | | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| pu | ཏ | | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| pe | ཏ | | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| po | ཏ | | | | | | | | | ཏ | |
| pra | ཏ | | | | ཏ | | | | | ཏ | |

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE IV.

| | STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY. | | C. 1000-1200 A.D. | | | | 13TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER. | | Modern. | | |
|------|------------------------------------|------|-------------------|-----|---------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|---------|-----|------|
| | dba | chan | dba | med | Asia's Univ.
dba | class | Kyrolong
document.
dba | Asia
inscriptions
med | | dba | chan |
| pya | པ | | པ | པ | | | | | | | པ |
| spa | ས | | ས | | ས | | | | | | ས |
| spya | སྟ | | སྟ | | | | སྟ | | | | སྟ |
| spra | སྤ | | སྤ | སྤ | | | སྤ | | | | སྤ |
| pha | པ | | པ | | པ | | པ | པ | | | པ |
| phi | པའི | | | | པའི | | | | | | པའི |
| phu | པུ | པུ | པུ | པུ | | | པུ | | | | པུ |
| phe | པེ | | པེ | | | | པེ | | | | པེ |
| pho | པོ | | པོ | | | | པོ | | | | པོ |
| phya | པཿ | | པཿ | | པཿ | | པཿ | | | | པཿ |
| phra | པཱ | པཱ | པཱ | | | | པཱ | | | | པཱ |
| ba | བ | བ | བ | བ | བ | | བ | བ | བ | | བ |
| bi | | | | | བའི | | | | | | བའི |
| bu | བུ | བུ | བུ | | བུ | | བུ | | | | བུ |
| be | བེ | | | | བེ | | བེ | | | | བེ |
| bo | བོ | | བོ | | བོ | | བོ | | བོ | | བོ |
| bya | བྱ | བྱ | བྱ | | བྱ | | བྱ | | བྱ | | བྱ |
| byu | བྱུ | བྱུ | བྱུ | | | | བྱུ | | | | བྱུ |
| bra | བར | བར | | | བར | | བར | བར | | | བར |
| bru | | | | | | | | བརྩ | | | |
| bla | བལ | | བལ | | བལ | | བལ | བལ | བལ | | བལ |
| sba | ཤ | | | | | | ཤ | ཤ | | | ཤ |
| shya | ཤྱ | | ཤྱ | | | | ཤྱ | ཤྱ | | | ཤྱ |
| ma | མ | | མ | | མ | | མ | མ | མ | | མ |
| mi | མི | མི | མི | | མི | | མི | | མི | | མི |
| nu | མུ | | | | མུ | | མུ | | མུ | | མུ |
| me | མེ | | མེ | | མེ | | མེ | | མེ | | མེ |
| mo | མོ | | མོ | | མོ | | མོ | | མོ | | མོ |
| mya | མཿ | | མཿ | | མཿ | | མཿ | | མཿ | | མཿ |
| rma | རྩ | རྩ | རྩ | | | | | | | | རྩ |
| sma | རྩུ | | རྩུ | | | | | | | | རྩུ |
| smya | རྩཿ | | | | | | | | | | རྩཿ |
| tea | ཅ | | ཅ | | ཅ | | ཅ | | ཅ | | ཅ |

| | STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY. | | | | C. 1000-1200 A.D. | | | | 13TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER. | | Modern. |
|------|------------------------------------|------|-----|-----|---------------------|------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------|---------|
| | dba | chan | dba | med | Atia's time.
dba | chan | Kyising
document.
dba | Ali's
inscriptions.
med | dba | chan | |
| tai | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱི |
| tsu | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱུ |
| tae | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱེ |
| tso | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱོ |
| rtae | ཐ | | ཐ | ཐ | | | ཐ | | | | ཐཱུ |
| stea | ཐཱཱཱ | | ཐ | | ཐ | ཐ | | | | | ཐཱུ |
| tsha | ཐ་ | | ཐ | ཐ | ཐ | | ཐ | | | | ཐཱུ |
| tshi | ཐཱི | | | | ཐཱི | | ཐཱི | | | | ཐཱི |
| tsiu | | | ཐཱི | | ཐཱི | | | | | | ཐཱི |
| tshe | ཐཱེ | | ཐཱེ | | ཐཱེ | | ཐཱེ | | | | ཐཱེ |
| tsho | ཐཱོ | | ཐཱོ | | ཐཱོ | | | | | | ཐཱོ |
| dza | ཐཱཱ | | ཐ | | ཐ | | | | | | ཐཱཱ |
| dzi | ཐཱི | | | | ཐཱི | | ཐཱི | | | | ཐཱི |
| dzu | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱུ |
| dze | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱེ |
| dzo | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱོ |
| rdza | ཐ | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱཱ |
| wa | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱུ |
| wi | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱུ |
| wu | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱུ |
| we | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱེ |
| wo | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱོ |
| za | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱཱ |
| zi | ཐཱི | | | | ཐཱི | | ཐཱི | | | | ཐཱི |
| zu | ཐཱུ | | ཐཱུ | | ཐཱུ | | | | | | ཐཱུ |
| ze | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱེ |
| zo | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱོ |
| zia | | | | | | | | | | | ཐཱཱ |



| | STRAK COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY. | | C. 1000—1300 A.D. | | | 15TH, 16TH CENTURY AND AFTER. | | Modern. |
|-----|------------------------------------|------|-------------------|------|-----|-------------------------------|------|---------|
| | dba | chan | dba | chan | mda | dba | chan | |
| 'a | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| 'i | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| 'u | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| 'e | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| 'o | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| ya | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| yi | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| yu | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| ye | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| yo | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| ra | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| ri | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| ru | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| re | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| ro | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| rla | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| la | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| li | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| lu | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| le | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| lo | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| la | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| si | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| su | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| se | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| so | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| ra | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |
| la | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ | ཨ |

THE TIBETAN ALPHABET.

PLATE VII.

| | STEIN COLLECTION 8TH, 9TH CENTURY. | | C. 1000—1200 A.D. | | | 10TH, 10TH CENTURY AND AFTER. | Modern. |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|---|---------------------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| | dba chen | dba med | Atia's time.
dba chen | Kyelang document.
dba | Alci inscriptions.
med | dba chen | |
| ha | ཧ | ཧ | ཧ | ཧ | | ཧ | ཧ |
| hi | | | | | | | ཧི |
| hu | ཧུ | | | | | | ཧུ |
| he | | | | | | | ཧེ |
| ho | | | | | | | ཧོ |
| lha | ལྷ | ལྷ | ལྷ | ལྷ | | ལྷ | ལྷ |
| a | ཨ | | ཨ | ཨ | | ཨ | ཨ |
| i | | | | | | | ཨི |
| u | | | | ཨུ | | | ཨུ |
| e | | | | | | | ཨེ |
| o | | | | ཨོ | | ཨོ | ཨོ |
| Nasal abbreviations | | ལྷུམ་ sum | ཨོམ་ om | ལྷུམ་ hūm
རྡོ་འཕྲུལ་ rdorje
ཐམས་ཅད་ thamschad
བརྟམ་ brgyad
ཡེ་ཤེས་ ye shes
སེམས་ཅན་ semschan | | ཨོམ་ om | |
| cerebrals | | | ཤ་ sha
ཐ་ ta | | | | ཤ་
ཐ་
ལ་
ཤ་
ཐ་ |

A. H. Francke, fecit.

Scale—Seven-tenths.

S. I. O., Calcutta.

Our conclusion is, that the *Lañtsha* was introduced into Tibet about 1000 A.D., and in this instance not from Northern, but from Eastern India. It should be remembered, that in the hill districts of Northern India, and probably in the plains of the Panjab also, *Śarada* was used, and not *Nāgarī*. The Indian alphabet was adopted wholesale and practically unchanged, probably because it was intended to be used for Sanskrit exclusively.

This explains how the Tibetan tradition came to reverse the real facts. The *Lañtsha* used exclusively for the sacred language, was considered as the holy script, and consequently the belief arose that it was the original character from which the ordinary Tibetan alphabet was derived. The *Vartula* is only a variety of *Lañtsha*."

Although the Tibetan script has almost remained stationary since the eighth century, it has undergone a few slight changes, which help us roughly to date ancient documents and inscriptions. The following are the chief characteristics :

(1) *The Stein MSS. from Turkistan, and stone monuments from Lhasa, of the 8th or 9th century.*—The *j* has only two parallel horizontal strokes to the right of the vertical stroke. The *t* in many cases looks as if the left half of the curve had not yet entirely disappeared. The shape of the *th* in many cases reminds us strongly of the old *Brāhmī* or *Gupta* form. The *b* is almost invariably of triangular shape. In one case the right vertical stroke of the *b* is prolonged below the line. The letter *a* in many cases is furnished on the top with a short additional stroke. The *k* in many cases shows the structure of the *z* distinctly. In *s* the connecting line between the two vertical lines mostly proceeds from the lower end or the middle of the left vertical line. The *h* mostly has a horizontal position like the *h* of Central Asian *Brāhmī*.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is very often inverted, and, apparently in the older documents, joined to its consonant base. All the other vowel signs are joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the left upper end of the consonant, with the exception of *ch*, *ts*, *kh*, and *y*, where it is joined to the middle, and *l*, where it is joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is joined to the right lower end of the consonant. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the middle of the upper line of the consonant, with the exception of *s*, *m*, and *p*, where it is joined to the left upper end, and *l*, where it is occasionally joined to the right upper end. It is often of the shape of a whip.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The suffixed *d* (called *drag*) is used rather frequently; (b) subjoined *y* appears regularly below *m* when the latter is followed by *i* or *e*; (c) the articles *pha* and *pha* instead of *po* and *pa* are found occasionally, and also *chhi* instead of *chi* in the supine, *chhi* instead of *chi* as interrogative pronoun; (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a'; (e) there are a good number of cases, where the final consonant of a syllable is written below the first consonant; (f) the euphonic laws are somewhat different from those of the present day; (g) aspirated consonants suffer a *g*, *d*, or *b* prefix to be placed before them (*gchhi*, *one*, etc.).

(2) *Documents of the 11th and 12th centuries, from Lahoul and Spiti.*—The *b* is of quadrangular form, and all the consonants have their present beautiful shape.

Vowel signs.—The *i* vowel sign is no longer inverted (with the exception of a few cases in *dBu med*), nor is it joined to its consonant base. The *o* vowel sign shows a tendency to be joined to the right upper end of its consonant base, but occasionally changes about, especially in the case of *s*. In *p* and *m* it is still joined to the left upper end. The *e* vowel sign is joined to the left upper end of the consonant base in the case of *s*, *m*, and *p* (probably). In most other cases it shows a tendency to being joined to the right upper end. The *u* vowel sign is always joined to the right lower end of its consonant base. In *dBu med*, the *u* vowel sign alone is joined to its consonant base.

Other characteristic marks.—(a) The *drag* is still occasionally found; (b) the *m* is mostly furnished with a subjoined *y*, when placed before *i* and *e*; (c) the articles *pha* and *pha*, the supine in *ālii*, and the pronoun *ālii* have disappeared; (d) the vowels *e* and *o* are still occasionally followed by a lengthening 'a'; (e) the final consonant of a syllable is no longer written below the first consonant; (f) aspirated consonants do not any more suffer a *g*, *d*, or *ḍ* prefix to be placed before them; (g) abbreviations of words appear; (h) inverted dental letters are used to express Sanskrit cerebrals. (A few have already been used in the eighth or ninth century.)

Sarat Ch. Das attributes the work of increasing the Tibetan alphabet from 30 to 50 characters to Śānta Rakshita of the 8th century; palaeographical evidence may be adduced to prove this. A few inverted dental letters occur in the documents of the Stein collection. Dr. Vogel makes the following note on these new characters: "Another point is noteworthy. There are several letters which the Tibetan has not directly borrowed from India, but which are due to a secondary development in Tibet itself. They are the following; (a) Initials *ri*, *ri*, *li*, and *li* derived from the signs for *r* and *l* with vowel marks. The long vowels have the 'a' attached beneath; (b) Mediae aspiratae *gha*, *jha*, *dha* and *bha* formed of the signs for *ga*, *ja*, *da*, and *ba* with addition of subscribed *ha*; (c) cerebrals *ṣa*, *ṭha*, *ḍa*, and *ṇa* formed by reversing the signs for the dentals *ta*, *tha*, *da*, and *na*; (d) cerebral sibilant *sha* formed by reversing the sign for the palatal sibilant *ṣa*."

(3) **Stone inscriptions of the 15th and 16th century from Spiti, etc.**—All the characters have their present form.

Vowel signs.—With the exception of the *i* vowel sign, the vowel signs are still joined to their consonant bases. The *o* vowel sign prefers the right upper end of the consonant base. This is particularly evident in the case of *p*, *m*, *l*, and *s*. The same may be said of the *e* vowel sign.

Other characteristic marks.—The *drag*, the *y* between *m* and *i* or *e*, and all the other characteristics of the ancient orthography have disappeared. I believe that with Buxton's edition of the great encyclopædias (1310 A.D.) the last remnants of the ancient orthography disappeared. I do not believe that there are any complete copies extant of the encyclopædias which exhibit the ancient orthography. According to Sarat Ch. Das, it was Tsongkhapa (c. 1400 A.D.) who introduced the new orthography.

(4) **Modern Tibetan Vowel signs.**—In *dBu chan*, none of the vowel signs is necessarily joined to its consonant base. In *dBu med*, only the *a* vowel sign may be joined to it. But the vowel signs are often found joined to their consonant bases, as was the case formerly.

NO. 26.—LIST OF MINISTERS' NAMES FOUND IN THE TIBETAN INSCRIPTION IN FRONT OF THE TA-CHAO-SSU-TEMPLE (JO-KHANG) IN LHASA, 822 A.D.

By A. H. FRANCES, PH.D.

On p. 89 of Vol. X of the *Epigraphia Indica* I published my reading of the text and a translation of the Tibetan part of the Tibeto-Chinese stone-inscription in front of the Ta-chao-ssu Temple (Jo-Khang) in Lhasa. My reading of the Tibetan text was based on a rubbing of the inscription reproduced in Bushell's article "The Early History of Tibet".¹ My article treated only of the principal part of the inscription and did not take into account the list of names of Tibetan ministers which was inscribed on the same stone monument. That list is found reproduced on a second plate appended to Bushell's article. This reproduction is also

¹ *J. R. A. S.*, Vol. XII, 1880, pp. 525 ff.

No. 6.

Text: (blon-dmag)

Translation: (crowd of ministers?)

No. 7.

Text: (blon-rgyal)

Translation: (royal minister?)
(or: minister and king?).

No. 8.

Indistinct.

No. 9.

Text: chhab-srid

Khod-ne-staṅ.

Translation: government
Khod-ne-staṅ.The name *Khod-ne-staṅ* has not yet been found in the Stein collection.

No. 10.

Text: chhab-srid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po-
staṅ-khri-bāer-
lha-mthoṅ.Translation: The great minister of the gov-
ernment, uncle Khri-bāer-lha-
mthoṅ.

NOTES: The word *las* 'uncle,' in connection with names of ministers is repeatedly found among the Stein relics. It may be compared to the title *apu*, 'uncle,' of the heroes of the Kesar Saga. The name *Kāri-bāer* is probably the personal name, and *lha-mthoṅ* (god-seer) may be a clan-name.

The name *Kāri-bāer* is found in the following documents of the Stein collection: M. Tagh. aV, 0015; aIV, 00123; bI, 0092; MI, i, 23; xvi, l, 3; xxviii, 0016, etc.

The name *lha-mthoṅ* has been found only once, viz. in M. Tagh. aI, 0012.

No. 11.

Text: chhab-srid-kyi-blon-po-chhen-po-
blon-rgyal-bzaṅ-
'adus-(r)kaṅ.Translation: The great minister of the
government, minister rGyal-bzaṅ-
'adus-(r)kaṅ.

NOTES: Here again, as in all the following cases, I take the first name as the personal name, and the second as the clan-name.

The name *rGyal-bzaṅ* occurs in MI, xiv, 108g, and xiv, 0016 of the Stein relics. The name *'adus-rkaṅ* has not yet been found.

No. 12.

Text: Bod-chhen-poi-blon-po l-gyi-
thabs-daṅ-
myiṅ-rus.Translation: Titles, names, and clan-
names of the ministers
of great Tibet.

No. 13.

Text: Naṅ-blon-mchhims-staṅ-rgyal-
bāer-khod-ne-
brtsan.Translation: The perfect minister of
Inner Affairs, uncle rGyal-bāer-
khod-ne-brtsan.

NOTES: *mchhims* is probably connected with 'ackless-po, to be full, perfect.

The name *rGyal-bāer* occurs in the following documents of the Stein collection: M. Tagh. aIV, 00122; bI, 0092; bI, 0095; bI, 00104; MI, xix, 001; xlii, 002. In No. M. Tagh. bI, 0095, we find the name *rGyal-bāer-legs-brtsan*.

The name *Khod-ne* has not yet been discovered in the Stein collection.

No. 14.

Text: Phyi-blön-bkā-la-gtogs-pa-
chog-ro-
blön-btsan-bśer-lha-goñ.

Translation: The minister of Chog-ro, who
is under the command of the minister
of Outer Affairs, bTsan-bśer-lha-
goñ.

NOTE: Chog-ro is the well known name of a province.

The name bTsan-bśer is found in the following of Sir Aurel Stein relics: M. Tagh, aII, 0057; MI, xvii, 19.—

The name lHa-goñ occurs in MI, xiv, 58 in the following connections: 'O-nas-lha-goñ and dBas lha-goñ.

No. 15.

Text: mekhims-ñān-brtan-
bśer-stag-
tsab(ñān?).

Translation: The perfect....., uncle
brTan-bśer-stag-(tsab).

NOTE: The name brTan-bśer has not yet been found in the Stein's relics.

No. 16.

Text: mñān-pon(Kha-ba-soi-slog-
gi-bla-'abā)-blön-
Klu bzañ-myes-rma.

Translation: The lord of curses (magician)
the superior of Kha-ba-soi-(slog?),
minister Klu-bzañ-myes-rma.

NOTE: Pon, instead of dpon, master; several syllables between Khaś and 'abā are indistinct. Kha-ba-so are mentioned as officials in the account of gNga-khri-btsan-po in the La-dags-rgyal-rabs.

For the name Klu-bzañ see No. 17. A name similar to myes-rma is found in No. MI, xxiv, 0034 of Sir Aurel Stein's relics, in the name Lan-khreg-rma-rma. Let me add that several ancient names contain the syllable myes as well as rma as one of their parts in the Stein collection.

No. 17.

Text: bKai-phr(i)n-blön- n-ka-
blön-stag-bśer-(hab?)-
(nyen).

Translation: The minister who announ-
ces the orders, minister sTag-
bśer-(hab-nyen?).

NOTE: The name sTag-bśer is found in the following of the Stein documents: MI xviii, 19; xviii, 5; xviii, 0038, 0041; xlii, 2; xvi, 3.—In No. MI, xvi, 19, the name sTag-bśer-legs-kaś is found.

No. 18.

Text: rTsis-ba-chhen-po- blön-
stag-
gzigs.

Translation: The great accountant,
..... minister sTag-gzigs.

NOTE: rTsis-ba, instead of ordinary rTsis-pa. The name sTag-gzigs has not yet been found in the Stein relics.

No. 19.

Text: Phyi-blön ñān-klu-bzañ.

Translation: The minister of Outer Affairs,
..... uncle Klu-bzañ.

NOTE: The name Klu-bzañ is found in the following of the Stein documents: M. Tagh, aII, 0078; MI, xvii, 19.

No. 20.

Text: Zāl-che-ba-chhen-po-zāl-
blön-rgyal

Translation: The great judge, the minister
of judgment, rGyal

NOTE: che-ba instead of ordinary cāśe-pa. Unfortunately, the name of the minister has not been preserved in full; there are many names, beginning with rgyal, occurring in the Stein relics.

GENERAL NOTE: Let me add that in the ancient documents of Sir Aurel Stein's collection, we generally find only the personal names of the ancient ministers, preceded by their titles. It is only in rarer cases that we find the personal names and clan-names combined. My explanation of this fact would be that in all these cases, where the personal name alone is given, we may be sure that the document deals with the 'famous' minister, whose personal name and clan-name are both found on the Mu-tsung monument. But there were certain officials, whose personal names were in agreement with those of one or other of the famous ministers, but whose clan-name differed from theirs. It is only in such cases, as I believe, that the documents of the Stein collection give both names, so as not to leave any doubt with regard to the identity of the person in question.

In conclusion let me say that up to this I have examined more than six hundred of Sir Aurel Stein's relics.

No. 27.—TIWARKHED PLATES OF THE RASHTRAKUTA NANNARAJA; SAKA 553.

By RAI BHADUR HIRALAL, B.A.

Tiwarkhēḍ is a small village on the south bank of the Ambhōrā-nadī, in the Multāi tahsil of the Bētāl District in the Central Provinces. It is 14 miles south of the Multāi town which is 29 miles south-east of Badnūr, the head-quarters of Bētāl District. The village has no ancient remains except a mud fort built as a protection from the Pipdāri free-booters during the declining period of the Nāgpar Bhonslā rulers. This *gurhā*, as it is called, is now dug up in several places, and the site occupied by the villagers. Within its premises Nandgiri Gosain, a resident of Tiwarkhēḍ, built a new house about 40 years ago. While digging for the foundations he came upon a set of copper-plates, but not knowing what they were, he stowed them away in his lumber room, where they continued to enjoy the same obscurity as they had done underground, until Mr. Balwant Singh, Sub-Inspector of Police, Multāi Station house, visited the village in the beginning of the year 1910, when Bāpūji Gosain (son of Nandgiri now dead) observing that the plates contained some curious writing presented them to him for decipherment. Mr. Balwant Singh treated the plates with nitric acid to remove the accretions of centuries and then kindly forwarded them to me. It is a somewhat curious coincidence that the Multāi plates referring to the same line of kings were also found in the custody of a Gosain.¹

Our plates are two in number, each measuring $3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ ". They are substantial, being $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. Each plate is inscribed on one side only, the inscribed surface giving an appearance of a depression owing to the edges having been made slightly thicker. The writing is in an excellent state of preservation except that the left top corner of the first plate and the left bottom corner of the second one are a little bit corroded; still the lettering is pretty clear. The ring which was uncut when it reached my hands has a seal on a flattened out surface. It is oval in shape and bears the stamp of a figure which is now indistinguishable, but the legend *śri-Yuddhīśvara* underneath, is fairly distinct. The record contains 16 lines, each plate bearing 8 lines. Under the eighth line the word *svastitēna* is inscribed, but this word occurs in its proper place in line 11. On the margin of the second plate there appear to be 3 figures and 2 letters (probably after-additions) engraved one under the other, which I read as 553 *shāra*,² meaning apparently 'the year 553.'

The characters of the record belong to the northern class of alphabets. The engraving is well done throughout. The average size of letters is about $\frac{1}{4}$ ". The orthographical peculiarities worth notice are:—(1) the doubling of the letter with a *rēpha* on, as in *visitrāṇē* (l. 1 f.); but this is not uniform as in *-Durgarāja* (l. 2) *ga* has not been doubled; (2) the two different ways in which the vowel sign of *ē* has been expressed as in *Rāshtrakūṭāṇvayē* (l. 1 f.) of which the *ē* of *yē* is formed by attaching the sign to the letter instead of superscribing it as in *grāmē* (l. 9); (3) the letter *t* has been doubled before *r* in *sagōtraya* (l. 6) and *puttrāya* (l. 7) and *dā* before *y* in *Mādhyandina*, l. 7; (4) the sign of *ā* attached to the letters *j* and *t* is represented by an upward stroke, instead of a downward one, as in *ja* of *-Durgarāja* (l. 2) and in *tā* of *Mundibhattāya* (l. 7); (5) *b* is not distinguished from *v* as in *-crahanyā* (l. 5). Final form of *t* occurs in line 2.

The language is Sanskrit, but the record seems to have been composed by a clerk who did not properly remember the *śloka*s in praise of the dynasty mentioned in the plates. He therefore introduced prose, maintaining the sense, if not the original wording which, if correctly put in, would have turned the first 6 lines into verse. At present, they are a mixture of verse and prose.

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 230, et seq.

² This word seems to have some connection with the Hindi word *śāla* 'year,' unless it is a mistake for *śāla*.

[As will be seen from the accompanying photo.-lithograph the first two figures look very much like the English numeral 5. *Shāra* is probably meant for *Shāka*.—V. V.]

Commencing with *vistṛaṣā* in line 1 to *-Durgarājā(ja) nṛipaḥ* in line 2 there is the first half of a *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* verse, the other half of which may be completed from the Multāl plates, where it is given in full.¹ Again in line 4 f. we find a quarter of the same kind of verse beginning with *dānārdakṛita* and ending with *deipēndrayitaṃ*. In line 6 we again find a quarter of a *Vasantatilaka* verse beginning with *śrī-Nannarāja* and ending with *-chand[ra]ḥ*. All the rest is prose except a benedictive quotation in line 12. It is again the first half of a verse incorrectly quoted, other words of similar meaning having been inserted for words forgotten, thereby affecting the metre. It appears to me that the record being a business matter, no great attention was paid to formal portions which were copied from memory in the office of the record-keeper, wherewith synonymous words were sometimes substituted for the original ones without any consideration for metre.²

The inscription refers itself to the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty of which four kings are mentioned. It records a grant of land in the villages *Tivērēkhēṭa* and *Ghūikhēṭā* situated on the south bank of the *Amvēviaraka-nadi*, to one *Muṇḍibhaṭṭa*, son of *Svāmibhaṭṭa*, a *Mādhyandina Brāhmaṇa* of the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, by king *Nannarāja*³ (*Nandarāja* ?). The grant was made on two occasions, viz. on the *Mahākārttikī* day and on a solar-eclipse, the latter at the *Kapilā-tīrtha*. Apparently the Rāja went to bathe there and made the gift, as did his two principal officers, *Gōvinda* in charge of religious affairs and *Narasimha* (*Narasimha*) the minister for peace and war, who gave away 1) *nicarṇaṇas* (of land) of *Karañjamalsya* on the eastern bank of the *Sārasavāhalā* and the *Darbhavāhalā*. The charter was afterwards issued from *Achalapura* and is dated in the Śaka year 553 increased by eight months, i.e. in the month of *Kārttika* as specified in the text. The date corresponds to October 631 A.D.

It does not, however, appear that there was a solar-eclipse in the month of *Kārttika*. Mr. Gokul Prasād Iṣwardās (now Tabaldār of Hoshāngābād) informs me that there was a solar eclipse in the expired Śaka year 553 on the *amāvāsya* of *Māgha* (27th January, 632 A.D.) i.e. after our charter was given away. But the solar-eclipse referred to must have occurred prior to the date of the issue of the charter. In the Śaka year 553 current, there were two eclipses, a total one in the month of *Śrāvṇa* on the 13th August 630 A.D. and an annular one in the month of *Māgha* on 7th February 631 A.D. The total eclipse having occurred at night was not visible, but the annular one was, as it occurred 17 minutes after sunrise. The former took place on a Monday and the latter on a Thursday. Thus while a grant made on an *amāvāsya* falling on Monday (*śamavati*) coupled with a total eclipse would be more meritorious than that made on a Thursday with an annular eclipse, it is possible that the visibility of the latter may have counterbalanced other considerations and invested it with greater importance. So the greater likelihood is that the grant was made on the 7th February 631 A.D. And this date falls much nearer the date of the issue of the charter than the other.

With regard to the history of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, this record does not throw any additional light on what is known from the Multāl plates. It gives the same information (in rather a vague form on account of its defective composition) as the Multāl record, mentioning *Durgarāja* as the original ancestor, whose son was *Gōvindarāja*, from whom was born *Svāmikarāja*, whose son was *Nannarāja* (*Nandarāja*), whose second name *Yuddhāsura* occurs on the seal. Our charter is, however, very important from one point of view. In the Multāl plates no less than five villages are mentioned, viz. the village granted with four others which bounded it on its

¹ See *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, p. 234.

² [The text is so full of mistakes that the exact sense of the original is not apparent in several cases. For instance the part played by *Śaṅkaragana* (if it has to be taken as a proper name) in line 9, is obscure. No attempt is therefore made to correct the text. — V. V.]

³ In the Multāl plates the name of the king is *Nandarāja*. The name *Nanna* in the Rāshtrakūṭa family is also known from later times. A grant of *Śaṅkaragana*, the son of *Nanna*, the son of *Kakkarāja*, dated Śaka 715, has been published above, Vol. IX, pp. 193 ff.

four sides. None of these has been as yet identified. Dr. Fleet writing in 1889 remarked:—'Mr. Ommanney reported that neither have the villages mentioned any resemblance in name to any in the Multāl District nor could he discover any at all like them at Hoshāngābād or Jabalpur. It is therefore not even certain that the grant really belongs to the locality in which the holders of it have resided for so long a time. All that can be said on this point is that the characters show that it belongs to some part of Central India, or of the Central Provinces.¹ On 30th July 1909 Dr. Fleet wrote to me, 'It would be a valuable bit of work if you can locate this record. It is important to decide by identification of places, what locality it does belong to, because it has a bearing on three leading matters:—(a) the origin of that branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas which had the Garuḍa crest; (b) the northern or southern use of the Śaka era; (c) the origin of that particular type of Nāgarī. It is almost impossible that all these 5 villages should have ceased to exist. But though some years ago I closely examined many sheets of the Indian Atlas I could not locate them. All the probabilities are that this record belongs to the south of the Narmadā. I have practically satisfied myself that the places do not exist in Gujarāt and Khāndesh.' Although it has not been possible for me to locate with anything like certainty the villages of the Multāl plates, our present charter has come to light as if to solve the difficulty which antiquarians have felt for the last twenty years or for the matter of that for three quarters of a century calculating from the date of the first discovery of the Multāl plates. The fact of the Rāshtrakūṭa domination on the Multāl plateau is now once for all fully established inasmuch as our plates were found in the very village where Nannarāja granted lands to Maṇḍibhaṭṭa. Tivērākhēṭa of the inscription is undoubtedly the present Tiwarkhēḍ and the Amvēviaraka-nadī the Ambhōrā-nadī on whose south bank the present village is still situated. As noted above, the engraver has made no difference between *b* and *v*. The real name of the river appears to have been Ambēviara, *ka* being a pedantic addition to make it sound like Sanskrit. According to the record Ghūīkhēṭa should also be somewhere near the Ambhōrā-nadī, but it is untraceable now. There is one Ghūīkhēḍ, about 40 miles south of Tiwarkhēḍ in the Chāndār tāluk of the Amraoti District of Berār, but I do not find the river running to it. About 55 miles from Tiwarkhēḍ lies the town of Ellichpur (commonly pronounced Elachpur or Alachpur) which I take to be the corrupted form of Achhalapura from whence our charter purports to have been issued. Ellichpur is a well known historical² place and was the headquarters of a district until 1905. The transposition of letters *cha* and *la* in *Achalapura* to *Alachapura* is of the same category which changed the old name of Benares from *Vāṇāsi* to *Vārāṇasi*.³ Even at the present day we often hear *Lakṣṇau* pronounced as *Nakṣṇau* and *matlab* as *matbal*. In the Nirvāṇa-kāṇḍa of a Prākṛit work of the Jains there is mention of Achhalapura as follows:—

*Achhalapuravaraniyaḍḍ isāpaibhāya-Mēdhigirīsiharā
ahutṭhayakāḍḍo nivāṇagayā paṇḍo tēsīm.*

'On the summit of Mēdhigiri near the good town of Achhalapura towards north-east (of it) three and a half crores (of saints) obtained salvation. I bow down to them.'

This Mēdhigiri or Mēdhagiri is now better known as Muktagiri,⁴ a hillock on which several Jain temples are constructed, which contain idols dated in the 14th century A.D. It is only

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 230-231.

² Chammak, the old Chammāka, which was granted by a Vākṣaka king is only 6 miles from Ellichpur; see *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 236.

³ In the Nirvāṇa-kāṇḍa, a manuscript preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona, the name of Benares appears as *Vāṇāsi*, whereas latterly elsewhere we have it as *Vārāṇasi*.

A modern recorded example of similar transposition may be seen in Mr. R. Hughes Buller's Census Report of Baluchistan for 1901 where on p. 99 he says: "The Mengāls, Bisanjos and Zahris, the three largest of the Brahmi tribes are termed *Jadgāl* or *Jagdāl*."

⁴ See *Etah District Gazetteer* (1907), p. 249.

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 २ ल वृत्त ग म्नि वि द्वा वि य वृ ग द व ॥ नि द्वा ग द वृ प ॥ नु क्षा वा नु
 ४ म द्वा नि गो पि वृ ग द ॥ मा द्वा न द्वा ग द ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ६ न द्वा म्नि वि द्वा वि य वृ ग द व ॥ नि द्वा ग द वृ प ॥ नु क्षा वा नु
 ८ म द्वा नि गो पि वृ ग द ॥ मा द्वा न द्वा ग द ॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन

ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
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 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन
 ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥ प गदि द्वाप्रेक्षितं पाप वा पुन्य मक्षि म्नि ग पुन

6 miles north-east of Ellichpur and is classed as a *Siddha-kāṣṭha* by the Jains. It is visited by the pilgrims of that community from all parts of India. In the *Śrēṇikā-Purāṇa*¹ of the Jains the name of the town again appears without transposition of letters. These references not only prove the identity but indicate that Ellichpur was an important place in olden days and that the Rāshtrakūṭas had made it the head-quarters of a province if not their capital which is believed to have been at Malkhād further south. The old name Achalapura was apparently given to Ellichpur with a certain meaning, as the latter is situated just at the foot of the Satpura Hills (*achala*). With regard to other places mentioned in the inscription, the *Sarasavāhalā* and *Darbhavāhalā* appear to have been streamlets which I have been unable to identify. It is not clear what *Karañjamalaya* was. It may have been a village, in which case it may be identified with one of the numerous *Kāranjās* in Berār. If it was a forest of *karañja* or *kañji* trees (*Pongamia glabra*) or a field having *karañja* trees, it would now be very difficult to identify with certainty even if we came upon a forest or field having these trees.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 Om¹ [||*] Svasty-Acha[la]pur[a]d-[||*] Vist[ī]rṇṇē sthiti-pālan-āpta-yaśasi śri-Rāshtrakū-
- 2 ṭ-ānvayē ramyē kshira-niddhā(dhā)v-iv-ēndur-abhavat śri-Durgarājā(jō) nripaḥ tasyavāṭta-²
- 3 tmaja[h*] śri-Gōvindarājah māsi³ tasy-ātmajaḥ ātmaṇ(n)y-āhita-śakt[ī]-śaṁpana⁴-pra-
- 4 kṛiti-maṇḍala-śri-Svāmīkarāja[n-ta*]sya tanayō dānārdrikṛita-pāpa(ṇi)nā pratidi-
- 5 nam yōna dvipēndrayitam parama-vra(bra)hmaṇya[h*] prāpta-pañcha-mahāsa-
- 6 v(b)da[h*] śri-Nannarāja iti sarva-narēndra-chand[r*]aḥ Bhāradvāja-sagottṛa-
- 7 ya Mādhyandina-Svāmibhaṭṭa⁵-puttrāya Maṇḍibhaṭṭāya Tivērēkhēṭa
- 8 Amvēviaraka-[na*]di-dakshina-taṭē pañchāsa Māhakārttikī⁷ (svaastena⁸)

Second Plate.

- 9 śri-Samraganēnā⁹ Maṇḍibhaṭṭasya Ghūṭikhēṭa¹⁰-grāmē A[mvē]-
- 10 via[ra*]jka-nadi-dakshina taṭē pañchāsa śdityōparāgē
- 11 Kapilā-ti[rthē] svastā(stē)na pratipāditam [||*] Uktañ-cha Vēda-Vyā-
- 12 sēna [||*] Shashta saṁvachchhara¹¹-sahasraṇi svargē tishṭa bhūmidā¹²
- 13 Sarasavāhalā-pūrvvē taṭē Karañjamalaya Darbhavā.
- 14 halā-pūrvva-taṭē daśa-nivarttanāni ddharmmakasa¹³ Gōvi-

¹ [*Śrēṇikāpurāṇa* is the name of a work by Śabbachandra preserved in the Deccan College Library at Poona.

—V. V.]

² Expressed by a symbol.

³ Read *tasy-niv-ā-*.

⁴ Read *śrit*.

⁵ Read *-śaṁpana-*.

⁶ Read *-bhalla-*.

⁷ Probably *Māhakārttikyām*.

⁸ The word *svaastena* has been added under the line and probably applies to the correction which is made at the end of this line. The syllables *māhakārttikī* are entered over an erasure.

⁹ Probably *Samraganēna*.

¹⁰ [On the impression and on the plate the reading seems to be *°kṣṭha*.—V. V.]

¹¹ Read *śhashtā varaka*.

¹² Read *tishṭati bhūmidā*.

¹³ Read *dharmakasa* or *dharmakasa*.

- 15 nda-mahāsandhivigraha-Narasimgha¹-sahita² || Śaka-kāla-samvachchha(śa)ra-
 16 śatēshu pa[ṁ]cha[su*] [tra]ya[b*]-pāṁchāśa-varādhikēśhu aṣṭamaśābhyatikēśhu.³

TRANSLATION.

Om! Hail! From Achalapura. In the widely spread (and) pleasing glorious Rāshṭra-kūṭa lineage, which has acquired reputation by the preservation of stability there was (born) a king, the illustrious Durgarāja, just as in the (broad and charming) ocean of milk (was produced the moon). His own son was the illustrious Gōvindarāja. His son was the illustrious Svāmikarāja, possessed of a host of subjects acquired by self-centred prowess. His son, who resembles the lord of elephants in having his hand moistened (with the water poured) at donations (*dāna*) while the elephant has the trunk wet with the rutty juice (*dāna*),⁴ (is) called the illustrious Nannarāja, who is most kind to the Brāhmaṇas, who has attained the five great bounds and who is the moon amongst all the kings.

To Muṇḍibhaṭṭa, son of Svāmibhaṭṭa, of the Bhāradvāja-gotra (and) the Mādhyandina-
 (śakhā), fifty (*niartanas*⁵ of land) in Tivērēkhēṭa (village) on the south bank of the Amvēvīa-
 raka river (were given) through the illustrious Śam[ka]ragana on the Mahākārttikī (day).
 To (the same) Muṇḍibhaṭṭa were given by our own hand at the Kapilā-tīrtha, fifty (*niartanas*
 of land) in the Ghūikhēṭa village on the south bank of the Amvēvīaraka river, on (the
 occasion of) a solar eclipse.

And it has been said by (Vyāsa) the arranger of the Vedas:—The giver of land dwells in
 heaven for sixty thousand years.

Ten *niartanas* (of land) on the east bank of Sārasavāhalā (and) on the east bank of
 Darbhavāhalā of Karañjamalaya (were given) (perhaps to the same donee) jointly by the
 Superintendent of religious affairs (*dharmakāśa*) Gōvinda and the Great Minister for peace
 and war (*mahāsandhivigrahin*) Narasimha.

In five centuries of years increased by fifty-three years (and) also increased by eight
 months of the Śaka era.

¹ Read -Narasimha-.

² Read -sahita-.

³ Read -māśābhyatikēśhu.

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. Venkayya for drawing my attention to the pun on the word *dāna* in this sentence.

⁵ *Niartana* is a land-measure which the dictionaries give as equivalent to 20 rods. The word occurs in a commentary on śloka 21, chapter 140 of the Śāntiparvan in the Mahābhārata *yaḥ kṛdāśaś śataṁ niartanaś* *śāśmēḥ karakati tēna viśāfirūpēṇa rājakiyam api niartanaśaśakam karakapigam silyacāḍ rakatapiyam cha*. From enquiries which I personally made in Berar, I came across some old men both of the literate and the illiterate class who told me that in their younger days, about 50 years ago, a land-measure called *netana* equal to 9 *bigas* was in use, and that 18 *netanas* made a *chāḍur* which is still in use and is equal to 120 *bigas*. In Berar a *biga* is 2,670 sq. yds. A *netana* would, therefore, be equal to 2,670 × 9 or 24,030 sq. yds., a little less than 5 acres or 20 rods which contain 24,200 sq. yds. Taken with reference to a *chāḍur* of 120 *bigas* a *netana* would be equal to 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *bigas* or 24,045 sq. yds., i.e. slightly in excess of 5 acres. In popular calculations such complex fractions as $\frac{1}{4}$ are often neglected and it seems to me that the real value of a *netana* was somewhere midway between 9 and 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ *bigas* and this would be 5 acres or 20 rods. I therefore feel no hesitation in holding that *netana* is a corruption of the old *niartana*. In the *śasāns* in possession of the Berar jagirdars *netana* occurs as a land-measure. That the use of the *netana*-measure was much prevalent in the Deccan may be inferred from the Gadval plates of Vikramāditya I. of A.D. 674 (about the same period as our grant); above, Vol. X, pp. 102 to 106.

The inscription supplies the new word *timmira* which is not found in published copper-plates, in the phrase *drādaśa-timmira-pramāna*, l. 44. Perhaps "*timira*" is the correct spelling. The new verses of the inscription, which are not found in the Buguḍa plates, contain nothing of importance. I could only infer from them that the kingdom of Madhyamarāja contained all sorts of hermits (vv. 12 and 13). There is no mention of the doings of the king. We may gather, however, that he was a man of great strength (v. 17), a capable archer comparable to the son of Prithā (i.e. Arjuna) (v. 16) and an ardent devotee of Śiva (vv. 14 and 15). The inscription is dated twice: 1st, in the regnal year twenty-six: *śaḍ-viṃsatimē vijaya-vardhamāna-rājyē* (l. 45) and again at the end, in an era which has not been specified.¹ The letters on the third plate have suffered very much from corrosion and the numerals of the date have become very indistinct. I find on prolonged examination that the numerals are 80, 8, but Messrs. Venkayya and Krishna Sastri to whom the paper was first submitted are of opinion that nothing whatever can be discovered. If my reading of the date be correct, I would refer it to the Harsha era, though no instance of the use of this era has so far been found in Orissa.² If my views be correct, the date of the grant would be $88 + 606 = 694$ A.D.

Up to this date three inscriptions of the Śailodbhava dynasty of the Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala have been published:—The Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman;³ (2) the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅkarāja,⁴ and (3) the Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja.⁵

The first part of the inscription on the Pārikud plates is in verse, like that of the Buguḍa plates of Mādhavavarman, and the first nine verses of both are identical. The tenth verse of the Buguḍa grant is not to be found in this record and the eleventh verse of that record appears as the tenth of the Pārikud inscription. The Buguḍa grant furnishes the genealogy of the family from Raṇabhita to Sainyabhita, while the Pārikud grant carries the genealogy two generations further.

The following tables show the genealogy according to the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants:—

| Buguḍa plates. | Pārikud plates. |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Śailodbhava
(in his family) | Śailodbhava
(in his family) |
| | |
| Raṇabhita | Raṇabhita |
| | |
| Sainyabhita I.
(in his family) | Sainyabhita I.
(in his family) |
| | |
| Yaśobhita | Yaśobhita I. |
| | |
| Mādhavavarman Sainyabhita II. | Sainyabhita II. |
| | |
| | Yaśobhita II. |
| | |
| | Madhyamarāja. |

¹ [From the accompanying photo-lithographic plate it will be clear that the date is here very badly damaged. What is seen is a circle which may denote 20. It is just possible that the regnal year of the king is simply repeated in numerical symbols preceded probably by the word *śaḍvatsarē*.—V. V.]

² It may have been imported from Northern India as was the Gupta era in the case of the date of the Ganjam plates of the time of Śaśāṅka; above Vol. VI, p. 143. [Palaeography is hardly in favour of this early date. Professor Kielhorn thought that the Buguḍa plates, which are earlier, may belong to the 10th century; see above, Vol. VII, p. 102.—S. K.]

³ Above, Vol. III, pp. 41 ff. and Vol. VII, pp. 100 ff. and plate.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, pp. 143 ff.

⁵ J. A. S. B., Vol. LXXIII, Pt. I, 1904, pp. 283 ff.

The Khurda and Ganjam plates mention three generations only :—

Khurda plates.

Sainyabhita

|

Yaśobhita

|

Mādhavarāja

Ganjam plates.

Mādhavarāja.

|

Yaśobhita

|

Mādhavarāja II.

(619-20 A.D.)

Both of these plates, like the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants, were issued from the Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala and the similarity in names as well as the name Sainyabhita found on the seals of the Buguḍa, Ganjam and Khurda grants leads one to believe that Mādhava was the surname of both Yaśobhita's father and son. But the characters of the Ganjam and Khurda grants are much older than those of the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates. It may be that the former were written in the current alphabet of North Eastern India while in the latter the alphabet prevalent in the Northern Circars, was used.¹ If the four grants be held to belong to the same country, then it may be affirmed with some degree of certainty that the Sainyabhita of the Khurda grant is the same as the Sainyabhita I of the Buguḍa and Pārikud grants. As Yaśobhita is a common factor, we have to admit that Sainyabhita II. is the same person as Mādhavarāja of the Khurda and Ganjam plates.

It is not certain whether Yaśobhita II. and Madhyamarāja are different persons. When the late Professor Kielhorn published the Buguḍa grant for the first time, he was of opinion that Mādhavarāman was a son of Sainyabhita II.² Dr. Hultzsch, in his paper on the Ganjam grant of the time of Śaśāṅkadēva,³ pointed out that Sainyabhita was probably a surname of Mādhavarāman, and this view was subsequently also adopted by Professor Kielhorn.⁴ A similar case occurs in this inscription also. In the metrical portion of this inscription, there is nothing to show that there was any relationship whatsoever between Yaśobhita II. and Madhyamarājadēva. In ordinary circumstances and on the analogy of the Buguḍa inscription, it may be assumed that Madhyamarāja is a *śiṣya* of Yaśobhita II, but there is one small phrase, the import of which, though very weak, yet may prove that king Madhyamarāja was a son of Yaśobhita II. This is the phrase in the 27th line :—*Madhyamarājadēva-guṇa-dhṛid-rājyaṁ pīṭaṁ prāptatān*. The word *pīṭaṁ* may refer to Yaśobhita II.

The inscription records the grant of a village in the Kaṭakabhukti-vishaya. As the king addresses the officers of the Kōṅgōḍa-maṇḍala, it is apparent that the village was situated in that district. The identity of Kōṅgōḍa with Kong-u-t'o is, perhaps, well known.⁵ Very little can be added to Dr. Kielhorn's remarks about the characters of these inscriptions in his note on the Buguḍa plates.⁶ The king Madhyamarāja had performed the *vajrapēya* and *atamēdha* sacrifices (ll. 38-39). He was a devout worshipper of Śiva and the fact that he performed the *atamēdha* sacrifice shows that he claimed the rank of a supreme monarch (*chakravartin*).

¹ [It is difficult to follow Mr. Banerji when he says that the alphabet of the Ganjam and Khurda plates is much older than that of the Buguḍa and Pārikud plates and at the same time asserts they may be local varieties current simultaneously.—V. V.]

² Above, Vol. III, p. 42.

³ Above, Vol. VI, p. 122.

⁴ Above, Vol. VI, p. 144.

⁵ Above, Vol. VII, p. 101.

⁶ Above, Vol. VII, p. 100.

TEXT.¹

First Plate.

- 1 Om² svasti [i*] Indr=ddhanta-mṛgāśa-tantubhir=iva śliṣṭāḥ karai[h*] kōmalai[r=va](r=ba)lāḥ-śāstr=āā[h*] sphurat-pha-
- 2 pi-mannir-digdha-pr-dhā[ā]o-śābhī[h*]³ [i*] Pārvatyā[s*] sa-kacha-graha-vyatikara-vy[ā]vpi[t*]ta-va(ba)ndha-śathā Gaṅg-āmbha[h*]-pluti-
- 3 bhi[n*]na-bhasma-kapikā[h*] Śambhōr-jatā[h*] pāntu va[h*] [i] [1*] Śrīmān-u[oh*]-khaḥ-nabhasā gurur=Achala-patē[h*] kshobhaj[i]d-ya[h*]
- 4 khamāyā *gambhirāmbhīya-rāsōr=atha divasaakarā[d]=bhāsvad-āloka-kāri [i*] hlādi[sa]rrvasya ch=ē[ndos]=tri-
- 5 bhuvana-bhavana-prōktaś=ch=āpi vāyo rājā sa Sthānu(na)nu(mā)rtti[r*]=jayati Kali-mala-kshālaś Mā[dha]-
- 6 vāndra[h*] [i] [2*] Prāṇsur⁴=mmahōbha-kara-pivara-chāru-vā(bā)hu[h*] kṛishṇ-āśma-samebhaya-vibhōda-viśāla-vaksh[āb] [i*] rājī[va]-
- 7 k[ā]mala-dal-āyana-lōchanānta[h*] khyāta[h*] Kaliṅga-janatāsu Pulindasēna[h*] [i] [3*] Tān=ē[t*]tham
- 8 gaṇin=āpi sa[t*]tra-mahatā nyanṣṭam(n=ēshṭam) bhā(bhu)vō nma(ma)ṇḍalam śakti yab parijalanāya jagata[h*] kō nā-
- 9 ma sa svad-ili [i] pratyādish[t]a-vibh-ūtsavōna bhagavān-ārādhitā[s*]=śāśvatam [i*] a=ta[eh*]-chi[t*]i-ānugānam
- 10 v[i]ddhitar=adishā(śa)d-vāśchhā[m*] Svayambhūr=api [i] [4*] Sa śilā-[sa](śa)kal-odbhōdi ita=āpi-śloka dh[i]ma-
- 11 ta(tā) [i] parikāpita-sad-vnōai-prabhā[ā]i=Śailōdbhava[h*] kṛita[h*] [i] [5*] Śailōdbhavaya kulaj[ā] Raga-
- 12 bhita śid-ya(yo)[a=ā]sakpi[t*] [kṛi]tabhīyā[m] dvishad-aṅganśoām [i*] jyōti[n]ā-[pra]vō(bō)dha-sama-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 13 yō sva-dhiy=[ai]va śārdham-ākampitō nayana-pa[k]shma-jā[ī]śahu chandra[h*] [i] [6*] Tasy=[ā]bhavad=v[i]vo(bu)dhapā[ā]-samas[ya] sū[-
- 14 [ou][h*] śri-Sainyabhita iti bhūmipatir-ggariyā[n*] [i*] yam prāpya [nai]-ka-sata-nāga-ghatā-vigha[t]a-laddha(bdha)-pras[ā]da-
- 15 vijaya[m*] mumudō dharittri(tri) [i] [7*] Tasy=āpi *vaśōś=tha yathā[rtha-nāmā] jāś(īō) Yaśōbhita iti kshiti(ri)śa[h*][i*] yēna prarū-

¹ From the original plates and from a set of impressions supplied by the Government Epigraphist. [The text was revised by Mr. Krishna Sastri when he was officiating as Government Epigraphist for two months in 1911. - V.V.]

² Represented by a symbol.

³ Read *mantrāṅgāḥ* or *prabhāṅgāḥ*.

⁴ Read *prāṇsur* or *prāṇsur*. *Prāṇsur* as a synonym for *ambhōrāṇi*, is peculiar. The Bugaḍa plates use the word *prāṇsur*.

⁵ Read *prāṇsur*.

⁶ This mark of punctuation is superfluous. Read *śāśvat* as in the Bugaḍa plates.

⁷ Read *śāśvat*. A superfluous mark of punctuation is inserted after the syllable *śāś*.

⁸ Read *śāśvat*.

i.

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ii a.

14
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26

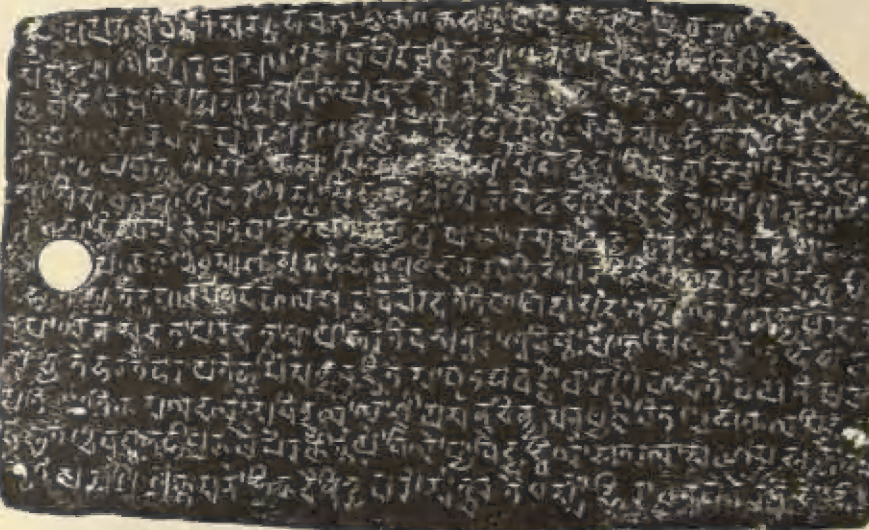
ii b.

28
30
32
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36
38
40
42

28
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36
38
40
42

iii a.

44 44
46 46
48 48
50 50
52 52
54 54
56 56



iii b.

58 58



- 16 dhō-pi śubhaiś-charittrair=mr̥ṣṭa[h*] kalacakra[h*] Kalidarppasaya | [5*] Jāto-
tha tasya tanaya[s*]-sukṛiti(ti) samasta-simanti(ṇti)-
- 17 ni-nayana-śaṭpada-puṇḍarika[h*] [1*] śri-Sainyabhita iṭi bhūmi(mi)-patir-
mmahōbha-kumbha-sta(stha)li-dalana-d[n]-
- 18 rllali(li)t-āsadbāra[h*] [11 9*] Kāśayair=bhūta-dhātṛi(tri)-patibhū-upachit-ānai(nō)ka-
pāp-āva[t]ārai[r*]=ni(nī)ta(tā) yōśā(śā)ṁ ka(th-ā)pi pra-
- 19 layam-abhimatā ki[r]tti-sā(pā)lair-ajāsra(sra)[m] | yajñais-tair-Āśvamōdha-
prabhṛtibhir-amarā lambhitās-[tr]i(tri)ptim=n-
- 20 rrvī(rvi)[m=uddri]pt-ārāti-paksha-kshaya-kṛiti-patunā Śrinivāsena yēna | [10*]
Tasy-ōtkhāt-ākṣil-āre[r]=mmarad-iva a-
- 21 vacan(?) bhāśvad-ushpāśu-tōjā¹ ś(ā)ro māni dayalu[r*]-nairapati[=ha*]
Yasōbhita-dōvas=tanūja[h*] | mātābhān-yō-ti(ti)tu-
- 22 āgā[n]=va(ba)ha[la*]-madamuchaś=chāru-vaktra-prachandah va(ba)drā(dhvā)²
karahaty=a[s]vōna punar=api tapatō ya[n]-nata[s*]=sa pragalbha[h*] [11 11*]
- 23 Kē chid=vahnya(nya)-mr̥ṣṭa sārddham=achi(cha?)raṁs-tās=tā athiti(ti) li(h)layā
kō chi[ch*]=ch=[o]rddh[v*]a-mukhās=sahasra-kirāṇa-jvāl-ā-
- 24 vali-prēkshana(ṇa)[h*] [1*] kō chid=vashka(ṭka)līnā=ti(h-ā)va-dhara[h*] kō
chirj=ja[=ja]tā-dhāriṇā(ṇā) [n]ānā-ru(rā)ja-dhārā-tāpāt-³ jād-
- 25 pā divy-āspa[d]-ā[k]ā[h]kṣiṇa[h*] [11 12*] Kō chit=chit[prā-ōdarāhu] niyatā
dhāmāvahi-pāi(yi)na[h*] anyō vāyu-phal-ā-
- 26 mvn(mbu)-bhaksha-niratā[h] kō chi[n=ni](nni)rāhāraka[h*] [1*] itha⁴ yōga-yugō⁵
vihāya vasati dh[y]āyanti divyam padam chittram
- 27 Madhyamarājādēva-guṇa-dhṛid-rājya[m*] pita[h*] prāptav[=v*] | [13*] Yasy-
āhva(hvā)nān=mama[d*]yu[s*]=sura-bhavana-ga-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 28 tā divya-sa[t*]tvā[h*] pragalbha[s*]=⁶ tāt[s*]=sārddha[m*] nityakālām
sa(su)kṛi[ta*]-guṇa-kath-ālāpa-bṛidyā(dyā)[h*]⁷ prakurva[n*] [1*] śambho[s*]=
sa[m]-
- 29 sthāna-kāri padam-amarajava[h*] śēvata[m*] śānta-rāpaṇa lavdh(bdh)-ōtāba[s*]=sa
vira[h*] kṣhititala-vasati(ti)m nirjīt-ār-
- 30 ti-paksha[h*] [11 14*] Stbity-npta(tpa)[t*]ti-[v]ināśa-kāraṇa-parama⁸ jyo
~—vyāhata[m*] vyakt-āvyaktam-ananta-śakti niyntam d[ā]vāi-
- 31 dēvō mahā[n*] [1*] tasy-ānugrahakāri-vikrama-dhanu[s*]-chāchā[ā] karōty=
adbhūtā[m*] sa śrīmān-atula[s*]=śāśātkā(ōka)dhavala-bhāt-

¹ Read -ushpāśu-tōjāt-² It would suit the exigencies of metrical purposes if the two syllables *baddhā* came after *śānta* ; but purport would still be indefinite.³ Read *chich=chāhila*—⁴ Read *itham*.⁵ Read *yugō*.⁶ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.⁷ One would expect *bṛidyā-sukṛita-guṇa-kath-ālāpān*.⁸ Read *param*. The missing syllables may be *śāśātkā*.

- 32 [nī](ṇi)-yaśa[h*]-khyāpitā[m*] [|| 15*] Ā karṇād-atula[m*] vikṛīṣya(śhya)
tara[sā*] chāpa-dvayair-lilayā [|| 2] [a]śtābhi[h*] kapa(va)chhair-vvivēśhṭya
- 33 phalakō(kā)n-ārād-nbhābhyām-apī [|| 1*] pāṇibhyā[m*]ś-ohaturah śīli(li)mukhai(kha)-
mukhai[h*] — — auti(tī)kshṇai[r*]-bhṛīśah² jāto dī(di)vya-gati[h*] Pri-
- 34 thā-tu-sāta-sama[h*]³ Kōṅgōda-ra[tna]-kshītō(tau)[|| 16*] Varmā(rma)phyaṁ
sakala[m*] śarīram-asakṛit-samvys(ṛē)śhṭyē(śhṭya) lil-ānvitam pīnō(nau)
- 35 dvō(dvau) puruṣhō(śhau) nidhāya yagavat⁴ skandha-[dvayē] lilayā [|| 1*] sadya[ś*]
śāta-kṛipāna-bhāṣura-karō dhāvaty-a-
- 36 khi[n*]nō bhṛīśa[m*] bhōpālō Hanuma[t*]-parākrama iti khyāta[h*] kṣhamā-
maṇḍalō [|| 17*] Jātēna yēna vapuṣhā śa[ś]i-
- 37 n-[ē]va yēna sa[m]varddhitān-kumuda-śa(śha)ṇḍam-iv-ātma-gōttra[m*] [|| 1*]
samkōchitam cha ripu-paṭkaja-vṛindam-ārādhāt⁵ k[ō]pāna
- 38 [yō] jayati lavḍha(bdha)-jaya-pratāpa[h*]⁶ [|| 18*] Kaṣāṭ śrī-Śailōdbhava-
kula-tilakō mahā-makha-Vājapēy-Āśva-
- 39 mōdh-[ā]vabhṛithasūnāna-nirvvi(rva)rttita-prakhyāta-kirtti-krama[h*] parama-māhe-
śvarā(rō) mātā-pitṛi-pādānuḍhyāta[h*]
- 40 śrī-[Ma]dhyamarājadēva[h*] kuśa[ti] sanuim Kōṅgōda-maṇḍalō śrī-
sāman[ta]-mahāsā[ma*]uta-mahārāja-rā-
- 41 ja(jā)naka-rājaputtr-ā[m]tarāṅga-daṇḍanāyayak-⁷ōparika-vishayapati-[ta*]dāyu[k]taka-
varttamāna-bhaviśhyud-v[y]ava-
- 42 hārīpa[h] sa-kāra(ru)ṇyam vrā(brā)hmaṇa-purōgādi-⁸ janapadān-cha yath-ārha[m]
mā[na]yati [bōdha]ya[ti ā]-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 43 jñāpayati cha [|| 1*] viditam-astu bhavātā[m] jñā(śrī P)-Kaṣakabhukti-viśha[ya*]-
samva(mba)ddha-purvva-[kha]ṇḍa . . .
- 44 [mō] dvādaśa-[t]immira-pramāṇa[s*]-sarvva-piḍā-varjitaś-ohāṭa-bhaṭ-āpravāśy[ō] na
kiñchid-anapa[ragrā*]¹⁰
- 45 hya[h*] śhaḍ-viśātīmē samvatsarō vijaya-varddhamāna-rājy[ē] mātā-pitṛōr-
ātmanas-cha paṇy-ābhi[vṛi*]-
- 46 [d*]dhayē salīla-dhārā-pura[s*]sarōṇa(ṇ-ā)-chandr-ārka-kshiti-sama-kālam-asamābhi[r*]-
nānā-gōtra-pravara-

¹ This sign of punctuation is superfluous. Read *chāpa-dvayam*.

² Read *-bhṛīśam*.

³ This corrupt phrase is, perhaps, to be corrected into *Prithāsuta-samāś*. *Ratna-kṣiti*, as applied to Kōṅgōda, is difficult to explain. Perhaps *Kōṅgōda-rāj-rakṣitā* was intended.

⁴ Read *yagapat*.

⁵ Read *-ārād*.

⁶ Compare this verse with verse 10 of the Buguḍa plates, which is omitted in the first part of the subjoined inscription. Sainyabhiṭa Mādhavarman is there compared to the Sun, while here Madhyamarāja is compared to the Moon.

⁷ Read *Kaṣakāśa-chātri*.

⁸ Read *-daṇḍanāyaka*.

⁹ *Purōgādi* is pleonastic. Read *purōgān-jānapadān-cha*. One would have expected, as in other allied plates, *jānapadān-anḍān-cha*.

¹⁰ Perhaps we have to read *so kṣema chit-parigrāhṇa*.

- 47 charapāya vrā(bṛā)hmapa-[Śi]lasvāmi-Gōva[r]ddhanasvāmi-Vandhusvāmi-Kavaḍisvāmi-Nārāyaṇa-
- 48 svāmi-Mādhavasvāmi-Bharanivāmi-Durggāsvāmi-Ādityasvāmi-Rudrasvāmi-Śivasvāmi-
- 49 S[u]khasvāminē ¹vi[śra]kē(?) pratipādita[h*] yatō [h]y=asya yathā-kālam-upayujyatō na k[ē]na śchi(chi)d=[vighāta][h*] kara-
- 50 piya[h*] | Uktañ-cha Dharmmaśāstr[ē] [i]* Va(ba)hubbir-vvasudhā data(tā) rājabhi[s*]=Sagar[ā]dibhi[h*] [i]* yasya yasya yadā bhu(bhū)mi[s*]=
- 51 tasya tasya tada(dā) phalam [i] 19* Mā bhu(bhū)d-aphala-śaṅkā va[h*] para-da[t*]t-ēti pā[r*][th]ivā[h*] [i]* [ava]-dānāt-phalam=ānanta[m*] para-dat[t-ā]-
- 52 nupālana(nō)² [i] 20* Sva-da[t*]tā[m*] para-da[t*]tām-vā yō harēti(ta) vasundharām [i]* śva-vishṭhāyā[m*] kṛimīr-bhu(bhū)tvā ³ pitribhi[s*]=saha
- 53 pachyatē [i] 21* Haratē hārayatē bhu(bhū)mi[m*] manda-va(bu)ddhi[s*]=tamā-vṛita[h*] [i]* sa va(ba)ddhō Vāruṇai[h*] pāsai(śai)[s*]=ti(ti)[r*]ya[g*]-yōnisha(ahu) jā-
- 54 yati(tē) [i] 22* Iti kamala-dal-āmva(mbu)-vi(bi)nda-lōlām śri(śri)yam-anuchintya mannahya-jivitañ-cha [i]* sakalam=ida[m=u]-
- 55 dāhritañ-cha vu(bu)ddhvā na hi(hi) parushai[h*] para-kirttayō vilōpyā[h*] [i] 23* Vidynd-vilāsa-taralām-avagamyā sa[mya*]k(g)=lōka-
- 56 sthitim yasa(śa)śi(śi) śa(sa)kta-manōbhīr-u[ch*]chai[h*] [i]* nitya[m*] paro[pakṛiti*]māttira-ratai[r-bhavadbhir*]=dharmma-ābhiraḍhana-parair-anu[mōdita]-

Third Plate; Second Side.

- 57 [vyām] [i] 24* [likhi]ta[m] sāndhivigrahika-
- 58 dēvāna [i]* Lāñchi(ñchbi)taṁ
- 59 driddhāna || Sa[mvat] . . [88] Kārttika-śukla

No. 29.—EIGHT CHOLA DATES.

By THE HONOURABLE DIWAN BANADUR L. D. SWAMIKANNU PILLAI, M.A., B.L., LL.B.

In his paper on the dates of Chōla kings (above, Volume X, pp. 121 ff.) Mr. R. Sewell has shown, by an elaborate calculation of a Tamil date from Nandālūr and of five Telugu dates from Bāpatla (Nos. 186 to 190) of king Kulōttunga-Chōla II., that the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōla II. (Kulōttunga-Chōla II. of Tamil inscriptions) must be placed between March 20th and July 14th A.D. 1133. The subjoined eight dates, besides confirming the correctness of Mr. Sewell's results, enable us to reduce the limits of the accession of Kulōttunga-Chōla II. to the period May 9th—July 14th A.D. 1133. Also, in the date from the Nandālūr Tamil inscription (which I have included among the eight dates now calculated) the difficulty felt by

¹ [The reading intended is perhaps *śipatshilā*.—V. V.]

² See above, Vol. III, p. 45, note 15.

³ This sign of punctuation is superfluous.

Mr. Sewell about the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa is explained by a reference to the custom usually followed in fixing the day of the Śivarātri in Southern India. The Śivarātri begins at midnight, when the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa must be current, and is kept all the following day. The inscription presumably refers to the *nakshatra* Śravaṇa only in this sense, as it was not current at sunrise on the following day.

KULOTTUNGA-CHOLA (II)

244.—In the Vaidyanāthasvāmin temple at Tirumalavādi.¹

- 1 Svasti Śri [||*] Pā-maruviya puriyēlam
 33 Kōv-Irājakēsari-
 34 patmar-āga Tribuvapaehchakkaravattigal āri-Kulottunga-Śōladēvarṇu
 35 rāpḍu 2āraḍu Danu-nāyarṇu apara-pakshattu navamiyu[m] Ti[n]-
 36 gat-kilamsiyum perṇa Attatti-nāl.

"In the 2nd year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Hasta, which corresponded to a Monday and to the ninth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ.

The date corresponds to Monday, the 13th December A.D. 1134, on which day the *nakshatra* Hasta ended at 3½ *ghaṭikā* after mean sunrise, while the 9th *tithi* of the dark fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśīra commenced on the same day at 4½ *ghaṭikā* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Dhanuṣ, as recorded in the inscription.

245.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Udaiyarkōyil.²

- 1 Svasti [i] Śr[i] ||— Pā-ma[an]u-paḍumam
 29 Kōv-I[rā]jakēsariyaṇmā-āga
 30 [Tr]iḥuva[ga]ehchakkaravattigal āri-Ku[l]ōttunga-Śōladēvarṇu yā-
 31 ḍu + nāl-āraḍu
 33 Śōṭa-nāyarṇu apara-paksha[tē]a Tiāga[ī-ki]lamai[ya]m [śadurt]i[ya]m perṇa
 Irāvadi-[nāl].

"In the 4th— fourth— year (of the reign) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttunga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Rēvati, which corresponded to a Monday and to the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the month of Simha."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 17th August, A.D. 1136, on which day the fourth *tithi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Bhādrapada ended at 4½ *ghaṭikā* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Rēvati ended on the same day shortly after sunrise. The ending moment of the *nakshatra* in mean Lanka time was just *before* sunrise on the 17th August, but from the time of the year and for any place in Southern India, it will be seen, from Table XIII of my *Indian Chronology* that the ending moment of the *nakshatra* in *local* time must have been shortly *after* sunrise, so that the inscription is correct in giving the *nakshatra* as Rēvati. The solar month was Simha.

¹ No. 85 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1895.

² No. 405 of the same for 1902.

246.—In the Saumyanāthasvāmīn temple at Nandalūr.¹

- 1 [Sva]sti śr[ī] [||*] Pū-mēvu tirumaga[]
 2 kōv-Irr-ā(Irā)jakēsaripa[]amar-āpa] Chakrava[rtti]-
 ga[] śrī-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladēvaṅka yāḍu eṭṭ-āvadu
 6 śrī-Kulōtta[ṅga]-Śōladēva[ṅka] yāḍu eṭṭ-āvadu
 Kumbha-nāyarra apara-pakahatta-chchaturddasi[yum] Ve[ll]-kki[]amaiyu[m]
 Tiruvē(vē)ṇamum-āga Śivarāttiri-nā].

"In the eighth year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Śivarātri, which was (*a day of*) Śravaṇa, a Friday, and the fourteenth *tīthi* of the second fortnight of the month of Kumbha in the eighth year (*of the reign*) of the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva."

The date corresponds to Friday, the 7th February, A.D. 1141, on which day the 14th *tīthi* of the second fortnight of the lunar month Māgha ended at 41½ *ghaṭikās* after mean Lāṅkā sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa had ended at 8 *ghaṭikās* after midnight between the 6th and 7th February. Now, Śivarātri is celebrated on the day following the *midnight* (nearest to Māgha *amāntya*) at which the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa is current. Therefore Śivarātri in the year in question fell on a Friday, and it was the solar month of Kumbha, as stated in the inscription.

247.—In the Tyagarājasvāmīn temple at Tiruvārūr.²

- 1 Svasti śrī [||*] Pū-maṅṅa-paḍamam
 4 kōv-Irājakēsaripaṇmar-āga Tiribn[va]ṇa[]cha-
 [k]karavattiga[] śrī-Kulōttuṅ[ga]-Śōladē[va][||*]kku yāḍu 10 āvadu [Da]ṇa-
 nāyarra [pū]rva-paksha[tta] śkāde(da)śi[yum] Tiāga[]t-kilamaiyum perṇa
 A[]vati-nā].

"In the 10th year (*of the reign*) of king Rājakēsarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,— on the day of Aśvinī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the eleventh *tīthi* of the first fortnight of the month of Dhanuṣ."

The date corresponds to Monday, the 30th November, A.D. 1142, on which day the 11th *tīthi* or *śkādaśi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Mārgaśīras ended at 59 *ghaṭikās* after mean Lāṅkā sunrise, while the *nakṣatra* Aśvinī ended on the same day at 41 *ghaṭikās* after mean Lāṅkā sunrise.

It may appear at first sight that a *tīthi* which ended at 59 *ghaṭikās* after mean Lāṅkā sunrise may possibly have been carried forward to the next day in local time, but it will be seen from Table XIII of my "Indian Chronology" (p. 157 of the Tables) that in the year A.D. 1142, on the 25th day of the solar year, which was our day, the difference between mean Lāṅkā time and Tanjore time was only an addition of 4 *palas* to the former, which would still have placed the ending moment of the *tīthi* within the civil day noted above, *i.e.* the 30th November. The solar month was Dhanuṣ, as stated in the inscription.

¹ No. 572 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1907.

² No. 553 of the same collection for 1904.

248.—In the Karavandīśvara temple at Uḍaiyarkōyil.¹

- 1 [Svasti śri] [||*] [Pā-maṅga-padumam]
 21 kōv-Irājak[ā]sar[i]panmar-āna Tribhuvanaśchakkaravattiga| śri-
 Kulōttuṅga-Śōla[d]ē-
 22 vaṅku yāṇḍu 14 āvadu Mēsha-nāya[r]u pūrvapakshattu navamiya(yu)[m]
 V[i]yāla-kkiḷa[mai]ya(yu)[m] perra| Āyilai[ya]ttin nāi.

"In the 14th year (of the reign) of king Rajakēśarivarman *alias* the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Āślēshā, which corresponded to a Thursday and to the ninth *tithi* of the first fortnight of the month of Mēsha."

The date corresponds to Thursday, 10th April, A.D. 1147, on which day the 9th *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Vaiśākha commenced at 26 *ghatikās* after mean Lankā sunrise, while the *nakshatra* for the whole of that day and for 5½ *ghatikās* of the next, was Āślēshā, the *nakshatra* Pushya having ended shortly before sunrise on the 10th April. The solar month was Mēsha.

249.—In the Kripāpurīśvara temple at Tiruvēnpainallūr.²

- 5 [i]nda śri-mey-kkirttiy-uḍaiya Tribhuvana[ś]chakkaravattiga| śri-
 Kulōttuṅga-Śō[la]dēvaṅku yāṇḍu 15 vada [pa]dinaiṇi³
 aṭṭiyun⁴=Diṅga|kilamaiyum perra Bara-
 6 pi-nāi.

"In the 15th—fifteenth—year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had this glorious panegyric poem (in his honour)⁵, the glorious Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Bharanī, which corresponded to a Monday and to the sixth *tithi*"

Neither the solar nor the lunar month is traceable in the inscription which only refers to a sixth *tithi*; but it will be observed from Table XI of my "Indian Chronology" that a 6th *tithi* can concur with the *nakshatra* Bharanī only in the dark fortnight of lunar Śrāvana or of lunar Bhādrapada. We work for the latter in the year A.D. 1147 and find that the date corresponds to Monday, 18th August, A.D. 1147, on which day the 6th *tithi* of the dark fortnight ended at 39½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Bharanī ended on the same day at 12½ *ghatikās* after mean sunrise. The solar month was Sīma. N.B.—Monday, 9th August A.D. 1137, would have satisfied the *vāra*, *tithi* and *nakshatra*, but we reject this date, as A.D. 1137 was obviously not the 15th year of our king.

250.—In the Vaidyanthasvāmin temple at Tirumalavāḍi.⁶

- 1 || Svasti śri [||*] Pā-maṅgi yāṅar
 27 kōv-I-
 28 rājakēśari[pa]nmar-ā[ṇa*] Tribhuvanaśchakkaravattiga| śri-Kulōttuṅga-Śōladē-
 varkku
 29 yāṇḍu 15 āvadu
 32 iṇv-āṭṭai Magara-nāyar[ru] pūrvapakshattu piri[di]-
 pada[mu]m Viyāla-kkiḷamaiy perra Uttirāḍatti-nāi.

¹ No. 401 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902.

² No. 315 of the same collection.

³ Read *paḍinaiṇiāḍadu*.

⁴ Read *śaśāṭṭiyun*.

⁵ For the introduction *pā-maṅga-padumam*, etc. of Tribhuvanaśchakkaravartin Kulōttuṅga-Chōladēva mentioned in No. 315 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1902 (No. 251, below).

⁶ No. 53 of the Government Epigraphist's collection for 1885.

"In the 15th year (of the reign) of king Rājakesarivarman alias the emperor of the three worlds, the glorious Kulottuṅga-Chōladēva,—on the day of Uttaraśāḍhā which corresponded to a Thursday, and to the first *tithi* (*pratipada*) of the first fortnight of the month of Makara in this year."

The date corresponds to Thursday, the 25th December, A.D. 1147, on which day the first *tithi* of the first fortnight of the lunar month Pausa ended at $20\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise, while the *nakshatra* Uttaraśāḍhā ended at $20\frac{1}{2}$ *ghaṭikās* after mean sunrise on the same day. The same day was also the first of the solar month Makara.

251.—In the Kṛipapurīśvara temple at Tiruvennainallūr.¹

- 1 [P]ṭ-maṇṇu-padumaṁ
 2 śri-mey-kki[r*]tti-y-ṇḍaiya Trihhu[va*]nachebakkaraṇṭti[ga]! śri-Kulottuṅga-Śōladēvarkku yāṇḍa [1]ṣ vāṇḍa Ishaḇa-nāyaru-ppadināṇ-ḍiyedi-ṇḍa Nāyaru-kkiḷamai-nāḷ.

"In the [1]5th year (of the reign) of the emperor of the three worlds, who had (*this*) panegyric poem (in his honour), the glorious Kulottuṅga-Chōladēva,—on a Sunday which was the sixteenth solar day of the month of Ṛishabha."

The lunar *tithi* is not cited, but the week day affords a clue to the date. During the 15 years A.D. 1135 to A.D. 1149 there were only two years in which the 16th day of solar Vṛishabha was a Sunday, and they were A.D. 1137 and A.D. 1148. We reject the former date, as it obviously was not the 15th year of our Chōla king, and we conclude that the date of the inscription was Sunday, 9th May, A.D. 1148, which was the 16th day of Vṛishabha.

Summary.

We can now arrange the eight dates discussed above in chronological order and endeavour to discover therefrom the commencement of the reign of Kulottuṅga-Chōla II.

- (244) 2nd year : Monday, 10th December, A.D. 1134.
 (245) 4th year : Monday, 17th August A.D. 1136.
 (246) 8th year : Friday, 7th February A.D. 1141.
 (247) 10th year : Monday, 30th November A.D. 1142.
 (248) 14th year : Thursday, 10th April A.D. 1147.
 (249) 15th year : Monday, 18th August A.D. 1147.
 (250) 15th year : Thursday, 25th December A.D. 1147.
 (251) 15th year : Sunday, 9th May A.D. 1148.

Dates disclosed by Inscriptions.

We see that the 15th year of the reign must have commenced between the 10th April, A.D. 1147, which fell in the 14th year and the 18th August A.D. 1147 which fell in the 15th year. At the same time the last inscription shows that the regnal year did not change till after 9th May. Therefore regnal years of Kulottuṅga-Chōla II. must have regularly commenced between 9th May and 18th August, rather 9th May and 17th August, if we bear in mind the result of inscription 245; that is, the reign itself commenced between 9th May and 17th August A.D. 1133; the 2nd year of the reign in May, June or July, A.D. 1134, and so on with the 3rd and subsequent years.

¹ No. 315 of the same collection for 1902.

No. 30.—MANNARKOYIL INSCRIPTION OF JATAVARMAN
SUNDARA-CHOLA-PANDYADEVA.

By K. V. SUBRAHMANYA AITAB, B.A.; OOTACAMUND.

The subjoined inscription¹ is engraved on the base of the north wall of the central shrine in the Gōpālākṛiṣṇasvāmin temple at Mannarkōyil in the Ambāsamudram taluka of the Tinnevely district. With the kind permission of the late Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya I edit it from an inked impression prepared in 1905.

The inscription which is in tolerably good preservation consists of 8 lines of Tamil prose written in the Tamil alphabet of the period to which the record belongs. The letters are well engraved. There are a large number of Sanskrit words and syllables in Grantha characters.² Two forms of *ya* occur, one with a closed loop to the left which occurs only in the beginning of line 1, and the other, which is more common, without this loop. The secondary *a*-symbol is, in a few cases, not separated from the consonant to which it is added. In the majority of cases the central loops of the consonants *ṣ* and *ṣa* appear fully developed, though there are instances where they are written without the loops. Another peculiarity is that the secondary *i*-sign is marked on the left top corner instead of on the head of the letters as is generally seen in records of this period. This is especially the case with *pī*, *vī*, and *ī*, while in *nī* the *i*-sign is sometimes added on to the top of the letter and sometimes by its right side, according to the shape of the letter *n* which, in this record, is not uniform. The signs for *u* and *ā* in the letters *vu* and *ru* are not distinguished. Only in one case a curve has been added to the *u* in *vu* in order to denote the length. Except in the letters *lai* and *lai* where the first part of the vowel *u* is used to denote the *ai*-symbol, the secondary *ai* is invariably marked by two secondary *e*-signs written side by side as in Grantha. The group *ata* is always employed whenever the two letters come together. The palatal *ñ* is so shaped in some cases that it may at first sight be mistaken for *nā*. The guttural *ṣ* occurring in *purāṅgarai* (l. 3), *-Tiruvārāṅga-* (l. 6) and *Iruṅgaṅḍi-* (l. 8) and the syllable *ru* are peculiarly shaped.

The object of the inscription is to register a sale of land to the Viṣṇu temple called Rājendraśōla-Viṇṇagar. Lines 2 and 3 give the boundaries and extent of the various fields that were sold, and line 4 describes the formal transfer of the land to the temple by the assembly of Rājārāja-chaṭturvēdimāṅgalam. Lines 5 and 6 give the names of some of the members of the assembly at whose instance the lands appear to have been sold. The conveyance was drawn up by the accountant (*kaṛaṇattāṅ*) of the village and was attested by several of the persons who ordered the sale (ll. 7 and 8). It is interesting to note that most of the members of the assembly were learned men, and this is indicated by the titles *bhaṭṭa*, *sōmayājin* and *kramaviṭ* affixed to their names. Further, it might also be pointed out that these members were not natives of the village but immigrants from other parts of Southern India, who had settled in the several suburbs (*śēri*) of the village. A list of these suburbs and villages is given at the end of this paper.

This inscription is a record of one of the Chōla-Pāṇḍya kings.³ South-Indian inscriptions point to the existence of at least three Chōla princes who bore the title Chōla-Pāṇḍya. Rājendra-Chōla I. (A.D. 1011-44), after he had subjugated the Pāṇḍya country, is said to have appointed his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya to rule over it.⁴ Parakēsarivarman Rājendradēva (A.D.

¹ No. 109 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² It is worthy of note that two of the signatures at the end of the inscription are in Sanskrit. Such admixture of Sanskrit words in a Tamil record of this period may be accounted for, to a certain extent, by the revival of learning brought about by the immigration to the Southern country of a large number of Brāhmaṇas from the north as a result of the conquests of Rājendra-Chōla I., which extended as far as the Ganges.

³ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, Part II, p. 56, paragraph 25.

⁴ *Ibidem*, 1906, Part II, p. 68, paragraph 17.

1052-64) is reported to have conferred the title of Śōla-Pāṇḍiyan¹ on his younger brother, the victorious Mummaḍiśōḷan.² The Chōla king Virarājendra (A.D. 1062-70) is also stated to have been pleased to grant the Pāṇḍimaṇḍalam "whose crown of jewels is exalted in this world, to his royal son Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷan³ along with the title Śōla-Pāṇḍiyan, the leader of an army of very tall elephants."⁴ Inscriptions discovered so far reveal the names of two Chōla-Pāṇḍya princes, viz. Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya and Māravarman Vikrama-Chōla-Pāṇḍya. The former of these is spoken of in a Mannarkoyil record as one of the sons of Rājendra-Chōla I.⁵ and he is, therefore, identical with the first Chōla-Pāṇḍya ruler. It is perhaps to the same king that we must attribute inscriptions dated during the reign of Jaṭavarman alias Uḍaiyār Śōla-Pāṇḍyadēva found at Suchindram⁶ and Śevilipēri,⁷ though the name Sundara does not occur.

The title Chōla-Pāṇḍya given to them seems to have been invented to indicate the double fact that they were members of the Chōla family and were made to rule over the Pāṇḍya territory. The position held by them was apparently that of a viceroy acting under the orders of the Chōla king ruling at Tanjore. The necessity for their appointment arose from the fact that the Pāṇḍyas could never be completely subdued. They continued in a state of chronic revolt against the Chōla yoke during the whole period of Chōla supremacy in Southern India.⁸

The subjoined record is dated in the 13th year of the reign of king Jaṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva. As his accession to the throne has been fixed at A.D. 1020-1 from the fact that his 15th year probably coincided with the 24th of his father,⁹ it follows that this inscription should have been engraved about A.D. 1033-4 which corresponded to his 13th year. A few facts concerning the king's reign deserve mention.¹⁰ His latest known date is the 23rd year¹¹ corresponding to A.D. 1043-4, which was the last year of the reign of his father. Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions have so far been traced in the ancient Pāṇḍya and Kēraja dominions, i.e. in the modern districts of Madurai and Tirunelveli and portions of the Pudukkōttai and Travancore States.¹² His Chōlapuram¹³ inscription is dated in the 11th year and registers the gift of a lamp by a certain Sarvalōkākṣaya Vishṇuvardhana-Mahārāja alias Śajukki-

¹ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 62.

² The title Mummaḍiśōḷan was first borne by Rājārāja I.

³ Rājendra-Chōla I. appears to have first assumed the title Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷan after his conquest of the North. The city of Gaṅgaikoṇḍaśōḷapuram owes its name to him.

⁴ *South-Ind. Insers.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 36.

⁵ No. 112 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁶ Nos. 69 and 70 of the same collection for 1896.

⁷ No. 408 of the same collection for 1906.

⁸ Parāntaka I. is known to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas thrice in the field. His grandson Sundara-Chōla claims to have driven the Pāṇḍya king into the forest, while Aditya II. (Karikāla), even when he was a youth, fought against Vira-Pāṇḍya. Uṭama-Chōla's title Madhurāntaka indicates his hostility to the Pāṇḍyas and the Tiruvālaṅkādu plates give Amarabhaṇja as the name of the Pāṇḍya sovereign defeated by Rājārāja I. Rājendra-Chōla I., Rājādhirāja and Virarājendra I. claim to have defeated the Pāṇḍyas. The Pāṇḍyas seem to have asserted their independence already during the reign of Kulōttunga I. At any rate, we have no reason to suppose that the Chōla-Pāṇḍya kings continued very long. In fact their rule could not have lasted more than half a century, which was probably occupied by the rule of the few princes known from inscriptions.

⁹ *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1905*, Part II, paragraph 25.

¹⁰ Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍipuram-uḍaiyār, the ancient name of the ruined Śiva temple at Perandurai in the Pudukkōttai State suggests that the temple was probably called after the king and built in his time.

¹¹ No. 18 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1894 and No. 438 for 1900.

¹² His inscriptions found at the following places roughly indicate the extent of the country ruled by him:—

Ānaimalai, near Madurai; Perundurai in the Tirunelveli taluka of the Pudukkōttai State; Mannarkoyil, Tiruvāllūr, Ambasamudram, Virāṅkhamani, Kaṇugumalai, Gaṅgaikoṇḍa, Śevilipēri, Śhērnādēvi, and Adagūr in the Tirunelveli district; Chōlapuram and Suchindram in the Travancore State.

¹³ No. 32 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896.

Vijayādittan-Vikki-annan. The terms Śaṅkki and Viṣṇuvardhana-Mahārāja, occurring in the name of the donor, suggest that he must have been a member of the Eastern Chālukya family.¹

According to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant, the Pāṇḍyas were first attacked by Rājendra-Chōla I., with the result that their king deserted his country from fear. Establishing his son Chōla-Pāṇḍya as the protector of the Pāṇḍya territory, Rājendra-Chōla proceeded westwards, conquered the forces of the Kēraḷa ruler in a fearful battle and returned to his capital leaving that country also in charge of the same prince. That the Chōla-Pāṇḍya here referred to is none other than Jaṭṭavarman Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya of our record has already been noticed. It may be pointed out now that while the stone inscriptions of the 5th and 6th years of Rājendra-Chōla I. mention his conquest of the Kēraḷas, the invasion of the Pāṇḍya country is practically omitted in the historical introduction of all his records. If, as stated in the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu grant, the Chōla king conquered the Kēraḷas immediately after he had overcome the Pāṇḍyas, the latter event would have taken place before A.D. 1016-7, which corresponds to his 5th year.² It would thus appear that Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍya was in charge of the two conquered countries from or prior to A.D. 1016-7, i.e. four years before his accession.³ That he actually ruled over the Kēraḷas is borne out by some of the inscriptions at Maṅṅarkōyil, where mention is made of two of his Chēra feudatories named Rājasimha and Rājarāja.⁴ In one of his inscriptions,⁵ it is stated that the Chēra king (Śēramāṅṅar) Rājasimha built the Viṣṇu temple called Rājendraśōla-Viṇṇagar, i.e. the modern Gōpālākṛiṣṇasvāmin temple at Maṅṅarkōyil. The name of the Chēra king conquered by Rājendra-Chōla is not given. Nor do we know if it was Rājarāja or Rājasimha.

Among the geographical names that occur in this inscription, Maṅṅarkōyil does not find a place. It seems to be a shortened form of Maṅṅarkōyil⁶ and probably denotes the modern Gōpālākṛiṣṇasvāmin temple. The village in which the temple was situated, was called Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam in ancient times. It was a *brahmadēya* in Muḷli-nāḍu, a district of Muḍigonḍasōla-vaḷanāḍu which was a subdivision of Rājarāja-Pāṇḍināḍu. A number of hamlets appear to have been attached to this village in early days. The modern villages of Ambāsamudram⁷ and Kallaḍaikkurichchi⁸ were its southern hamlets, while Pāpāṅḡulam⁹ (Vēlārkarichchi) and Ālvārkurichchi¹⁰ (Kāḍēru; text l. 2) situated at a distance of about 8 miles from Ambāsamudram, formed its hamlets on

¹ We do not know of any Eastern Chālukya prince with this name at the time. About A.D. 1030 the approximate date of the Chōlapuram inscription, the ruler of Vēṅḡi was Rājarāja I. (A.D. 1022-1063).

² It cannot, however, be inferred from this that the Pāṇḍyas remained independent even until this date, because earlier inscriptions of Rājendra-Chōla I. have been found in the Tinnevely and Madurai districts. The existence of these records in that part of the country might be taken to show that the Pāṇḍyas acknowledged the overlordship of the Chōla sovereign even before the invasion, conquered as the Pāṇḍya country was by Parāntaka I. and Rājarāja I. It was perhaps the Pāṇḍya king's attempt to assert his independence that caused the invasion in the present instance.

³ Perhaps he was not formally installed in the Viceroyalty but allowed to issue orders in his own name as soon as he was placed in charge of the Pāṇḍya territory. This privilege was probably granted some time after he had been actually governing the subjugated province.

⁴ Nos. 111, 113 and 114 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

⁵ No. 112 of the same.

⁶ *Maṅṅar* means Viṣṇu.

⁷ No. 102 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905. The ancient name of Ambāsamudram was Ilāṅ-gōykkūḍi.

⁸ No. 90 of the same collection for 1907.

⁹ The Viṣṇu temple of Rāmasvāmin at Pāpāṅḡulam is called in its inscriptions Bagavadi-Viṇṇagar-Ālvār at Vēlārkarichchi, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (No. 124 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

¹⁰ The Vanniappar temple at Ālvārkarichchi was called in ancient times Tiruvānniḱchuramudaiyār at Kāḍēru, the north-western hamlet of Rājarāja-chaturvēdimāṅgalam (No. 121 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1907).

the north-western side. Four other hamlets of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, viz. Pāmbunāri, Kōpāṇḍu, Kaḍaiyam and Pulakkūḷam *alias* Vārimāyileṭṭi are also mentioned in this inscription. Of these, Kaḍaiyam may be identified with the village of the same name, situated to the west of Ambāsamudram. The modern name of Pulakkūḷam is Panakkūḷam¹ and it is also in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram. I am not able to identify the two others. The position assigned to several of the hamlets would point to the identification of the *brahmadēya* of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam with the modern village of Brahmadēsam in the same tāluka and it may be noted that the Śiva temple of Tiruvāliśvaram and the Viṣṇu temple of Rājendraśōḷa-Viṇṇagar which are stated in their inscriptions to be in Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, are quite close to Brahmadēsam. From the boundaries described in the grant portion of the subjoined record it appears that at Mannarkōyil there was in ancient times another Viṣṇu temple called Rājārāja-Viṇṇagar. This has now disappeared. The district of Muḷli-nāḍu mentioned above seems to be different from another of the same name in which Shērmādēvi was situated, because while the first was in the subdivision of Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu the second was in Uttamaśōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu.² Though the names Uttamaśōḷa and Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa after which the two subdivisions are named may refer to the same Chōḷa king (perhaps Rājendra-Chōḷa I.), yet, as these divisions occur in the inscriptions of the same period, there is not much doubt as to their representing different local areas. Farther, it may be pointed out that the two subdivisions named above comprised different districts. Thus, for instance, the districts of Nechehura-nāḍu,³ Kūḷkala-kūṛram⁴ and Kūḷvōmba-nāḍu⁵ were in Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu, while Parattāya-nāḍu,⁶ Nāṇji-nāḍu⁷ and Marugal-nāḍu⁸ were in the subdivision of Uttamaśōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu. A rough idea of the extent of Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu might be formed from the fact that Tinnevely, Kaḷagumalai, Ambāsamudram and the villages near them were originally included in it. In Uttamaśōḷa-vaṇaṇḍu were situated Cape Comorin, Shērmādēvi, and Cholaipuram near Nagercoil. Rājārāja-Pāṇḍinaḍu was the name applied to the Pāṇḍya country after its conquest by the Chōḷa king Rājārāja I.; and it mainly consisted of the districts of Madura and Tinnevely and a part of the Travancore and Pudukkōṭṭai States. Though the Pāṇḍyas were defeated several times on previous occasions and their dominion acquired by the Chōḷas by conquest, the name of their country does not appear to have been altered prior to the time of Rājārāja I.

Two rivers are mentioned in this record, viz. Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷappērāru and Rājārājappērāru. As one of the fields sold to the temple is said to have been situated to the north of the former and south of the latter, the relative position of the two is established beyond question and affords facilities for the identification of both. Porundam, the original name of Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷappērāru is synonymous with the Tāmraparni, which near Mannarkōyil runs parallel to its tributary, the Gaṭanā, and is to the south of it. Rājārājappērāru is, therefore, identical with the Gaṭanā. In passing, it may also be pointed out that the two rivers join within a mile's distance of Mannarkōyil at a place called Tiruppuḍaimarudūr.

TEXT.

1 Svasti śri [||*] Kō=Chochaḍaiyapanmar-āṇa Uḍaiyār śri-Sunta(nad)ra-śōḷa-
Pāṇḍiyadēvarkku yāṇḍu paḍin[mū]nṛ[va]ḍu⁹ śri-Rājārāja-Ppāṇḍinaṭṭu
Muḍigoṇḍaśōḷa-vaṇaṇṭṭu Muḷli-nāṭṭu brahmadēyam śri-Rājārāja-

¹ It may be noted that in the Tinnevely district there are two kinds of tanks, *panakkūḷam* and *kōḷarattakūḷam*. The former depends on rain for its supply of water, while the latter is fed by a channel from a river.

² Nos. 193 and 194 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1893 and No. 106 of the collection for 1905.

³ No. 18 of the collection for 1904.

⁴ See remarks against No. 416 for 1905.

⁵ No. 408 of 1905.

⁶ No. 34 of 1896.

⁷ The *ea* in *mārdēade* is written above the line.

⁸ No. 109 for 1896.

⁹ No. 32 for 1896.

chcharuppēdima[ś]galattu śri-Rājēntra(ndra)śōla-Vin[oga]r [pa]ramasvāmiga-
lukku śri-Rājarāja-chchatu[r]vved[ī]ma[ś]galattu mahāsabhaiyōm virru-kkuḍutta
bāmiyāvadu [11*] Eṅga paḍāgai Pāmbunā[ri] Iḍaikka[n]raveṭṭikku
mērkum [1] śri-Rājarāja-Vinnagardēvar dēvadā[na]-

2 ttukku-kkilakkum [1] Tan-Porundam-āga Mudigonḍaśōlappērarrukku
vaḍakkum [1] śri-Rājarājappērārru[k]ku-tterkkum [1] āga ivv=ē[1*]laiyu
agappa[t]ta iru-pū¹ ārupāyechchal nila[n*] āru-vēliyum mērpādi maluk-
[kā]ḍu² vaṣakkānra nilaṅ mū-vēliyum pu[ṇ]ṣey malukkaḍu nilaṅ mū-
vēliyum eṅga[re]ppaḍāgai Kōṇattu iru-pū ārup[ā]yechchal³ nilaṅ oṇṇēy-
ēla-māvum ivv=ūr-ppaḍāgai Kaḍaiyattu-Padaiyavli Kāḍērru iru-pū
ārupāyechchal nilaṅ araiyum ivv=ūr-ppaḍāgai Palakkuja-

3 m-āga Vārimāyileṭṭi śri-puraṇ-garai oru-pū nilaṅ araiyum i-kkuḷatt-agam
pu(pū)-nir-kōvai-nilaṅ araiyum [ā]ga iru-pū ārupāyechchal⁴ nilaṅ ē[1]ō-
mukkālēy-iraḍu-māvum mērpādi malukkaḍu nilaṅ mū-vēliyum puṇṣey
malukkaḍu nilaṅ mū-vēliyum oru-pū nilaṅ araiyum kuḷattil ni[r*]-kōvai-
[n]ilaṅ araiyum āga nilaṅ paḍinālē[y]⁵-mukkālēy-iraḍu-māvum virru-
kkuḍuttōm śri-Rājendraśōla-Vinnagar [parama]svāmiga]ukku śri-Rājarāja-
chcharuppēdima[ś]galattu mahāsabhai-

4 yōm [11*] I-ppariṣu virru-kkuḍutta i-bhūmikka emmil-iśaiṇja vilai=
pporu]ellān-gaiyyilēy ara=kkonḍu iduvē[y]⁷ vilai-olaiyu[m] poru[1]-śēla olaiyum=
āvid-āgavum iduv=allaḍu vōru vilai-māvaṇḍi-pporu]śēla olai kātta=
kkaḍamaiy-iṇri vilai-ara-virru-p[poru]-ara=kkonḍu virru vilai-olai-śeydu
nīroḍu aṭti-kkuḍuttōm Rājendraśōla-Vinnagar paramasvāmiga]ukku śri-
Rājarāja-chcharuppēdima[ś]galattu mahāsabhaiyōm [11*] I-ppariṣu virru=
kkuḍukka=ppaichechōm śri-Rājarāja-

5 chchēri-Kkoṭṭaiyār-Chchaṅgarap Śivadēvabattachchōmāsiyārum⁸ śri-
Mummaḍiśōlachchēri Tiroppēr-Ḍēvadēvēśa-[Nā]rāyaṇagum śri-
Arumolīd[ē]yachchēri-Kkirāñchi Mahēśvarakiramavittagum⁹ śri-
Nittavipōdachchēri Kōrovi-Kāḷidāda¹⁰baṭṭa[ch]chōmāsiyārum śri-
Chōlēntra(ndra)śīṅgachchēri Kārāmbirchōṭṭu Śridarabattagum śri-
Sundaraśōlachchēri Kōrovi śri-Māḍavachchōmāsiyārum śri-Vāṇavaṇ-
māḍavichchēri-Kkoṭṭattu=Ḍēvadēvēśa-Śandiragum śri-Uttamaśōlachchēri-Kkarip-
porattu-Pporukku-

6 mārakiramavittagum śri-Śembiyaṇmāḍēvichchēri-Kkirāṇār Śōlaippirāṇ-
Śappiramaṇiyabattagum śri-Kundavachchēri Nimbai-I[ai]yanambi-
battagum śri-Paṇchavaṇmāḍē[vi]chchēri-Kkuṇḍār-Ttiruvāraṅga-Nārā-
yaṇa-kkiramavittagum śri-Oḷkamāḍēvichchēri Iḍaiyārrukkuḍi=
Chchōmaṇakkagum āga i-ppari[śu] paichechu virru-kkuḍuttōm śri-
Rājendraśōla-Vinnagar paramasvāmiga]ukku¹¹ śri-Rājarāja-chatu[r]vētīma[ś]kalattu¹²
mahāsabhaiyōm [11*] Ippādi aṇivēo Koṭ[ṭai]yār-Chchaṅgarap śivadēvabattā-

¹ *oru-pū* and *iru-pū* are terms still employed in some parts of the country to mean single-crop and double crop lands.

² The *akṣara* *kā* seems to be corrected from *ka*.

³ Read *ārupāy-echchal*.

⁴ The *y* of this word is a correction from *p*.

⁵ *Sōmāsi* is the abbreviated Tamil form of the Sanskrit *sōmagāṇa*.

⁶ *Kiramavittag* stands for the Sanskrit *kramavid*, one who knows the *kramapāṭha* of the Vēda.

⁷ *Kāḷidāda* is the Tamil form of *Kālidāsa*.

⁸ Read *chaturvēdima[ś]galattu*.

⁹ This word is written below the line in the original.

¹⁰ The *akṣara* *y* looks like *p* in the original.

¹¹ Here the original reads *pa* instead of *ya*.

¹² Read *paramasvāmiga]ukku*.

- 7 chehōmāsiyēṅ ivai eṅ eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṅ Kōrōvi-
 Kāḷidādachchōmāsiyēṅ ivai eṅ eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṅ Tiruppēr
 Dēvadēvēśa-Nāriyaṇṇ eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṅ Kīrāñchi-Mahēśvara-
 kkiramavittan eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṅ Śrīdaṇūr-Kkēsavan Śenduppirāṇ
 eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi [aṇi]vēṅ Karāmbich[obēt]ṭa Śrīdarabaṭṭan eḷuttu [i*]
 ippaḍi aṇivēṅ Kōrōvi śrī-Māḍavachchōmāsi[y]ēṅ eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṅ
 Nimbai-Ṇaiyaṇambibattan eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṅ
 8 Iruṇṇaṇḍi-Dēvadēvēśabattan eḷuttu [i*] Ippaḍi aṇivēṅ Irēṅṇuppurattu¹
 Yaññāṇ² eḷuttu [i*] Iṭṭham Virasya p[u]trēṇa Śāstamaṇka(ga)lavāsinā [i*]
 [Nā]rāyaṇa vidita[m] bhakta-bhaktēṇa Śārggiṇā³ [i*] Iti viditam Solaiṇ
 Subramaṇyēṇa ||o Mahāśabhaiyār-ppaṇikka ivv-ōlai eḷudiṇṇēṅ ivv-ūr sabhai-
 kkaṇṇattāṅ [Śūṇṇi]-Śaṅṅaran-āṇa Śamainjāṣappiriyaṇṇ eḷuttu ||o5

TRANSLATION.

Hail! Prosperity! In the thirteenth year of (the reign of) king Jaṭavarman *alias* Uḍaiyār śrī-Sundara-Chōla-Pāṇḍyadēva, the great assembly of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅga-
 lam sold the following land to the Supreme Lord (*paramasēvāmin*) of śrī-Rājēndraśōla-
 Viṇṇagar at śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷli-nāḍu (a district of)
 Muḍigonḍaśōla-vaḷanāḍu (which was a subdivision) of śrī-Rājārāja-Pāṇḍināḍu. (The
 land lies) to the west of (the path called) Idaikkunṇaveṭṭi⁴ (leading to) our hamlet (*paḍigai*) of
 Pāmbupāri, to the east of the *dēvadāna* of the god of śrī-Rājārāja-Viṇṇagar, to the north of
 (the river) Taṇ-Porundam *alias* Muḍigonḍaśōlappērū⁵ and to the south of (the river called)
 śrī-Rājārājappērū. The great assembly of śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimaṅgalam sold to the
 Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndraśōla-Viṇṇagar, six *vēli* of river-fed double-crop land lying within
 these boundaries together with three *vēli* of maḷukkāḍu-land of the same (class) which
 was being brought under cultivation;⁶ three *vēli* of dry maḷukkāḍu-land; one (*vēli*) and
 seven *mā* of river-fed double-crop land in Kōnāḍu, a hamlet of our village; half (a *vēli*) of
 double-crop river-fed land at Kāḍēru in Kaḍaiyattu-Padaiyāvilī, a hamlet of this village;
 half (a *vēli*) of single crop land close to the bank of the tank at Pulakkūlam *alias*
 Vārimāyilōṭṭi, a hamlet of this village; half (a *vēli*) of crop-yielding marshy land in the bed of
 this tank;—in all measuring seven (*vēli*) three quarters and two *mā* of river-fed double crop
 land; three *vēli* of maḷukkāḍu-land of the same (class); three *vēli* of dry maḷukkāḍu-land; half
 (a *vēli*) of single crop land; half (a *vēli*) of marshy land in the tank; together making a
 total of fourteen and three-fourths (*vēli*) and two *mā*. For the land thus given away by sale,
 this shall be the sale deed and the document evidencing the receipt of the money for our having
 obtained on hand the entire sub-amount agreed upon by us. Besides this, no other deed
 evidencing the payment in full of the sale money (*vilai-māc-arudi-porai-śōlav-ōlai*) shall
 be demanded. We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājārāja chaturvēdimaṅgalam,
 gave the land with libation of water to the Supreme Lord of Rājēndra-śōla-Viṇṇagar,
 having sold it completely and obtained the entire price and having executed the

¹ Read *Bātipurattu*.² Read *Yajñāṇ*.³ Read *Śārggiṇāḍ*. This is a verse in the Anuṣṭubh metre.⁴ Literally this word means a path cut through a hill.⁵ At first sight one would take the expression *Taṇporundamāṇa-Muḍigonḍaśōla-ppērū* to mean 'Muḍigonḍaśōlappērū which is ever filled with water', but the real significance of the words seems to be that Muḍigonḍaśōla-ppērū is another name for Taṇ-Porundam or the cool Porundam. Porundam and Porunai are other names of the river Tāmraparai.⁶ The word *vaṇakkāṇṇa* seems to be used in this sense also in No. 326 of the Epigraphical collection for 1908, in the passage *i-naiḷattāḷḷa kalam-kallī kādum-ōṭṭi nīlamam-vaṇakkī payir-irri*. Here *vaṇakkī* seems to mean cultivating or ploughing in which sense it does not appear to be used at present.

sale deed. We (the following persons) thus ordered the sale (of the above mentioned land) :— Kottaiyūr Śaṅgarap-Śivadēvabhāṭṭa-śomāśiyār of śrī-Rājārājachēri; Tiruppēr Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇa of śrī-Mummaḍiśōlachēri; Kirañji śrī-Mahēśvara-kramavittan of śrī-Arumolidēvachēri; Kōrōvi Kāḷidādabhāṭṭa-śomāśiyār of śrī-Nittavipōdachēri; Karāmbichēṭṭu-Śrīdarabhāṭṭan of śrī-Chōḷēndraśiṅgachēri; Kōrōvi Mādhava-śomāśiyār of śrī-Sundaraśōlachēri; Kōttattu-Dēvadēvēśan-Chandran of śrī-Vāṇavap-mādvichēri; Karippurattu-Porkumāra-kramavittan of śrī-Uttamaśōlachēri; Kiraṇār Śōlaippirāp-Subrahmaṇyabhāṭṭan of śrī-Śembiyanmādvichēri; Nimbai Iḷaiyanambibhāṭṭan of śrī-Kundavachēri; Kuṇḍūr Tiruvaraṅga-Nārāyaṇa-kramavittan of śrī-Paṇchavanmādvichēri; Idaiyārkkuḍi Somanakkan of śrī-Lōkamādvichēri. We, the members of the great assembly of śrī-Rājārāja-chaturvēdimatgalaṁ, thus ordered and sold (the land) to the Supreme Lord of śrī-Rājēndraśōla-Viṇṇagar. I, Kottaiyūr Śaṅgarap-Śivadēvabhāṭṭa-śomāśi know this; this is my signature. I, Kōrōvi Kāḷidāda-śomāśi know this: this is my signature. I know this: the signature of Tiruppēr Dēvadēvēśa-Nārāyaṇa. I know this: the signature of Kirañji Mahēśvara-kramavittan. I know this: the signature of Śrīdarār Kēśavan Śēnduppirān. I know this: the signature of Karāmbichēṭṭu-Śrīdarabhāṭṭan. I know this: the signature of Kōrōvi śrī-Mādhava-śomāśi. I know this: the signature of Nimbai Iḷaiyanambibhāṭṭan. I know this: the signature of Iruṅgaṇḍi-Dēvadēvēśabhāṭṭan. I know this: the signature of Rāṣipurattu-Yajñan. Thus known by Nārāyaṇa, son of Vira, who was the devotee of the devotees of Viṣṇu (and) resident of Śāstamaṅgala. Thus known by Śōlaippirāp Subrahmaṇya. At the command of the great assembly I, Śurri Śaṅgarap *alias* Somaśasapriyan, the accountant (*karāṇattāṇ*) of this village assembly, wrote this document; (this is my) signature.

List of villages and chēris mentioned in the inscription.

| Serial Number. | Names of villages. | Serial Number. | Names of chēris of Rājārāja-chaturvēdimatgalaṁ. ¹ |
|----------------|--------------------|----------------|--|
| 1 | Kottaiyūr | 1 | Rājārāja-chēri |
| 2 | Tiruppēr | 2 | Mummaḍiśōla-chēri |
| 3 | Kirañji | 3 | Arumolidēva-chēri |
| 4 | Kōrōvi | 4 | Nittavipōda-chēri |
| 5 | Karāmbichēṭṭu | 5 | Chōḷēndraśiṅga-chēri |
| 6 | Kōttam | 6 | Sundaraśōla-chēri |
| 7 | Karippuram | 7 | Vāṇavapmādvī-chēri |
| 8 | Kiraṇār | 8 | Uttamaśōla-chēri |
| 9 | Nimbai | 9 | Śembiyanmādvī-chēri |
| 10 | Kuṇḍūr | 10 | Kundavai-chēri |
| 11 | Idaiyārkkuḍi | 11 | Paṇjavapmādvī-chēri |
| 12 | Śrīdarār | 12 | Lōkamādvīchēri |
| 13 | Iruṅgaṇḍi | | |
| 14 | Rāṣipuram | | |
| 15 | Śāstamaṅgalaṁ | | |

¹ Of these *chēris* Nos. 1—5 are named after the surnames of Rājārāja I., No. 6 after his father Parāntaka II. Sundara-Chōḷa, No. 7 after his mother Vāṇavap-mahādvī, who performed *śalagamana* on her husband's death, No. 8 after the Chōḷa king Uttama-Chōḷa, son of Gaṇḍarāditya, No. 9 after the mother of Uttama-Chōḷa, No. 10 after Rājārāja's sister and Nos. 11 and 12 after his queen. In *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XL, p. 135, I have shown that Chōḷēndraśiṅha was a surname of Rājārāja.

No. 31.—DADHIMATI-MATA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF DHRUHLANA;
[GUPTA-]SAMVAT 289.

By PANDIT RAM KARNA; JODHPUR.

This inscription is the oldest of all so far discovered in Mārwar. It was found in a very ancient temple, which is dedicated to the goddess Dadhimati, commonly called Dadhamat-mātāji, situated in a desert where the boundaries of two villages named Gōth and Mānglōd meet. These villages are 24 miles north-east of Nāgōr, the principal town of the district of the same name, in the Jōdhpur State. The rims of the slab are raised one inch high on all sides, and it was discovered lying upside down in one of the corners of the hall of the temple of the goddess.

When the news of this find reached Jōdhpur, the stone was brought to the Tawārīkh Māhkma or Historical Department of the State, where its contents were first deciphered by me. The stone had been kept there for several years when, on the request of the *pañchas* of the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇa community of Jōdhpur, the Darbār kindly ordered that it should be returned to them with instructions to take proper care of it, it being the most valuable and oldest inscription in the State. The reason why it was made over to them was that all the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas recognise Dadhimati as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess, and that they consequently urged that the presence of such an inscription rendered the edifice more sacred and important in their eyes and proved the antiquity of the temple of their *mātāji*. The stone is, therefore, now lying in its former position in the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* of this temple.¹

The inscription covers a space of writing 1' high by 1' 7½" broad. The average size of the letters is about ½". Considerable skill seems to have been exercised in engraving this inscription, and the rims are raised one inch high, as noted above, presumably with a view to protect the writing from the effects of weather and rain or from other stones coming into contact with the written surface; but, in spite of this care and foresight, the right half of the sixth line has been rubbed off, apparently with an instrument, by somebody. Otherwise, the inscription is in an almost perfect state of preservation. It contains 13 lines of writing in Sanskrit, which is grammatically faulty and inaccurate in some places, e.g., *Avighṇanāgaḥ-pramukhā* (l. 2), *datta drama-pañchāśaḥ* (l. 7f.), *dātāḥ dramaśataḥ* and *Bappakaḥ Pāraṇamukha-putrēṇa* (l. 10), etc., etc. Besides, there are several minor mistakes of engraving. The text is in prose excepting lines 11 and 12 wherein a verse occurs, which is a quotation from the *Dēvī-Māhātmya*, as will be shown subsequently. The date of the inscription is given in the last line. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets; and the letters *r*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *ṣ*, *jh*, *h*, *d*, and *b*, are identical with those of the Mandasor inscription of *Rajadhirāja Yaśodharman-Vishnuvardhana* of M. V. 589.² In respect of orthography it may be noticed (1) that in all cases where the word Brāhmaṇa occurs (except in ll. 3 and 12), the sign for *v* is used for *b*, though in the case of other words wherein the letter *b* occurs the sign for *b* is invariably employed; (2) the consonant following *r* has been doubled only once in the word-*Pāraṇa*- in l. 10; (3) the rules of *paraśanarṇa* have been throughout observed with the exception of the word-*śāśnidhaya*- in l. 1.

¹ Its contents have since been committed in Dvānāgarī characters to a copper-plate which has been fixed on the left hand of the entrance and in the front wall (facing the deity) of the *Sabhāmaṇḍapa* for the reason that if the stone, which is now old enough, be broken, the contents may not be destroyed. A new *prastāva* has been added, composed by Pandit Ram Karṇa, and giving the genealogy of the Rāthōrs from Sīhā and down to the late Mahārāja, Sir Sardar Singh. [The accompanying plate has been prepared from an impression prepared by Pandit Ram Karṇa himself.—Ed.]

² Published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XV, p. 224 ff., and *Gupta Inscri.*, p. 152.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the goddess Sarasvatī. Then follows a request to *dēvi* Dadhimati by the community (*gōsthikā*) of Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas, headed by Avighnaśāga. These Brāhmaṇas used to reside, it appears, in the same temple and were the worshippers of the *dēvī*. A passing reference is also made here to one Śrī-Dhrūhlāpa, who appears to have been then the ruling prince, but who this chief was and where he ruled we are unable to ascertain. Lines 3 to 10 contain the names and *gōtras* of the donors with their fathers' names and the amount contributed by each, the details whereof are embodied in the sub-joined table.

| No. | Name of donor. | Name of father. | Gōtra. | Clan. | Amount contributed. |
|-----|--------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| 1 | Avighnaśāga | Laṅgaka | Vachchha ¹ . | Avā | 1,100 |
| 2 | Mīra | Kaṭaka | ... | ... | |
| 3 | Mātalya | Pūphaka | ... | ... | |
| 4 | Yasapati | Yakshadīna | ... | ... | |
| 5 | Majjhahīna | Gaṇabhaṭa | ... | ... | 100 |
| 6 | ..... | ..... | ... | ... | 120 |
| 7 | Vishpuḍḍeva | Dhūlaka | ... | ... | 60 |
| 8 | Nimbagaṇa | Śūraka | ... | ... | 100 |
| 9 | Dhaniyaka | Achintita | ... | ... | 300 |
| 10 | Bālāditya | Avigahaka | ... | Mahattara | 100 |
| 11 | Happaka | Pūrṇamukha | ... | ... | 150 |
| 12 | Somaśaka . . . . . | ..... | ... | ... | 4 |
| 13 | Achilakadē [va*] } . . . | Nimbāditya | ... | ... | |
| 14 | Savaka } | | | | |

Line 11 contains the verse² *sarvā-maṅgala-maṅgalyā śivā sarvārthasādhikā | śaranyā tryambakē Gaurī Nārāyaṇī namō-stu tē*, quoted from the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*, as said above. Then follow (1. 12) the names of the Brāhmaṇas numbered 12-14 in the above table. The reason why their names are mentioned after this verse and not along with those of their caste fellows specified above, is not quite clear. Probably they contributed their mite after the engraving of the inscription had commenced. The last line, i.e., the 13th, gives the date which is the 13th of the dark half of Śrāvapa of the year 289 (Gupta, equivalent to Vikrama-Samvat 665 or 608 A.D.).

It may be noted that the date of this inscription has been expressed in numerical symbols. The numeral 200 has been represented by a sign resembling २ which is just after the fashion

¹ [Perhaps the same as *Vata*.—V. V.]

² Its meaning is, O goddess Nārāyaṇī, obeisance to thee, who art the source of all blessings, doer of good, accomplisher of desired objects, giver of shelter, endowed with three eyes and Gaurī (i.e. the spouse of the god Mahādeva).

so often observed in the Jaina manuscripts¹ (*vide* Bühler's Table IX). Again, 80 has been expressed by a symbol which differs but little from that given in Bühler's Table. Then follows the sign for 9, which is also in harmony with the Valabhi system. So that 200 80 9 stand for the year 289, which has been given in the symbolical system so often met with in early inscriptions. Then follow the words *Śrāvana* *ba* apparently for *Śrāvana badi* (*i.e.* the dark half of the month of Śrāvana), the letter *dī* after *ba* having been omitted for want of space. The date 13th has, again, been expressed by numerical symbols. 10 has been represented by a sign which is just like that met with in the Vākātaka inscriptions (*vide* Table No. IX of Bühler, referred to above) and 3 is denoted by three more or less parallel lines (≡) which is also after the Gupta fashion. Similarly, the numeral 4 in the last line has also been represented by the symbol (𑀘) which is after the same Gupta or Nēpāl system (*vide* table quoted above). There is a dot after this symbol in the original stone, but it appears to have been inadvertently engraved by the mason. If the author had meant 40, the sign for 40 and not that for 4 would have been used in its place. From the above, it is quite clear that the date of the inscription is of the Gupta era and not Vikrama or Harsha. Secondly, the formation of the characters resembles that of the Mandasōr pillar inscription of king Yaśodharman, as already noted, which fact also corroborates the conclusion arrived at above; and thirdly, we know that the Gupta rule, which had extended far and wide over the land, came to its end at about the same period.

It may be inferred from the words *asmin dēvyā nivāṣe* of line 3 that the temple of the goddess Dadhimati was *in situ* when the contribution was raised by the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas headed by Avighnanāga. Had this subscription been called for erecting the shrine, some such word as *kārita* would have been used. The temple is therefore a very old one. Additions to the temple were made by a Dāhimā Brahmacārī named Viśvaśaṣṭi in V.S. 1906.²

In the beginning of this inscription there is a mention of Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas.³ These are now-a-days known as Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas, and are one of the *chha-nyāti* (six castes⁴) of Brāhmaṇas of the Pañcha-gaṇḍa section. There is no doubt that the Dadhyas of our inscription are the modern Dāhimās, because, first, the whole of the community of the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas recognise this goddess (Dadhimati) as their *kula-dēvī* or family goddess; secondly, the majority of the population of the villages, adjoining the temple within the limit of 10 to 20 *kōs*, consists of these Brāhmaṇas; thirdly, most of the modern names of the Khāmpas (clans) of this community are after the names of the villages situated round about the temple, *e.g.*, Goṭhachā after Goṭh, Māṅgalōdyā after Māṅglōd, Āśopā after Āśop, Inānyā after Ināṇā, Khatōḍa after Khātū, Borādā after Borāwār, Dīḍawānyā after Dīḍwāpā, etc. The Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas assert that they are descended from the well-known Dadhichi-Rishī and style themselves *Dādhiśas*; while in this inscription they are termed *Dadhyas*, certainly after the name of the goddess Dadhimati. A reference to No. 2 in the above table would show that the epithet *Mītra*, which is still used by the Dāhimās, was common in those days. In the third line there occurs a word *śeṣ*; but there is no clan amongst the

¹ [A closer approximation to the symbol used in the present inscription occurs in Pandit G. H. Ojha's *Palaeography of India*, plate 42, column 2, where it is stated that the symbols in that column are taken from "various records and charters."—V. V.]

² Further repairs to the temple are being executed by the Dāhimā-mahāśabbā, by raising subscriptions from the whole community of Dāhimā Brāhmaṇas residing in all parts of India. Nearly a sum of Rs. 10,000 has already been collected and spent for the purpose.

³ [Though it seems most natural to read *śrī-dadhyā*, I feel little doubt that what the engraver had before him was *śrī-dēvyā*.—S.K.]

⁴ The names of the six castes who interdine but do not intermarry are:—1. Dāhimā, 2. Pārīkha, 3. Gaṇḍa, 4. Gōjara-gaṇḍa, 5. Sārasvata, and 6. Śikhawāla (some say Khapḍāwāla).

Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas known by this name. It therefore appears that it is perhaps a contracted form of the word *devī*, just as the word *brāhmaṇa* is written in the abbreviated form *brāhṇa* in line 12. It is also possible that the letter *ī* of the word *devī* has been carelessly omitted. The word *devī* or *devī* means a worshipper; and hence it may be inferred that the Dadhyas were worshippers of the goddess Dadhimatī in those days. The office of worshipping this goddess is now held by the Sāvagas (or Bhojakas). It is just possible that the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas, as they took up some other profession, later on employed a Sāvaga for this purpose, whose descendants are up to this day doing the same work. This supposition is further strengthened by the fact that the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas of the village Rol, 10 miles from this temple, even now personally perform the worship of the deity and offer oblations in her honour in the months of Chaitra¹ and Āśvina when fairs are held in and around the temple. In these fairs the inhabitants of the adjoining villages meet together to worship the goddess and offer their cattle for sale.

The most noteworthy information furnished by this inscription is the light it throws on the date of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. In line 11 of our inscription is quoted the 9th verse of the 91st chapter of that *Purāṇa* or the 10th chapter of the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*, as the latter begins from the 81st chapter and ends with the 93rd. From this quotation we can conclusively and convincingly assert that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was composed before V. S. 865, i.e. before the 7th century A.D. It would, therefore, be futile if any one were to assign a date, later than the 7th century, to the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* or the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. The section *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is regarded by some scholars as an interpolation, but what can with certainty be contended is that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not a production later than the 7th century or thereafter. Rev. K. M. Banerjēa writes in the introduction to his edition of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa* as follows² :—

"We cannot help noticing in this place the dignity imparted to the work under review. It is classed in the same category with the Vedas, and described as an immediate product from Brahmā's mouth. Although a *Purāṇa*, it is not attributed to Vyāsa, whom other Śāstras consider as the author of all works bearing that title. The *Mārkaṇḍēya Purāṇa*, however, does not acknowledge him as its composer, editor or compiler.³ It claims equal honour in this respect with the Vedas themselves."

And he says in the beginning of his preface⁴ that "the section called *Dēvi-Māhātmya* was probably an interpolation." A reference to chapter 94, verse 1,⁵ would show that when recapitulating the past, the speaker (i.e. Mārkaṇḍēya-Rishi) says that he has caused him (the addressee, i.e. Krauṣṭaki-Rishi) to hear the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. This internal evidence alone is sufficient to prove that the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* is not an interpolation but forms a part and parcel of the *Mārkaṇḍēya-Purāṇa*. Besides, if the *Dēvi-Māhātmya* were to be removed from it, the

¹ In the months of Chaitra and Āśvina falls the *Nava-rātra*, i.e. the first nine days of the bright half of the months when worship of the goddess is eloquently recommended in the *Dēvi-Māhātmya*. The Dāhimā-Mahāsebhā is contemplating to re-assume the management of the temple which was formerly in their own hands even when the Sāvagas were the worshippers. The annual meetings of the *sebhās* have been held in this temple for three consecutive days in every Chaitra-Navarātra, for the last four years, and the Mahāsebhā has recently started a school there.

² P. 15 of the Bibl. Ind. Edition, Calcutta, 1862.

³ This statement has apparently been made on the authority of the Bengal manuscripts of the *Purāṇa* that were at Mr. Banerjēa's disposal when editing the work, but the Maithilī and other manuscripts of the same *Purāṇa* recount in the ordinary way the names of the eighteen *Purāṇas* and their author.

⁴ *Ibid* p. 1.

⁵ सार्वभौमसिंहं सम्पद्य प्रीतिं सम्पुनरं तव । तव देवीमाहात्म्यं मदिषामुदधातवम् ॥१॥

total number of verses attributed to this Purāṇa in the commencement would fall short by the number contained in the *Mahātmya*.¹

But to return to our inscription. It does not give the names of the clans wherewith the Dadhya-Brāhmaṇas were then known; and the two names *ācā* and *mahattara*, which may be presumed to be clan-names, are not identical with the modern ones. It is therefore evident that the present Khāmpas, such as Gōthēchā, etc., must have been introduced only after V. S. 665. There is one *gōtra* mentioned in the inscription, viz. *Vachchbe* (Vatṣa) which is even now found among the Dāhimā-Brāhmaṇas. Had their present clans been well known, they would certainly have been mentioned as the epithet "Mīśra" has been in l. 4.

The record does not contain the name of the person who composed it, nor of the mason who engraved it.

TEXT.²

- 1 श्रीं नमः(॥) [स]रस्वत्यै [॥*] श्रीदध्या 'दधिमतीसंनिध्यपादानुध्याता[:*] श्रीधू-
ह्वाणपादानु[पा]-
- 2 लिता ब्राह्मणा³ अविघ्ननागःप्रमुखा⁴ देवी⁵ दधिमतीं विज्ञाययन्ति⁶ ॥ अ-
- 3 स्मि⁷ देव्या [नि]वेशे गोष्ठिकाप्रथमं⁸ आचो[ब्राह्म]ण⁹ अविघ्नना[ग]:¹⁰
ब्राह्मण[ल]ग-
- 4 कपुत्रः¹¹ वच्छसःगोत्रः¹² तथा ¹³ब्राह्मणमित्र . . . कटक[पुत्रः¹⁴ मा]तुल्य¹⁵
पूफकपुत्रैः¹⁶ त[या]
- 5 ¹⁷ब्राह्मणयज्ञपतिः यच्चदित्रपुत्रः¹⁸ ए[तै]मीष्टिकै¹⁹ प्रततः²⁰ द्रम्यसहस्रं यताधिकं । ब्रा-²¹
- 6 ह्मणमभ[ञ्ज]ीह (॥) गणभटपु[त्रे]ण दत्त²² द्रम्यगतं ।
- 7 ब्राह्मणैर्दत्ते²³ द्रम्यगतं विंशोत्तरं²⁴ । तथा ²⁵ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेवः दूषणपुत्रेण द[त्त]²⁶
- 8 द्रम्यपंचायः²⁷ [॥*] तथा ²⁸ब्राह्मणनिम्बगण (॥) शूरकपुत्रेण दत्त²⁹ द्रम्यगतं [॥*]
[त]या ब्राह्म-³⁰

¹ [The above should be compared with the able discussion of the age of the Mārkaṇḍēya by Mr. Pargiter, in the introduction to his translation in the Bibl. Ind., Calcutta, 1904, where he sums up his results on p. 22 as follows,— "The *Dvāimāhātmya*, the latest part, was certainly complete in the 9th century and very probably in the 5th or 6th century A.D. The third and fifth parts, which constituted the original Purāṇa, were very probably in existence in the third century, and perhaps even earlier, and the first and second parts were composed between those two periods."—S. K.]

² From the original stone.

³ Expressed by a symbol.

⁴ Read "संनिध्य".

⁵ Read ब्राह्म.

⁶ Read "नागप्रमुखा".

⁷ Read देवी दधिमती.

⁸ Read विज्ञाययन्ति.

⁹ Read "स्मिन्".

¹⁰ Read "शिकाप्रथम".

¹¹ Read "ब्राह्मणीवि".

¹² Read "नागी ब्रा".

¹³ Read "पुत्रो".

¹⁴ Read वच्छसगोत्र.

¹⁵ Read ब्राह्म.

¹⁶ Read "पुत्रो".

¹⁷ Read मातुल्यः.

¹⁸ Read "पुत्रस".

¹⁹ Read ब्राह्मणयज्ञपतिर्व.

²⁰ Read "पुत्र".

²¹ Read "गोष्ठिकै".

²² Read प्रदत्त.

²³ Read ब्रा.

²⁴ Read दत्त.

²⁵ Read ब्राह्मणैर्दत्त.

²⁶ Read "वीत्तर".

²⁷ Read ब्राह्मणविष्णुदेव.

²⁸ Read दत्ता.

²⁹ Read "यत्".

³⁰ Read ब्राह्म.

³¹ Read दत्त.

³² Read ब्राह्म.

- 9 अधनियक (i) 'अचिन्तितपुत्रेण दत्त' द्रमचिग्रति⁹ ॥ तथा महत्तरवा-
लादित्य (i) अ[वि]-
10 गङ्गकपुत्रेण दत्तः⁴ द्रमग्रतः⁵ [॥*] तथा वप्पकः⁶ पूर्णमुखपुत्रेण दत्त⁷ द्रम-
11 ग्रतं (i) सार्दः⁷ [॥*] सर्वमङ्गलमङ्गल्ये शिवे स[र्वी]र्थसाधके⁸ । अरखे⁹
चांम्बके¹⁰ गौरि(i) [ना]-
12 रायणि नमोस्तु ते ॥ तथा ब्राह्म¹¹सोमानक¹² ब्राह्मण¹³अचिलक[दि][व*]सुवकः¹⁴
[नि]-
13 [म्ब]ादित्यपुत्रैर्दत्त¹⁵ [द्र]म्मा¹⁶ ४ ॥ ¹⁷संवत्सरशतेषु २०० ८० ८
आवण व¹⁸ १० ३

No. 32.—SEVADI COPPER-PLATES OF THE CHAHAMANA RATNAPALA;
VIKRAMA-SAMVAT 1176.

By PANDIT RAM KARNA, JODHPUR.

These copper-plates were found at Sāvādī, a village in Balli district, Gōdwar province, Jodhpur State. They were brought to light in a house in this village in consequence of a heavy downpour of rain. The news of the find reached the Police Sub-Inspector who forwarded the plates to the Mēhkmā Khās, Rāj Mārwar. They were thence sent to the Historic department (Tawārīkh Mēhkmā) of the State for being deciphered and for impressions being prepared therefrom. One set of impressions has been furnished to the Ajmer Museum at the request of the Curator.¹⁹ The original plates are now in charge of the Superintendent of the Tawārīkh Mēhkmā.

The plates are three in number, of which the first is inscribed on one side only. The second is written on both sides, and the third bears but three lines of writing on its inner side. The inscription is perhaps incomplete as shown by the isolated and unconnected letter ka at the end. The average breadth of the plates is 9" while the average length is 11½". The edges have been slightly raised into rims, and the plates are strung on two almost circular rings, the ends of which are open and bear no sign of any seal. The ends of the rings are so wide apart as to permit the plates passing out of them without any difficulty. Their diameter varies from 2" to 2½", and their thickness is slightly over ¼".

The inscription consists of sixty lines of writing and is in an almost perfect state of preservation. The characters belong to the northern class of alphabets. Attention may be drawn to the somewhat rare forms of the letters i and bh, while the archaic formation of

¹ Read 'अजावि'.

⁴ Read दत्त.

⁷ Read सार्दम्.

¹⁰ Read चांम्बके.

¹² Read ब्राह्मणाचिलक.

¹³ Read दम्मा.

² Read - दत्ता.

⁵ Read 'ग्रत.

⁸ Read 'सावित्रे.

¹¹ i.e. ब्राह्मण.

¹⁴ Read 'सुवक्त्रो.

¹⁷ Read 'संवत्सरम्'.

⁹ Read द्रमचिग्रतो

⁶ Read वप्प.

⁸ Read अरखे.

¹² Read सोमानको.

¹³ Read 'पुत्रो । एतेर्दत्तः

¹⁵ Read यदि.

¹⁹ [The accompanying plate has been prepared from impressions sent by Pandit Ram Karṇa.—V. V.]

[illegible]

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SCALE 4

W. WENKAYYA.

the labial *ph* is rather peculiar to this inscription. The language is Sanskrit; and the text is in prose with the exception of thirteen lines at the beginning and seventeen at the end containing 11 and 15 verses (numbered), respectively, although the numbers of the last two are omitted. In respect of orthography the following may be noted: (1) the sign for *v* is also used for *b*; (2) there is an indifference about the doubling of the consonants after *r*, e.g. *-karmāpaṇ* in l. 52; (3) rules of *parasavarṇa* have in some places been violated; (4) *ś* and *s* have been confounded, e.g. *-yasaskarāṇi* (l. 53), *-sahāśrāṇi* (l. 58).

The object of the inscription is to record a grant of a village named *Gūṇḍakūrchohā* (the modern *Gūndoch* as we shall see later on) to Brāhmaṇas residing in the same village, by a Chāhamāna king named *Ratnapālādēva*,—the son of *Prithvipāla*, in V. S. 1176.

The inscription opens with obeisance to the god Brahman. The introductory verse extols the word *svasti*. A person came out of the eye of Indra, lord of the east, while looking; and from this person sprang the Chāhamāna dynasty (v. 2), which is extolled in the succeeding verse (v. 3). The next eight verses unfold the following Chāhamāna genealogy. There lived a king named *Lakshmaṇa*, whose son was *Śohita*, who is here called lord (*pati*) of *Dhārā*. His other name is *Śobhita*.¹ From him sprang *Balirāja*, who was succeeded by his paternal uncle *Vigrahapāla*. *Vigrahapāla*'s son was *Mahendra* whose other name is *Manindu* to whom the *Rāshṭrakūṭa* king *Dhavalā* lent a helping hand against *Muñjarāja*.² *Mahendra*'s son was *Anahillādēva*, who was blessed with two sons named *Balaprasāda* and *Jēśalādēva*, whose (latter's) other name is *Jēndrarāja*¹ or *Jindarāja*. *Jēśala*'s son was *Prithvipāla*. Then comes the prose portion of the inscription. *Prithvipāla*'s son was *Ratnapālādēva*, who is styled a *Mahārājadhīrāja*. He issues the following order after having called together all his ministers, civil and military officers, the headmen as well as the leading persons among his subjects and all the resident Brāhmaṇas of the *Saptaśata-vishaya* (of 700 villages):—

“Be it known to you that, the seat of our Government being in *Naḍūla* (*Naḍōl*) and the head-quarters of our armies in the village *Nahurā*, after having bathed and put on two cleaned clothes, setting aside such faults as vehement desire, hatred, jealousy, moral decline, and others of like nature; being in the state of absolute goodness; realising the instability of the world; holding *tila* (sesamum), unhusked grain (barley), *kuśa* (grass) and water in our right hand; having satisfied gods and *pīṭṛis* with water; remaining true to our duty; comprehending (the fact that) life is more unsteady than the drop of water on the petal of the day-lotus; having worshipped the consort of *Pārvatī* (i.e. the god *Mahādēva*), who is the ruler of both the moveable and the immovable; having adored *Vishṇu* (*who is*) the greatest in the world and is skilful in destroying heaps of sins and is able to save from (the pains of) birth, old age and death; having restrained the totality of the senses for a moment; having realised (the fact that) wealth (would) collapse in a moment and such other inconstancies (of the world); having satisfied Brāhmaṇas and other venerable persons by gifts of gold, food, and clothes; favouring (i.e. following) the right path; recalling (mentally) the fear of the next world; accepting the fruit of (actions in both) this and the next world; having seen that the lettering of the charter formerly issued by the *Mahārāja* *Jindarāja* has disappeared, and (having) a mind to renew the same in its former state; for the increase of our religious merit and fame; and for our well-being in the next world; with a pure mind inspired by great devotion; our sins vanishing far (from us) and we being conscious of self (i.e. being in our right senses), we have, with libations of water, granted this charter according to the former state of things on Thursday, the 8th of the dark half of the month of *Jyēṣṭha*, when 1176 years, reckoned (in the

¹ See above, Vol. IX, p. 83.

² Above, Vol. X, p. 68.

name of) Vikramāditya had elapsed, to all the resident Brāhmaṇas of the great Brāhmaṇa village named Guṇḍakūrchchā, that has survived in all the four *yugas*, who delight in the six¹ acts of sacrificing, etc., prayer, study of the Vēdas, meditation and religious practices, who are well-versed in the sacred lore of *Itihāsas* (epic poems), *Purāṇas* (legends), *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhārata*, in words and sentences, and in (the *Smṛitis* of) Yājñavalkya, Kātyāyana, Bhṛigu, Aṅgīras, and Mārkaṇḍa; in the six *darśanas*² beginning with the *Bhāṭṭa-darśana* (Pūrvamīmāṃsā) and other sciences; who are performers of sacrificial rites prescribed in the *Yajur-vēda*, such as *Āvasathya* (sacred domestic fire), *Agnihōtra* (daily offering to fire), *Agnishōma* (liturgical rite in the Soma sacrifice), *Sautrāmāṇi* (rite sacred to Sutrāman, i.e. Indra), *Paśubandha* (animal sacrifice lit. binding of victim to sacrificial post), *Chāturmāsya* (sacrifice to be offered every fourth month) and others; who are competent to break the hard knot of sins; who are well-versed in the Vēdas³ and the Vēdāṅgas⁴; and whose fame is as brilliant, extensive and praiseworthy as that of the full moon. In the beginning of the Kali-age a pious Mahārāja (named) Śrī-Jājuka who was ruling Kanyakubja, rode a mare, and the land that he could traverse in 4 *praharas* (or 12 hours), was granted by him, with the pouring out of water, for his welfare in the next world, to a Brāhmaṇa named Gōvinda, by a *sāsaṇa*, the glorious Guṇḍakūrchchā, a brush (*kāraṇa*) for manifesting the picture of good conduct, circumscribed by the four boundaries, (ll. 16-36). From that time the name Guṇḍakūrchchā (of the village so) named after the Brāhmaṇa Gōvinda became famous on (this) earth (l. 37). In the *Kṛita*-age it was known by the name of Nishadā, in *Tṛētā* as Triyambakī, in *Dvāpara* as Khanitri and in *Kali* as Guṇḍakūrchchā (l. 38). Its (four) boundaries (are described as follows):—

“To the east (lies) the way (leading) to the village (named) Vērā and passing by (the village) Ghōḍiyā, the reservoir (*raduḥa*), (locally called Nāḍi), (the village) Tōusūla, and the Śiva temple of the village Ārāchandra.

To the south (are situated) the pond (named) Rājji near the village of Khavaḍa, and the villages Chāṃgauhā, Kṛikuḍapadra, Gugi and the proximity of the *pratāpi* (main gate) of the village Chadarapadra.

To the west (are to be found) the villages (named) Mīlva, Ākandhāpadra and Goḍāipi, and three reservoirs of water (*raduḥa-traya*).

To the north (passes) the way which leads to Lavāṇa-khēḍa, going from the three reservoirs of water (*raduḥa-traya*) to (the village named) Sumnēvī, thence going round the mountain named Sāhatuṅga and (finally) reaching the village Vērā” (ll. 39-43).

“These are the four boundaries marked out. Within these limits, future kings, whether of our own family or others, should not demand even a single flower from the *śrī-lokas* (i.e. Brāhmaṇas) residing in Guṇḍakūrchchā (i.e. should levy no tax, flower being mentioned as an insignificant article of no practical value) (l. 44).”

Then follow 15 imprecatory verses, after which there stand the first half of a verse and the letter ka which perhaps was the beginning of the second half left out for some reason unknown to us.

We thus see that the inscription refers itself to the Chāṣhamāna family of Lakshmaṇa, whose progenitor is, in this inscription, said to have been born out of the eye of the god Indra; while, in other inscriptions of the family it is recorded that, “when the solar and lunar races had come to an end, the holy Vachchha (i.e. Vatsa) brought about the creation of a new race

¹ The six acts prescribed for the Brāhmaṇas are sacrificing, conducting sacrifices, studying, teaching, giving and taking.

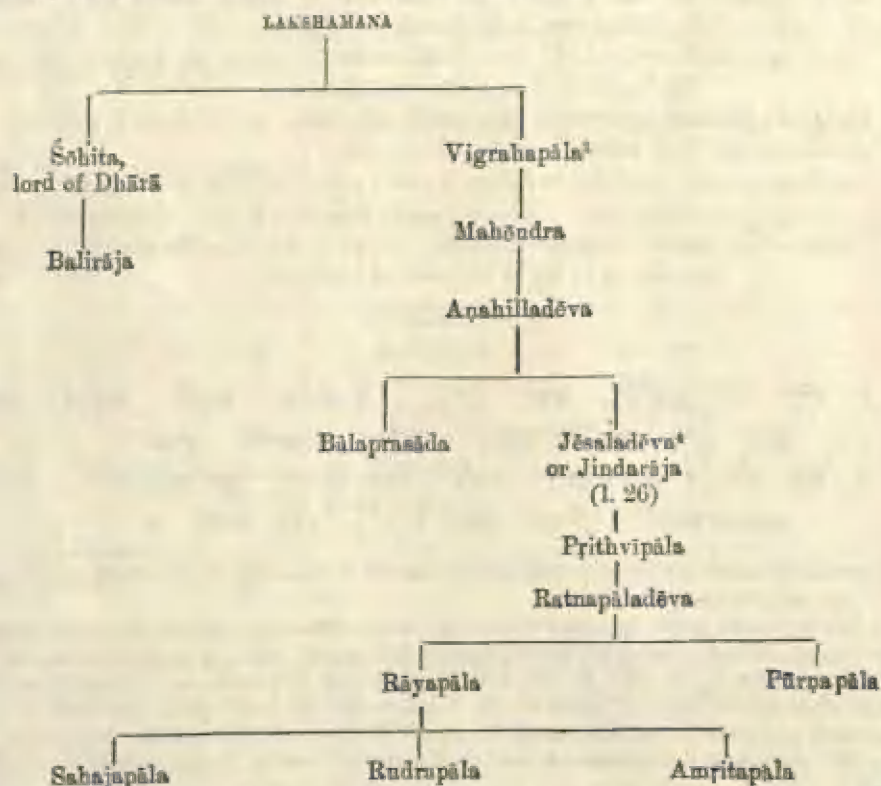
² The six *darśanas* are *Pūro-mīmāṃsā* of Jaimini, *Uttara-mīmāṃsā* of Vyāsa, *Nyāya* of Gautama, *Vaiśeṣika* of Kaṇāda, *Sākhya* of Kapila and *Yōga* of Patañjali.

³ The four Vēdas are, *Rik*, *Yajur*, *Sāma*, and *Atharvan*.

⁴ The six *Vēdāṅgas* are, *Śikṣā* (orthography or phonetics), *Kalpa* (rituals or liturgy), *Vyākaraṇa* (grammar), *Nirukta* (etymology and lexicography), *Chāṇḍaśā* (prosody), and *Jyōtiṣha* (astronomy).

of warriors, the Chāhamāna race."¹ This fact is further corroborated by an inscription where we read² that "there was the hero Chāhamāna, a source of joy to the great *Rishi* Vatsa.' Professor Kielhorn also points out³ that "according to verse 12 of the Bijoli rock inscription of Sōmēśvara (No. 154 of his *Northern List*) Sāmanta, the first Chāhamāna chief, was born in the Vatsa-gotra at Abichelihatrapara." The current belief that the four races of Paramāras, Chālukyas, Chāhamānas and Pratihāras sprang from the *agni-kunḍa* receives no support from this inscription.

The genealogy unfolded by our inscription, is the same as that given by Prof. Kielhorn in his paper on the Chāhamānas of Naddūla, referred to above, as far as Prithvipāla, and the name of Ratnapāladēva, the hero of our inscription, is an addition to it. But an inscription recently discovered at Maṇḍōr, when archaeological excavations were being carried out under the supervision of Dr. Marshall, reveals the name of two further generations, viz., Rāyapāla, son of Ratnapāla, and Sahajapāla, son of Rāyapāla. Before the discovery of the inscription at Maṇḍōr, it was not known whose son Rāyapāla was, though he was known to be a Chāhamāna from his eight inscriptions found in the Godwār District. From these latter we further learn that Rāyapāla had besides Sahajapāla two other sons, viz., Rudrapāla and Amṛitapāla; while in another inscription of Ratnapāla (published in the *Bhāvanagar Prākṛit and Sanskrit Inscriptions*), the name of Ratnapāla's son is given as Pūnapāksha, which I am inclined to read as Pūrṇapāla. So the dynastic list would now stand as follows:—



¹ *Ep. Ind.* Vol. IX, p. 79.

² *Ibid.*, p. 71.

³ The present inscription does not give us the relation which Vighrahapāla bore to his predecessor Balirāja. It is taken from Kielhorn's Genealogical Table (above, Vol. IX, p. 83).

⁴ Called Jēśdrarāja (Jindurāja) in Prof. Kielhorn's Table.

In our inscription, Śohita is styled lord of Dhārā. Śohita's time is after V.S. 1039¹ when Muñja was ruling over Dhārā. It is possible that he defeated Muñja and became, for some time, lord of that city or country. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that Śohita's son Balirāja, routed the army of Muñjarāja.² The *Mahārāja* Jindarāja mentioned in line 26 is the same as Jēsaladēva of verse 10 above. We may also note that the grant, the renewal of which is recorded in this inscription, is stated to have been originally made by *Mahārāja Śrī-Jājuka* in the beginning of the Kali age.

Of the localities mentioned in our inscription, all of them except 5 have been identified :—

Gūndakūrchchā—is the modern Gūndōch, 5 *kōs* south of Pāli (called Mārwar-Pāli), the principal town of the district of the same name and a railway station on the Jodhpur-Bikaner Railway. It is a *Jāgir* village held by Thākur Gopal Singh, son of Ranjit Singh, of the Ūdāvat clan of Rāthors.³

Vērā—Bēḍ (now desolate) 1 *kōs* east of Gūndōch.

Khavaḍa—Khōḍ, 4 *kōs* south of Gūndōch.

Gugi—Gōgāvās (now deserted).

Chadarapadra—Chāñchōḍi, 7 *kōs* south.

Milua—Mālōla (now uninhabited), 1 *kōs* south.

Ākandhāpadra—Kāndā, 1 *kōs* west of Gūndōch.

Goḍāipi—Gurḍāi, 3 *kōs* west.

raduḥa-traya—are the 3 Nāḍis (or reservoirs of water) called Pāli, Bhāṇḍālāi, and Ghāpēvara, 1 *kōs* (west).

Sēhatūnga—Kāliyotūnka and Baḍā Bhākara are the names of 2 small hills and a way leading to Bēḍ passes between the two.

Ghoḍiyā—Bachūji-rō-Gurhō, 1 *kōs* east of Gūndōch.

raduḥa—is the Nāḍi called Sānvaliyō, 3 *kōs* east.

Ārāchandra—now desolate; but there is still a temple of Śiva in the desert, $\frac{1}{2}$ *kōs* south of Gūndōch.

Nahurā—now called Bāmanān-rō-Nōrō. It lies in the Jālōr District and is situated at a distance of 11 *kōs* to the west of Gūndōch.

TEXT.⁴

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीं श्रीं ब्रह्मणे नमः । [१*] स्वस्तोति चतुरो वेदान् सवडंगपदक-
मान् [१*] सर्वाशिक्षमया स्वस्ति स्वस्तोति परमं
2 पदं । [१*] पपात पुरुषे तित्रादीचतः पूर्वादकाते.¹⁰ । ¹¹चाहमानाव-
यस्तस्मादभूत्¹² गुणिनां प्रियः । [२*] ¹³वंशः सतां य¹⁴

¹ This is the latest date given for Lakshmana by Mr. D. R. Bhandarkar; above, table opposite p. 78.

² *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 71.

³ Besides Gūndōch proper, he holds the following villages as his *Jāgir*—Kōnalā, Bachūji-rō-Gurhō, two *dhānis* (hamlets) near Gūndōch, Pratiappurā and Gōpālgarh. The annual rental of all these villages is estimated at Rs. 7,000 per annum by the State for the purposes of levying State taxes, etc. The majority of the population consists of two different castes of Brāhmana, viz. Gurjar-Gaudas and Śākharālas. The former claim the village to have been granted to their ancestor named Gāṅḍeya (a corruption of Gōvinda of our inscription). The *śārcā* grass still grows here in abundance—a fact which leaves not even a shadow of doubt as to its being the same village.

⁴ From the original plates.

⁵ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

⁶ Read पुरुषी नैषा.

¹² Read °दभूत्.

⁷ Expressed by a symbol.

⁸ Read सकलाबीलया.

¹⁰ Read °वदिक्ते.

¹¹ Metre: Indravajrā.

⁹ Read ब्रह्म.

¹³ Read °गाम्बय.

¹⁴ Read य.

- 3 'सफलः सपुण्यो लोके प्रसिद्धः सगुणो बभूव' । सारोत्तारण्डेदविभेदहीन³
आकारवर्णानुरतोऽभिषेके⁴ ॥३॥
- 4 'शीलक्षणो' लक्ष्यवरप्रदानस्तता 'बभूवाखिलराज्ञपत्यः'⁹ ॥ ¹⁰वृद्धाभिषिक्तोतिव-
रण¹¹ पुष्टमपःद्रष्टोवा-¹²
- 5 स्थिरमंविक्कायाः¹³ ॥४॥ ¹⁴तस्यात्मजोरातिचयावमर्दी ¹⁵य[सो]भिराक्रांतसमयकाष्ठः ।
नरेन्द्रहंदेः¹⁶
- 6 तुतपादपद्मो बभूव¹⁷ धारापतिशोहितास्थः ॥५॥ ¹⁸ततो बभूव¹⁹ राजन्यो ²⁰वलि-
राजो महोपतिः [१*] वलिसमा-²¹
- 7 नदानो यो जितनिःशेषसंगरः ॥६॥ ²²संख्याजिर²³ विग्रहपालसूनुः प्रतापनिःशे-
पितवैरिजा[तः १*]
- 8 ²⁴सक्रंदनाद्यो ²⁵वलवा[त्रि]तांतं ततश्च राजा समभूवहेन्द्रः ॥७॥ ²⁶तस्याभवच्छीघ्र-
णहिलदेवः²⁷ सु-
- 9 तः ²⁸शर्माकोज्वलदानकीर्तिः । येनाहवे वैरिजनीपि साची[क]तः स्वशैर्यस्य²⁹ जना-
तिग[स्व] ॥८॥ ³⁰त[स्या]-
- 10 त्मजोरातिगण[स्व] हंता बालप्रमादो³¹ नृपतिर्वभूव³² । रणाजिरे येन जिताः
³³सपत्ता सुख[क]-³⁴
- 11 ता शेषजना तिदापैः³⁵ ॥९॥ ³⁶तस्यानुजो जेमलदेवभूपो बभूव³⁷ पुणा³⁸ कमनोय-
कांतिः । जातं मता-
- 12 नां परिपूर्णतायाः शत(तं) स्थिवास्वर्णतुरंगदानैः⁹ ॥१०॥ ³⁹सनुस्तस्या⁴⁰भवद्राजा
पृथ्वोपाल⁴¹

¹ The letter स is probably a subsequent addition.

² Read सारोत्तारण्डेद°.

⁴ Read °वर्मादु°.

³ Read बभूव.

⁶ Metre : Upajāti.

⁹ Read °लक्षणी.

⁷ Read लक्ष्यवरप्रदानस्ततो.

⁸ Read बभूवा°.

¹⁰ Read °राजपूज्यः.

¹¹ Read वृद्धा°. [The first akshara appears to be वृ. Perhaps the reading intended is वृज°.—V.V.]

¹² Read °वरेण.

¹³ Read पुष्टमपःप्रभावाव.

¹⁴ Read °मंविक्कायाः.

¹⁵ Metre : Upajāti.

¹⁶ Read यशोनि°. [There is a blank space for at least three letters between री and क in the original.—V.V.]

¹⁷ Read वृद्धेनुत°.

¹⁸ Read बभूव.

¹⁹ Metre : Anuashṭubh.

¹⁹ Read बभूव.

²⁰ Read वलि°.

²¹ Read वलि°. This line offends against the metre. [Perhaps we have to read वल्लिस्व°.—V.V.]

²² Metre : Upajāti.

²³ Read °जिर.

²⁴ Read संक्रन्द°.

²⁵ Read वल°.

²⁶ Metre : Upajāti.

²⁷ Read °क्षी°.

²⁸ Read जनाहोस्वक°.

²⁹ Read °शैर्य°.

³⁰ Metre : Upajāti.

³¹ Read बाल°.

³² Read °वभूव.

³³ Read °पवाः.

³⁴ Read स्वसौकुताः.

³⁵ Metre : Upajāti.

³⁶ Read बभूव.

³⁷ Read निदापैः.

³⁸ Read स्थिवा°.

³⁹ Metre : Anuashṭubh.

³⁹ Read पुणः.

⁴⁰ Read सनुस्तस्या°.

⁴¹ Read °पाची.

⁴¹ Read सुनुत दाभ°.

- 13 महावलः¹ [1⁸] शूरो रणे कृतो [त्वा]गी कचाशौचे सदा रतः ॥११
तत्पुत्रो [नि]जकुलाभोजमित्रो म-
- 14 हाराजाधिराजशोरत्नपालदेवो मर्ही पालयन² स्वीयमहामात्यरहसादिनियोगिनो³
महासामत-⁴
- 15 'डडनायकदुःसाधसाधनिकठकुरवलाधिप'पट्ट[कि]लजनपदादीन⁵ 'सञ्चान' 'सपशत-
विषयातःस्थित-⁶
- 16 महास्नानब्राह्मणांश्च¹⁰ बोधयत्यस्तु¹¹ वः संविदित¹² यथा । इह योनदूले
निजराज्ये प्रवर्त्तमा-
- 17 ने नहुरायामस्थिते कटके ¹³श्रीविक्रमादित्येत्पादितातीतसम्बत्सरयते[च]कादश-
- 18 शु षट्सप्तत्यधिकेषु ¹⁴ज्येष्ठमासवङ्गलपचा[ष्ट]मीगु[ह]वासरे ॥ अंकतोपि संव-
- 19 त् ११७६ ज्येष्ठ वदि ८ गुरौ¹⁵ एवं काले प्रवर्त्तमाने¹⁶ अस्यां संवत्सरमा-
सपञ्चपूर्वायां तिथौ

Second Plate :- First Side.

- 20 स्नानं विधाय धौतपोतिके परिधाय रागहेषमत्सरकपायादिदोषान् हित्वा
मात्तिकभावे¹⁷ स्थि-
- 21 त्वा संसारस्यासारता¹⁸ विदित्वा तिलाक्षतकुशावुप्रणयिनं¹⁹ दक्षिणकरं कृत्वा देवपि-
- 22 तृनुदकेन संतर्प्य धर्मानुष्ठानमुपसर्प्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं
- 23 जीवितमाकलय्य चराचरगुरुं पार्वतीपतिं संपूज्य जगन्महीयांसं पापपटल-
पाटनपटो-
- 24 यास²⁰(i) जन्मजरामरणरक्षणप्रभविष्णुं विष्णुं पूजयित्वा क्षणमेकमिन्द्रियग्रामं जित्वा
क्षणिकां लक्ष्मी-
- 25 सुपलक्ष्य²¹ इत्याद्यनित्यतामवेक्ष्य ब्राह्मणान्²² गुरुं च सुवर्णशिवस्रदानैः²³ संतोष्य
सन्मार्गं सं-
- 26 पोष्य²⁴ परलोकभोक्त्वमाश्रित्य²⁵ ऐहिकामुष्मिकं फलमंगीकृत्य ²⁶प्राज्ञमहाराजश्री-
जिंदराज-

¹ Read 'वलः'.

² Read 'सागल'.

³ Read 'दो'.

⁴ Read 'ब्राह्म'.

⁵ Read 'विकलादिभ्योणा'.

⁶ Read 'माने'.

¹⁰ Read 'कुशा'.

¹¹ Read 'प्राज्ञ'.

¹² Read 'पितृ'.

⁸ Read 'यन्'.

⁹ Read 'दक्ष'.

¹³ Read 'सञ्चान'.

¹⁴ Read 'बोध'.

¹⁵ Read 'गुरौ'.

¹⁶ Read 'संवत्सर'.

¹⁷ Read 'मात्तिक'.

¹⁸ Read 'सारता'.

¹⁹ Read 'विष्णु'.

²⁰ Read 'प्राज्ञ'.

²¹ Read 'रघु'.

²² Read 'बलाधिप'.

²³ Read 'सपशतविषयान्'.

²⁴ Read 'संविदित'.

²⁵ Read 'गुरावे'.

²⁶ Read 'सारता'.

²⁷ Read 'लक्ष्मी'.

²⁸ Read 'संतोष'.

[illegible][illegible]

[illegible][illegible]

- 27 प्रदत्तशासनाचराणि भट्टान्यवलोक्य तथा स्थित्वा जीर्णीकारवुद्धा¹ स्वपुत्र-
यशोभित्तये चातु-
28 'युगिकमहाव्यञ्जस्थानश्रीगुंदकूर्चाहिधाननिवासिने' यजनादिपद्मंजपस्त्राध्यायध्या-
नानुष्ठान-
29 विधायिने इतिहासपुराणरामायणभारतपदवाक्याग्नवल्लकात्यायनभगवंगिरीमार्क-
डेय-²
30 'भट्टदर्शनादिषट्दर्शनशा[स्त्र]ाभिरताय' आवसथ्याग्निहोत्राग्निष्टोमसौचामणिपशुवंध-³
31 चातुर्मास्यादियजुक्रियानिरताय⁴ निविडतरकल्मषप्र(थं)धिभिदे [वि]दवेदांगविदे (।)
राकाश-
32 श्री(शं)कविशदविस्तृतश्राव्यलोकाय समग्रश्रीब्राह्मणलोकोय⁵ परच हिवुद्धा¹⁰
निजमनःशुद्धा भ-
33 क्षिभरप्रेरितमनोभिर्दूरप्रणश्यदेनोभिरात्मसंविद्या पूर्वस्थित्वा शासनमिदमुदकपूर्वमि-
34 त्त्वन्माभिः प्रदत्तं ॥ कलियुगादौ तुरग्यारूढेन दिवसचतुःप्रहरमध्ये यावती
भ(भू)मिः परिभ्रांता ताव-
35 त्वां कृताघाटनैरुपलक्षिता¹¹ सराचारचिवोन्मीलनकूर्चा श्रीगुंदकूर्चा त[स्मै] गोविं-
दनाम्¹² द्विजन्मनो(ने ।) श्रीकन्व-
36 कु[ञ्ज]पातना¹³ सुकृतिना महाराजश्रीजालुकं(के)न परच येयसे स्वयेयसे शा-
सनेनोदकपूर्व¹⁴ प्रदत्ता
37 तदाप्रसूतिः तस्य गोविंदविप्रस्य नामांकितं गुंदकूर्चति¹⁵ नाम वसुधायां विस्थानं
वभूव¹⁶ ॥ १७ कृते तु
38 निषटा प्रोक्ता चेतायां च चियंवकी¹⁷ । हापरे च खनिचोति गुंदकूर्चा
कलौ स्मृता । (॥) अस्या अघाटनानि । पूर्वस्थां
39 दशि¹⁸ वेराग्रामवार्त्तनी¹⁹ घोडिया रदुह तोडसाल आराचंद्रग्रामशिवभवनसमी-
पगामिनी ॥

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 40 दक्षिणतः खवडग्रामसमीपे राज्ञीतडागं चांगौहाग्रामः । छकुडपद्रं च । गुगी-
ग्रामः । चदर-
41 पद्रग्रामप्रतोलीसमीपं च । पश्चिमतो मीलुषग्रामं च । आकांधापद्र । मोडा-
इणी रदुहच-

¹ Read 'वुद्धा'.

² Read 'भगवंगिरीमार्क'.

³ Read 'वन्ध'.

⁴ Read 'हिवुद्धा'.

Read 'कुञ्जपातना'.

¹⁰ Read 'वभूव'.

⁵ Read 'वृद्ध'.

⁶ Read 'दर्शना'.

⁷ Read 'यजुःक्रिया'.

⁸ Read 'सदाचार'.

⁹ Read 'पूर्व'.

¹⁷ Metre : Anushtubh.

¹¹ Read 'गुंदकूर्चाविधान'.

¹² Read 'वह्दर्शनशास्त्राभिरताया'.

¹³ Read 'ब्राह्मणलोकाय'.

¹⁴ Read 'नाथ'.

¹⁵ Read 'कूर्चति'.

¹⁶ Read 'चियंवकी'.

¹⁸ Read 'वर्त्तनी'.

¹⁹ Read 'दिशि'.

- 42 य¹ च । उत्तरतो लवणखेडवर्त्मनी । रदुहवयात् सुनेवोशामगामिनो
ततो² सेहतुंगपर्व-
43 तं मध्ये कृत्वा वेराशामगामिनी³ ॥ इने⁴ चत्वार आघाटनाः प्रमाणं
अमोपा⁵ आघाटनानां मध्ये⁶ आ(घ)-
44 अहंशजैरन्यैश्च भावि[भू]मिपालैश्च केनापि गुंदकूर्चायां शिलोकपार्श्वे बहुपुष्पं⁷
न याचनीयं । अहंशे य-
45 दा क्षीणे यः कोपि नृपतिर्भवत्तस्याहं⁸ करे लग्नः शामनं न व्यतिक्रमे⁹ ॥१
¹⁰बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता¹¹ राजभिः स-
46 गराद्विष्यंस्व¹² यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलं ॥२ चोष्णाहरपि¹³ दानानि
गावः पृथ्वी सरस्वती [१४]
47 आसप्तमं फलमित्वेते¹⁴ दोहवाहनिवेदने¹⁵ ॥३ सर्वेषामिव दानानां¹⁶ एकजन्मानुकं¹⁷
फलं¹⁸ । हाटकचि-
48 तिगौरीणां समजन्मुकं¹⁹ फलम् ॥४ यावन्ति सस्यमूलानि गोरोमाणि च संख्यया [१५]
नरस्तावन्ति²⁰ व[प]र्णि स्थ-
49 र्मे तिष्ठति भूमिदः ॥५ तडागानां²¹ सहयेणाश्व[मि]धशतेन च । गवां कौटिप्रदा[नि]न
भूमिहतां न शृष्यति ॥६
50 सत्त्वं चैव हुतं चैव यत्किंचिदहोमसंचितं । अर्होगुलिन सीमायां²² हरणेन
प्रनस्यति²³ ॥७ न्यायेनोपाजि-²⁴
51 ता भूमौ²⁵ अन्यायेनोपहारिता । हरतो हारतद्यापि²⁶ ²⁷हनत्वात्सपमं कुलं
॥८ भूमौ²⁸ यः प्रतिगङ्गाति²⁹ य-
52 स्तु भूमौ³⁰ प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतौ³¹ स्वर्गगामिनौ ॥९
यानीह दत्तानि पुरा नरेन्द्रेः³²
53 दानानि³³ धर्माव्ययसस्कराणि³⁴ । निर्मात्यवन्तःप्रतिमानि³⁵ तानि को नाम साधुः
पुनराददेतु³⁶ ॥१०

¹ Read चये.

² Read ततः.

³ Read गामिनी.

⁴ Read इमे.

⁵ Read अमोपासा.

⁶ Read मध्येस्थ.

⁷ Read बहुपुष्पं.

⁸ Read भवत् । एतस्या.

⁹ Read व्यतिक्रमेत्.

¹⁰ Read वपु.

¹¹ Read मृत्ता.

¹² Read सगरादिभिः । यस्य.

¹³ Read रति.

¹⁴ Read फलमित्वे.

¹⁵ Read निवेदने.

¹⁶ Read दानानामि.

¹⁷ Read नृगं.

¹⁸ Read फलं.

¹⁹ Read जन्मानुग.

²⁰ Read बन्धि.

²¹ Read अहंशेण वाश्व.

²² Read सीमाया.

²³ Read प्रनस्यति.

²⁴ Read नोपाजिता.

²⁵ Read मुनिरकावेना.

²⁶ Read हारवनीऽपि.

²⁷ Read प्रह्वयामन.

²⁸ Read भूमि.

²⁹ Read यद्वाति.

³⁰ Read भूमि.

³¹ Read नियतं.

³² Read नरेन्द्रे.

³³ Read धर्मस्कराणि.

³⁴ Read वान.

³⁵ Read राददीत.

- 54 पूर्वदत्ता¹ नरेन्द्रैश्च यत्राद्रक्ष [श]तकतुः² [*] महीमहिभृता चेष्टा³ दानाश्रेया-
नुपालनं⁴ ॥११ विंध्याट-
55 'वीवीचतोयासु युष्ककोटरवासिनः । कृष्णसर्पा भि' जायन्ते 'ब्रह्मदायापहारकः'⁵ ॥
56 १२ न विषं विष[मि]त्याहुः¹⁰ ब्रह्मसं विष¹¹ उवाते । विषमेकाकिनं हति ब्रह्म¹²-
57 सं पुत्रपोचिकम् ॥१३

Third Plate.

- 58 षट्तिर्वर्षसहस्राणि¹³ स्वर्गे वसति भूमिदः । हरणेनानुमंताश्च¹⁴ तस्मैव¹⁵ नरकं
वसेत् ॥० रिणह¹⁶
59 त्ता भूमिहर्ता हारीताश्च¹⁷ हि ते त्रयः¹⁸ । एते च नरकं यांति¹⁹ यावदिन्द्रचतुर्द-
60 श ॥० ॥²⁰ रिणहर्ता भूमिहर्ता दावेतो तुलया धृतौ[*] क²¹

No. 33.—THREE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE REDDIS OF KONDAVIDU.

By J. RAMATTA, B.A., B.L.

A.

This inscription is engraved on three sides of a stone pillar planted in front of the temple of Virabhadra-svāmin in the village of Phirangipuram²² in the Sattanapalli taluka of the Gun-
tur District. I first saw and copied it in April 1897. Subsequently, my friend Rao Sahib
Krishna Sastri visited the place and took an estampage of the inscription, from which I edit it.
The letters are cut deep and the inscription is in an excellent state of preservation.

The Telugu characters and orthography of this inscription are similar to those of the
Tottarāmūdi plates of Kāṭaya-Vēma.²³ In the present inscription, however, the aspirated forms
of *b*, *ḍ* and *p* are distinguished from the unaspirated ones by a stroke resembling the Telugu
figure 1 affixed at the right-hand corner of the bottom of the letter. This sign is not found in
the case of *bha*, *bha* and *bha*, the first and last of which are, however, distinguished from the
corresponding unaspirated letters by the presence of the *talakaffu* or top-stroke. Sometimes a
consonant is unnecessarily doubled after an *anuvāra* as in *vinōdāmōḍu* (l. 103).

A remarkable feature in the orthography of the Telugu portion of the inscription is the
use of the sign of the *pāpānusaṅga* for denoting *ardhānusaṅga* as in *-okhamōḍu* (l. 97 f.), *-patt-*

¹ Read 'दत्ता.² Read शतकती.³ Read मही महीचता.⁴ Read चेष्टा. The syllable *ḥi* is written below the line.⁵ Read दानाश्रेयीतु.⁶ Omit the first वी.⁷ Read हि.⁸ Read ब्रह्म.⁹ Read 'हारका).¹⁰ Read 'त्याहुः.¹¹ Read विषमुवाते.¹² Read ब्रह्म.¹³ Read षट्तिर्वर्षसहस्राणि.¹⁴ Read हर्ता चेष्टानुमंता च.¹⁵ Read तान्मैव नरकं.¹⁶ Read ऋणहर्ता.¹⁷ Read तथा हारीता.¹⁸ Read त्रयः.¹⁹ Read 'दिन्द्राव.²⁰ Read ऋण.²¹ The inscription abruptly stops here.²² A station on the Berwada-Guntakal branch of the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway.²³ Above, Vol. IV, pp. 318 ff.

yañ *Grishpa-* (102 f.), *-anugun-batri* (104 f.), *-nāṣṭyagunāṇḍu-* (105 f.), *-puṣaṁbulaṁ bari-* (123), and *vāṇḍiṇi jēva* (125 f.). In all these places, metre requires the *ardhānusaṛa* only; and this was, no doubt, what was intended to be read. The use of the complete circle which is the sign of the full *anusaṛa* to denote the half-*anusaṛa*, is common in inscriptions and in old manuscripts and shows that the modern sign of the *ardhānusaṛa*—i.e. the left half of a circle,—had not yet come into vogue at the beginning of the 15th century A.D. It shows also that '*ardhānusaṛa* was *pāṇānusaṛa* incompletely pronounced,' as the author of the *Ādhrabhāṣābhāṣanam* puts it, and disproves the view of some of the later grammarians who seem to think that *ardhānusaṛa* was the earlier and *pāṇānusaṛa* the later form of the sound. It also falsifies the much bolder theory of the late Prof. M. Seshagiri Sastri who held that *ardhānusaṛa* simply denotes the elision of a consonant.¹ In modern Telugu the words *pūchi*, *ḍīchi*, and *nāchi* are pronounced only with an *ardhānusaṛa* after the first vowel, but Nannichōḍa, in his *Kumārāsambhavam*, used these words as *pūāchi*, *ḍāāchi* and *nāāchi* and made them rhyme with *eāchi*, and even now we hear, in the Guntur, Nellore, and the Ceded Districts, *vāḍu* for *vādu* (he), *tāāchu* for *tāchu* (weigh), *māda* for *mīda* (above), *pēta* for *pēṭa* (market town) and *pēḍa* for *pēḍa* (dung). In the Roman text of the Telugu portion of the inscriptions, the *anusaṛa* to be elided is printed in italics.

The language of the inscription is partly Sanskrit and partly Telugu and it is throughout in verse. The sixth and seventh verses are also found in the *Śringārāḍipikā*, a commentary on the *Amaraśataka* by Kōmaṭi-Vēma², and the thirteenth verse is taken, with a slight modification, from the Madras Museum plates of Vēma.³ The first verse is devoted to the praise of the bear-incarnation of Vishnu and the second and third to the praise of the Sun and Moon, and Vināyaka. In the next verse, the poet appropriately eulogizes the feet of Vishnu which gave birth to the (Śādra) caste, which is a veritable ocean of good qualities. In that caste was born king Vēma who was 'a seventh emperor,'⁴ as it were, and an eleventh incarnation of Vishnu (v. 5). Vēma ruled for a long time, enjoying what was left of the kingdom after enjoyment by Brāhmins, and constructed the flight of steps from *Pātālagaiṅga* to the summit of the Śrīśaila as if to climb up to the abode of Śiva (v. 6). He had an elder brother named Mācha, who had three sons, viz., king Reddivōṭa, Śrī-Kōmaṭindra, and king Nāga, who were like *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* personified (v. 7). Ped[d*]ja-Kōmaṭi begot a son named Vēma—as great as Karṇa in charities—even as the ocean begot the moon (v. 8). Verses 9 and 11 describe the military greatness of Vēma, while vv. 10, 12 and 13 praise his charities which extended from Śrīśaila to Kāśī (Benares), touching on the way Kumārachāla, Pañchārāma, Simhachala, Śrīkūrma and Purushōttama. The queen of this king was Sūramāmbikā, who, on the second day of the dark fortnight of the month of Phalguna in the year Virōdhi corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the moon, Rāmas, Rāmas and the earth (1331), performed the ceremony of *pratiṣṭhā* (completion and dedication to public use) of the tank called *Santānapayōnidhi* (vv. 14 and 15). The next three verses contain a hyperbolical description of the tank, and then follow three verses from the *Mahābhārata* on the merit of digging tanks. The last Sanskrit verse tells us that this pure *dharmaśāsana* was composed by Śrinātha who was the *Vidyādhipati* of Vēma and a storehouse of learning.

The three Telugu verses that are engraved on the east face of the pillar, are in the Sisa metre, each verse consisting of four long lines in the proper Sisa metre followed by four

¹ See his *Theory of Ardhanusara*, Edition of 1892.

² See the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya's remarks on the Phirangipuram inscription, in his Report on Epigraphy for 1900, p. 21, paragraph 55.

³ Above, Vol. VIII, pp. 9 E.

That is, as great as any of the six emperors (*śaṣṭhaśakravartī*) spoken of in the Purāṇas.

and I agree with the editor in considering that Śrinātha, who was Vallabha's contemporary, was the real author of this little poem. The poetry is certainly that of Śrinātha.¹

In the introduction to his *Dharmakhaṇḍana*, the poet tells us that he was a Brāhmaṇa of the Pākanāṭi sect. The Pākanāṭis are found mostly in the Nellore District and there is a family of them at Sālūrupāṭa, whose housename is Śrinātham (Śrināthuni). These Brāhmaṇas usually call their sect Prānāṭi to distinguish it from that of Pākanāṭi Kāpus or Redḍis and interpret that term as meaning the "Eastern Country." This etymology is obviously incorrect.² The Telugu term Pākanāḍu is evidently derived from Tamil Pākkai-nāḍu, which is found in several Tamil inscriptions in the Nellore District³ and the word *pākkai* is the Tamil rendering of the Sanskrit *pāga*, meaning areca-nut. Pāṅgi, a variation of Pūgi, appears in inscriptions as the name of the country "which extended from the eastern slopes of Srīgiri to the eastern sea on both sides of the river Kuṇḍī."⁴ In my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma, I was unable to explain the signification of this term, but there is no doubt about it now. The Telugu form of *pāgi* is *pāka*—*a* being nasal—and a sect of the Redḍis of the Cudappah District call themselves Pōkanāṭi and not Pākanāṭi Redḍis.

Śrinātha was a much travelled man for his times. He tells us, in a stray verse attributed to him, that he visited the courts of the Vijayanagara king Harihara II. and Rāva Sarvajña-Siṅgamanidū of the Velugōṭi family, and that he was patronised by Sāṭuva Teluṅgu Rāya. He spent, however, the best part of his life at the courts of the Redḍi chiefs of Koṇḍaviḍu and Rajahmundry and dedicated most of his works either to these chiefs or to their officers. The traditional history of the Velugōṭi family tells us that Liṅgamanāyudū of that family having killed Vēma-Redḍi of Rajahmundry in battle and taken his sword called the *Nandikantapālārāja*,⁵ Śrinātha was deputed by Vēma's brother Virabhadra to get back the sword and that the poet succeeded in doing so by eulogizing Liṅgamanāyudū in three verses.⁶

B.

This inscription also belongs to the time of Pedda-Kōmatī-Vēma and is engraved on both sides of five copper plates. About ten years ago, the plates were sent by the Tahsildar of Guṇṭūr to the Collector of the Kistna District in which Guṇṭūr was then included, and I edit the inscription from impressions taken by me at that time. The inscription consists of two

¹ Śrinātha is also the reputed author of the ballad *Palakṣīcāracharitraṃ*; but some dispute his authorship and the point requires investigation.

² [The Bitraguṇṭa plates of Saragama II (above, Vol. III, p. 27, verse 10) describe Pāka-vishaya or Pāka-nāḍu as a district situated 'on the shore of the Eastern Ocean (i.e. the Bay of Bengal),' including within it the town Vikramasāhāpura, i.e. the modern Nellore. Pōgi or Pāṅgi-vishaya, on the other hand, was a part of Pāka, confined in extent to either bank of the river Kuṇḍī or Guṇḍlakamma and extending from Śrīgaṇa to the Bay of Bengal. Prānāḍu 'Eastern Country' as applied to themselves, by the Pākanāṭi Brāhmaṇas of the Nellore district appears, therefore, to have been the correct etymological interpretation of the term Pāka-nāḍu, though the form Pākkai-nāḍu of Tamil inscriptions was undoubtedly derived from *pāṅgi*, *pūgi* or *pōka*, which formed a part of the name of the northern sub-division of Pāka-nāḍu and meant an areca-nut. Consequently it looks as if the larger territorial division Pāka-nāḍu or Pākkai-nāḍu derived its name from the smaller Pāṅgi-vishaya, which was perhaps the earlier and the more ancient.—H. K. S.]

³ *Nellore Inscriptions* by Messrs. Rutterworth and Venu Gopaul Chetty, Vol. II, p. 873, and Vol. III, pp. 1397 and 1401.

⁴ Above, Vol. VIII, p. 10.

⁵ In another place it is called *Nandikantapālārāja*.

⁶ The *Velugōṭi-cāracharitraṃ* by Vellāla Sadāsiva Śāstrulu and Avadhānamu Śēsha Śāstrulu, Madras edition of 1910, pp. 69 and 60. In this book the Redḍi king who was killed, is called Anavēma-Redḍi. But this is clearly a mistake for Alāya-Vēma-Redḍi.

parts; the first part records the grant by Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma of the village of Ālapāḍu to a Brāhman named Viśvōśvara-bhaṭṭa, and the second part records the distribution of the village by the donee, among a number of other Brāhmanas. The first part consists of twenty Sanskrit verses intercepted, after verse 18, by a long Telugu prose passage which describes the boundaries of the village. The first, fourth, fifth and eighth verses are found also in inscription A. We learn from this part of the record that Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma had a younger brother named Mācha who is known to have been killed in battle by Kumāra-Vedagiri-Nāyuḍu of the Velugōṭi family.

The object of the inscription is to record the fact that on the Śivarātri day in the month of Māgha in the year Nandana corresponding to the Śaka year counted by the oceans, Rāmas, and the moon (1334), Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma granted the village of Ālapāḍu, situated on the eastern bank of the river Tuṅgabhadra, in the beautiful Velanāḍu district of the Triliṅga-eśhaya to Viśvōśvara-bhaṭṭa who was the great-grandson of Mādhava, grandson of Guṇḍaya and son of the great poet Mādhava-bhaṭṭa of the Yajuh-śākhā and the Bhāradvāja-gōtra. The enclosing boundary line of the village is specified in great detail in Telugu prose¹ after which comes the usual imprecatory verse *sva-dattā[d*]-dāgnanam paṇyān*, etc. The last verse tells us that the inscription was composed by Śrinātha. The signature at the end consists of the phrase *śrī-Vīraṇārāyaṇasya*, i.e. of the glorious Vīraṇārāyaṇa.

The second part of the inscription, which is engraved on both sides of the fourth and fifth plates, states that Viśvōśvara-bhaṭṭa, here stated to be a student of the Yajuh-śākhā, of (the three *pratares*) Āḅgīrasa, Bārhaspatya and Bhāradvāja, to have been the son of Mādhavāchārya, 'who was capable (equally) of cursing or conferring boons,'² and to have been born as a gift of the glorious (God) Nṛsiṃha, divided the village Ālapāṭi-Vēmavara (i.e. Ālapāḍu renamed Vēmavara after the donor) given to him by king Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma, into 60 shares out of which he reserved apparently 15 shares for himself and distributed the remaining 45 shares as shown in the list appended at the end of this article.

Ālapāḍu is identical with the village of that name in the Tenāli tāluka of the Guntur District. Tuṅgabhadra was a branch of the Krishnā river and branched off from the main river near Bezvada. It has ceased to exist as a river after the construction of the Krishnā anicut and its course is marked by the main and the Kommamār canals of the Guntur tāluka and the drain which is in continuation of the latter.

The Honourable Swamikannu Pillai has kindly furnished the following note about the date of the inscription:—"Śaka 1334, Nandana, Śivarātri, i.e. Māgha *baḥula* 13 or 14. I understand that Śivarātri is celebrated at midnight when the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa is current, whether the *tithi* be the 13th or the 14th. Now the *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa was current at midnight between Monday, 30th, and Tuesday, 31st January, 1413 A.D. which was Nandana, Śaka 1334. The 14th *tithi* ended at 15½ *ghaṭikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413. The *nakṣatra* Śravaṇa ended at 12½ *ghaṭikās* on Tuesday, 31st January 1413."³

¹ The description as usual includes the mention of a number of anthills distinguished by different trees that grow over or near them and of the villages, Pedapāḍi-Maḍḍūru (north-east), Tāḍiparati (south-west), Jatalam-maḍḍūru and Chundūru.

² The same is stated of Mādhavabhaṭṭa in the first part of the inscription (v. 15). It is also recorded here that Mādhavabhaṭṭa had thoroughly accomplished (the repetition of) the *mantra* (invoking the blessing) of Lakṣmī-Nṛsiṃha.

³ [It will be seen from l. 22 that there was an eclipse of the sun in connexion with the Śivarātri. Mr. Sewell has kindly informed me that the Śivarātri ended at noon sunrise on Wednesday, February 1st. There was an important eclipse of the sun on that morning (Wednesday), conjunction taking place at 3 h. 58 m. after mean sunrise.—S. K.]

Other Brāhmay donees and their shares.

| Serial number. | Names of Donées. | Gōtra. | Śākhā. | Shares. |
|----------------|---|----------------------|-----------------|---------|
| 1 | K[ā]ṇḍīrī Śīṅgāya-Śiṣṭa | Harita | Yajus | 2 |
| 2 | Lakṣmī-Narasimhabhaṭṭa, son of Māhāvārya | Bhāradvāja | Do. | 2 |
| 3 | His younger brother, Ananta-Narasimhabhaṭṭa | Do. | Do. | 2 |
| 4 | Addaṅki Mallabhaṭṭa | Śrīvatas | Do. | 2 |
| 5 | Yellāya-Śiṣṭa of Velanāṇḍu | Harita | Do. | 2 |
| 6 | Kaṭṭaṅḡīri Gaṅḡāllarabhaṭṭa | Kāśyapa | Do. | 2 |
| 7 | Pegami Pelli-Śiṣṭa | Harita | Do. | 1½ |
| 8 | Jaṇṇani Anama-Śiṣṭa | Śāṇḍilya | Rig | 1 |
| 9 | Rudraya-bhaṭṭa | Kauṣika | Yajus | 1 |
| 10 | Kāṇḍya-Śiṣṭa | Harita | Do. | 1 |
| 11 | Kāṇḍi Tīppaya-Śiṣṭa | Śāṇḍilya | Do. | 1 |
| 12 | Āṭukūri Pellī-Śiṣṭa | Kauṣika | Rig | 1 |
| 13 | His son, Kūṣaya-Śiṣṭa | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 14 | His younger brother, Pinnāya-Śiṣṭa | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 15 | Eṇaya-Śiṣṭa | Do. | Yajus | 1 |
| 16 | Śīṅgaya-Śiṣṭa, son of Pāḍmanābha | Kāśyapa | Do. | 1 |
| 17 | Goḍiyamma Kṛiṣṇaya-Śiṣṭa | Śrīvatas | Do. | 2 |
| 18 | Kāmaya-Śiṣṭa, son of Pōṭaya | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 19 | Kṛiṣṇaya-Śiṣṭa, son of Pōṭaya | Śāṇḍilya . . . . . | ..... | 1 |
| 20 | Chūṭṭabhaṭṭa, son of Annaya | Śāṇḍilya | Yajus | 1 |
| 21 | Śīṅgaya-Śiṣṭa, son of Narahari | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 22 | Mutta[na]-Śiṣṭa, son of Mānaya | Bhāradvāja | Do. | 1 |
| 23 | Kōśava-Śiṣṭa, son of Narahari | Audhula | Rig | 1 |
| 24 | His younger brother, Dēvarī-bhaṭṭa | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 25 | Sūraya-Śiṣṭa, son of Audhula | Kauṇḍīnya | Do. | 1 |
| 26 | Maru-bhaṭṭa, son of Tallaya | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 27 | Vallabha-Śiṣṭa, son of Kōśava | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 28 | Lakṣmāya-bhaṭṭa, son of Vīṭyāśvara-bhaṭṭa | Harita | Yajus | 1 |
| 29 | His younger brother, Nāḡaya-bhaṭṭa | Do. | Do. | 1 |
| 30 | Kaṭṭaṅḡīri Śīṅḡaṇārya | Bhāradvāja | Do. | 1 |
| 31 | Gundaya-bhaṭṭa | Kāśyapa | Do. | 1 |
| 32 | Pelli-bhaṭṭa, son of Pōṭaya | Kauṇḍīnya | Do. | 1 |

| Serial number. | Names of Donors. | Gōtra. | Śākā. | Shares. |
|----------------|---|----------------|-------------|--------------|
| 33 | Rudra-bhaṭṭa—on behalf of his wife Akkaṃbikā, daughter of the donor Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa. ¹ | Kāśyapa . . . | Yajur . . . | 4 |
| 34, 35 | The village gods, Hari and Hara . . . | ..... | ..... | 2 (one each) |
| 36 | Tippaya-Śiśhta, son of Śrīdhara ² . . . | Śāpṛṣṭya . . . | Do. . . | 1 |
| | TOTAL . . . | ..... | ..... | 45 |

C.

This inscription consists of a Telugu verse in the Sīsa metre followed by another in the Tēṭa-gīta metre and is engraved on the western side of a hillock called *pullaribōḍu* north-east of Aminabād near Phiraṅgipuram. Like the last two inscriptions, this was also composed by the poet Śrīnātha. It records that, on the full moon day of the month of Māgha in the year Manmatha corresponding to the Śaka year 1337 (expressed in words), king Vēmaya-Rāchavēmana³ (i.e. Rāchavēmana, son of Vēmaya, i.e. Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma) had a channel called Jaganobbagaṇḍa-kāluva⁴ dug as a feeder to the tank Santana-vārdhi which his mother Sūrāmbā had excavated. This tank is, no doubt, the same as that referred to in the Phiraṅgipuram inscription A. As pointed out in my paper on the Madras Museum plates of Vēma,⁵ this inscription shows that Rāchavēmana was Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma's son and not his brother.

The Honourable Swamikannu Pillai informs me that the *gūṛṅṁḍa-tūhi* referred to in the inscription ended at 43 *ghaṭikās* after sunrise on Tuesday, 14th January, A.D. 1416.

Inscription A.

TEXT.⁶

West Face.

- 1 कल्याण जगतां तनोतु
- 2 स विभुः कादंबिनोमेचकः क्रोडा-
- 3 [क्रो]डतनुः पयोधिपयसो विश्व-⁷

¹ It is stated that the share is given to provide Akkaṃbikā with *haridrō* (i.e. turmeric powder used as a toilet only by women with living husbands).

² The list of donors ends with the signature (*erāṭa*) of the donor Viśvēśvara-bhaṭṭa.

³ The inscription gives him the following attributes:—“the gem of plenty (*abhiśāmanī*) in (bestowing) gifts (mentioned by) Hēmadri, (the very god) Śaṃkara (Śiva) (riding) on the bulls (*baṃsa*), viz., the enemy kings, Phalguna (Arjuna) on the battle-field and the paramour of prostitutes, i.e. the proud hostile chiefs.” The third attribute was a surname of his father Pedda-Kōmaṭi-Vēma.

⁴ The channel was evidently so named after Jaganobbagaṇḍa, a title of frequent occurrence among the Redḍi kings.

⁵ Above, Vol. III, p. 12 f.

⁶ From ink-impressions supplied by Mr. Krishna Sastri.

⁷ The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 4 भरासुहृन् । भारापेतफणा-
- 5 विवर्तनवशान्मोदाय यस्या-
- 6 भवन्निर्यत्ना भुजगेंद्रमौक्मणि-
- 7 भिर्निराजनप्रक्रिया । [1*] तमो हरे-
- 8 तां तव पुष्पवती राकासु
- 9 पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथांगली-
- 10 लामिव दर्शयंतौ पुरा पुरा-
- 11 रेः पृथिवीरयस्य । [2*] मानुषाकारकिम्बो-
- 12 रस्तंवेरमवपुर्महः । उच्चिद्रय-
- 13 तु भद्राणि रुद्राणी येन सुप्रजा[.] [1*] [3*]
- 14 यन्मौक्ती निहितं चिराय निगमैर्ध्व-
- 15 यं च यद्योगिभिर्यत्नस्त्रीसुदुपा-
- 16 णिपद्मयुगळीसंवाहनैर्लालितं [1*]
- 17 जाता यच्च वियन्नदी त्रिजगतीमंता-
- 18 पन्निवापणी¹ तस्मात्कंसभिदः पदादु-
- 19 दभवहर्णी गुणार्णोनिधिः । [4*] तत्रा-
- 20 भवत्सप्तमचक्रवर्तो वेमचितीशो जग-
- 21 रक्षपालः । एकादशेति प्रतिभाति शंका
- 22 येनावताराः परमस्य पुंसः । [5*] रा-
- 23 ज्यं वेमः स चिरमकरोत्पाज्यदानैक-
- 24 तानो भूमीदेवैर्भुवसुरुभुजो
- 25 भुक्तशेषामभुङ्क्ते² । श्रीशैलाद्यात्म-
- 26 वति पथि प्राप्तपाताळगंगे सीपानानि
- 27 प्रमथपदवीमाकरुत्तुयकार । [6*]
- 28 माचक्षोणिपतिर्महेंद्रमहिमा
- 29 वेमचितीशायजो रामाद्यैः³ सदृशो
- 30 बभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य त्रयो नंद-
- 31 नाः । 'कित्वा जायति रेड्ढिवीतनृपति[.]*' श्री-
- 32 कोमटीद्रस्ततो नागक्ष्मापतिरित्युपा-
- 33 तवपुषो 'धर्माध्वकामा इव । [7*] असूत

¹ Read 'निर्वा'.² The *Springer* has देवादे.³ Read 'मपुङ्गु'.⁴ Read 'वीर्य'.⁵ Read 'पद्म'.⁶ Read 'धर्माध्व'.



- 34 पुत्रं पेदकोमटीदो विद्याणने कर्णम-
 35 सूतपुत्रं । वेमाभिधानं सुगु-
 36 णैकधानं^१ पाधोनिधिर्नाधमिवौ[ष]-
 37 धीनां । [8*] 'धाटिदुदुभिभांजति'^२
 38 कलयतो निर्घातरावं रिपू-
 39 न् नामानि द्रुतमर्जुनस्य जपतो
 40 यस्याजिगांडीविनः । संशामोपप-
 41 दानि तानि भवतां रचाकृते सर्वदा वर्ष-^३
 42 तामिति बोधयंत्वधिपतोन् धीयं-^३
 43 चिणो मंचिणः । [9*] शीशैले स्थिरमूल-
 44 तामुपगता वृद्धि^४ कुमारचले पं-^३
 45 चारामतले प्रतानसुषमा सिंहा-

South Face.

- 46 चलेंद्रे ततः । शीकूर्मे पुरुषोत्त-
 47 मे कुसुमिता 'यध्वर्मकीर्तीर्लता
 48 काश्यां विश्वपतेः पुरः फलवतो नित्यो-
 49 पहारोचितं । [10*] अभिमन्युकरपाद्या-
 50 सुत्तरां खड्गपुत्रिकां । नर्तय-
 51 त्वाह्वे रंगे यः संशामधन-
 52 जयः । [11*] अत्रांतं गृहराजसीध-
 53 निवसन्नस्त्रीकराभ्यंतरक्रीडांभो-
 54 रुहताकडंतनटनप्रस्तावविस्ता-
 55 रितः । वायुः केसरवासनासुर-
 56 'वितो यस्याध्विचिंतामणेर्द्रा-
 57 गाचामति दानकेलिजनितं खेदां-
 58 भसां जालकं । [12*] सप्तसंतानव-
 59 त्यासीद्येन सर्वसहेत्यलं । स्वर्धये-
 60 व धृताः कोर्त्या गर्भे लोकास्तुर्दय । [13*]

^१ Read 'तानं पाधोनिधिर्नाध'.

^२ Read धाटी°.

^३ The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^४ Read वृद्धि.

^५ Read यध्वर्मकीर्तीर्लता.

^६ Read 'वितो यस्याधि'.

^७ The *anuvāsa* stands at the beginning of the next line.

- 61 राजस्तस्य महादेवो राजमौकेरि-
 62 चाविका । रत्नसिंहासनस्थार्धे राज-
 63 ते सूरमाविका । [14*] ॐ शकाब्दे शशि-
 64 रामरामधरणीसंख्ये विरोध्याह-
 65 ये वर्षे फाल्गुनमासि मासि वृह(ह)के
 66 पक्षे द्वितीयातिथौ । देवी सा पेदकीम-
 67 टीश्वरमुव[*] श्रीवेमवृष्णीपते[:*] श्रीसं-
 68 तानपथोनिधेः कृतवती सम्यक् प्रति-
 69 ष्ठाविधिं । [15*] लीलालीढतरंगशीकरकणं
 70 राकाविधौ रंजुणा हरेर्वेण
 71 मद्दोषशान्तिविधये हिलावगा-
 72 टं मुहुः । राजीवासनरथ्यहं^१
 73 सपरिपञ्चपुटीचर्चितस्त्रुङ्गां^२
 74 भोजवृणाकिंकाविसलयकुंदं^३ य-
 75 द्योयं पयः । [16*] घोंटाकंठकठोरग-
 76 र्भकुङ्कोपाकीमधूकीरससीतःसौ^४
 77 रमटीकमानमधुलिङ्गकारको-
 78 लाहलैः । वाचालानि वनानि यथ
 79 सविधे सोयं सुधानिर्मलश्रीसंत[१]-
 80 नसमुद्र एष पयसां राशिर्जय-
 81 त्यष्टमः । [17*] वैडूर्यरत्नशकलामल-
 82 वारिपूरे मङ्गु^५ किमत्र भगवान्मध^६
 83 केटभारिः । अंगोचकार जगतामवन-
 84 कुलेन^७ पाठीनकलूपवराहमहा^८
 85 वतारान् । [18*] ॐ श्रीमहाभारते ॥
 86 देवा मनुष्याः पितरी गंधर्वी-
 87 रगराक्षसाः । स्वावराणि च भूता-
 88 नि संययन्ति जलाशयं । [19*] तटाके य-

^१ Read °तिथौ.

^२ Do. Read °स्रुङ्गां.

^३ Read °तसी.

^४ Read °कुलेन.

^५ The *concealed* stands at the beginning of the next line.

^६ Read °वेड.

^७ Read °म.

^८ Read °कलूप.

^९ Read °सप्तकेटभारिः.

- 89 स गावस्तु पिबन्ति दधिता जलं । [स]-
 90 गपचिमनुद्याद्य सोममेधफलं
 91 लमेत् । [20*] चास्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रवृत्त्य-
 92 ति पितामहाः । अपि नः स कुले जातो
 93 यस्तटाकं करिष्यति । [21*] विद्याधिकारी यो-
 94 नाथो वीरय्यैवेमभूपतेः । [च]करोदा-
 95 करो वाचां निमज्जं धर्मशासनं । [22*] यो [॥*]

East Face.

- 96 ॐ Śak-ābdamula sahesramu-
 97 nu munnūṁṣa-muppadiy-o-
 98 kkaṁḍunūṁ-aina bhavya-saṁkhyā- | varala
 99 Virōdhi-saṁvatsarambuna Phālgū-
 100 nambuna baba(hu)ḷa-pakshambu vidiya [1*]
 101 Śukravārambuna śubha-muhū-
 102 [r]tambuna śrī-Dhānyavāṇi-pur-ādhipa-
 103 tiya-ḷaṁ Grishṇaveṇṇa-²jala-kriḍā-vinō-
 104 dumḍḍun-aga Ganna-bhūpālun-ann-
 105 ṁḡun-batri | Viranārāyaṇuṁ-
 106 ḍu-Vēma-vibhuni dēvi | bhūri-saḍḡuṇa-
 107 nikuramba Sūramāmba | jaganna
 108 vinutiṁpa Saṁtāna-sāgar-ākhyā-[1*] vara-
 109 tatāka-pratishṭh-otsavam=onarche³ || [23*] Jāhna-
 110 vi-Yamun-ādi-sakala-pāvana-nādi-
 111 vimala-⁴tīrdhṭh-āmbhaḥ-pavitritāmba | sa-
 112 vidha-dēśa-sthāyī-Śiva-maṇḷi-bāl-āṁḍu-
 113 kaumudi-saṁpulla-⁵kairavamba | ba-
 114 hu-maha-⁶parivāha-pāthobhara-dhvā-
 115 na-ghuṁaghuṁāyita-diśā-gō-
 116 ḷakāmba | jala-sāraṇi-saka-saṁvardhi-
 117 t-ānēka-vaṇa-vinīt-ādhvag-ādhyā-śramāmba [1*]
 118 balavad-uru-matsya-kachchehapa-⁷ḍhuḷi-kuḷira-[1*]
 119 timi-timīṁḡiḷa-vikrama-krama-vihāra-[1*]
 120 tarajātara-tuṁga-bhaṁga-kadamba-chuṁ[bi]-[1*]
 121 t-ābhra-vidhi(thi) Saṁtāna-mahā-payōdhi⁸ || [24*]
 122 Kapāṭa-sāḱkaram-aina Kaiṭabh-āsara-vairi-
 123 khura-putāmbulaṁ barikshuṇṇam=⁹a-
 124 yye | Raghu-kul-ōdvaha-dhaṇur-jam-

¹ The *annavāra* stands at the beginning of the next line.² Read *onarche*.⁴ Read *tīrdh*.³ Read *Krishṇaveṇṇa*.⁵ Read *saṁphulla*.⁶ Read *mahā*. There is an indistinct syllable written above the line between the letters *ma* and *ha*; it looks like *ḍa*, *ḍa* or *la*.⁷ Read *kachchehapa-ḍhuḷi*.⁸ Read *payōdhi*.⁹ Read *śekhṇam*.

- 125 tra-muktamul-sina chichchurammula¹ vā-
 126 mḍim jēva dagage-²m Guṁbha-sambhava-
 127 ni hast-āmbhō-ruhambunan-āpō-
 128 saramb-ayi hrāsam-omde-³m bāshā-
 129 namulan-achchhabhalla-⁴gōlāmgūla-ka
 130 pi-yūdhamulachātāṁ gaṭṭuvādiye |
 131 vanadhi yō bhamgi sari-rachchun-anaṁgavachchu-[*]
 132 n-ā-rasātala-gaṁbhira-vāriy-agachu-[*]n-apa-
 133 gat-āpāyam-agachu śabb-ādhyav-⁵agu-
 134 chu-[*]n-anupamamb-sina Saṁtāna-vanadhiōḍa [*] [25*]

Inscription B.

TEXT.

First Plate; First Side.

- 1 कल्याणं जगतां तनोतु स विभुः कादंबिनीमेवकः क्रीडाको-
 2 डतनुः पयोधिपयसो विश्वंभरामुदहन् । भारापेतफ-
 3 णाविवर्तनवशास्त्रोदाय यस्याभवजिर्यंवा भुजगेद्रमौळिम-
 4 णिभिर्नीराजनप्रक्रिया । [1*] लीलाद्युतजितां कक्षाधरकक्षां मौ-
 5 ङी दृढं कीलितामाहर्तु युगमुबमय्य भुजयो-
 6 विज्ञेययंत्या मिथः । पार्वत्याः कुचकुंभपार्थ-
 7 युगळे सप्रेमलोलिचणः कालक्षेपणमिंदुमोचन-
 8 विधौ कांचन् शिवः पातु वः । [2*] भवतु भवतां फलाख्ये कल्पलता
 9 कापि करटिरात्मसुखी । मधुरसुधारसधारा मधुलव-
 10 ललितेंदुमंजरीमंजुः । [3*] तमो हरेतां तव पुण्यवं-
 11 तौ राकामु पूर्वापरशैलभाजौ । रथांगलीलामिव दर्श-

First Plate; Second Side.

- 12 वंतौ पुरा पुरारेः पृथिवीरवस्व⁴ । [4*] यन्मौळी निहितं चिराय
 निगमे-
 13 र्ध्वयं च यद्योगिभिर्यज्ञस्त्रोमुदुपाणिपद्मयुगलोसंवाहनेन⁵
 14 लितं । जाता यच्च वियन्नदी विजगतीसंतापनिर्वापणी तस्मात् कंस-
 15 भिदः पदादुदभवदण⁶ गुणाणांनिधिः । [5*] तस्मादभूत् प्रीत्ययने-

¹ Mr. Brown gives the form *chichchurammula* in the sense of 'rocket.' The word is a compound of *chichcha* and *ammula* and means a fiery arrow.

² Read *-achchhabhalla*.

³ Read पृथिवीरवस्व.

⁴ Read "मौली".

⁵ Read *-idāyama*.

⁶ Read "दण".

- 16 मनामा श्रीशैलसोपानविदानशाली¹ । हेमाद्रिकल्पोदितदानदत्तो
 17 निस्सीमभूदाननिरुद्धकीर्तिः । [6*] वैमर्चितोऽथो वृषमेकपादं खं-
 18 जप्रचारं कलिकालदोषात् । दत्तायहारदिजवेदशक्त्या पथि क्र-
 19 मैरस्वलितं चकार । [7*] माचक्षोणिपतिर्महेंद्रमहिमा वे-
 20 मर्चितोऽथायजो रामायैः सदृशो बभूव सुगुणैस्तस्य च[यो]
 21 नन्दनाः । कीर्त्या जायति रेड्डीवोतनृपतिः[*] श्रीकोमटीन्द्रस्ततो
 22 नाम्नापतिरित्युपात्तवपुषो धर्मार्थकामा² इव । [8*] वे-
 23 माधिपो माचविभुश्च नन्दनो श्रीकोमटीन्द्रश्च³ गुणै-

Second Plate ; First Side.

- 24 कसंययौ । भूलोकमेकोदरजन्मवाङ्मया भूयोवतीर्णाविव
 25 रामलक्ष्मणौ । [9*] 'चूडामणिर्नृपाणं दुर्मदपरिपंदिशिस्वरिदंभो-
 26 क्रिः । सर्वज्ञचक्रवर्ती पदकोमटिवेमभूपतिर्जयति । [10*] सोयं वेम-
 27 [म*]हीपालो भूपालपरमेश्वरः । भूदानवोरसूर्ध्व्यो [जी]रो-
 28 दात्तगुणोत्तरः⁴ । [11*] श्रीशाकान्दे पयोराशिरामरामेंद्र-
 29 सन्निते । नन्दने मासि माघाख्ये शिवरात्र्यां रविग्रहे⁵ । [12*]
 30 पितुः पितामहो यस्य मह[नो]ययशोनि[धि]ः । मा-
 31 धवो नाम मेधावी विद्वविद्याविहारभू[ः] । [13*] पितामहो महा-
 32 विद्वान् यस्य श्रीगुंडयाभिधः । वेदादीनां विप्रदानां वि-
 33 द्यानां जन्ममंदिरं । [14*] शापानुग्रहदत्तो लक्ष्मोनरसिंहमं-
 34 चसंसिद्धः [ः] सकलकविसार्वभौमो माधवभट्टः पिता यस्य[ः] [15*]

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 35 श्रीविश्वेश्वरविदुषे भारद्वाजान्वयावतंसाय । अयविरहि-
 36 ताय तस्मै विद्याविनयान्विताय पुण्याय । [16*] प्रदात्रिलिंग-⁶
 37 विषये वेलनांडो मनोरमे । तुंगभद्रातरंगिण्याः प्रा-
 38 क्षीरे पर्यवस्थितं । [17*] चालणादुरिति ख्यातं ग्राममाचंद्रता-
 39 रकं । सादृश्यं द्वाष्टभोगं धारापूर्वं धराधिपः [ः] [18*]
 40 यस्य ग्रामस्य सोमाचिद्भानि देशभाषया लिख्यंते [ः]⁷

¹ Read 'विधान'.

² Read 'धर्मार्थ'.

³ Read 'श्रीकोमटीन्द्रश्च'.

⁴ This verse is found also in the *Śrīnagaradīpikā*. Read 'नृपाणां'.

⁵ Read 'दुर्मदपरिपंदि'.

⁶ Read 'गुणीतर'.

⁷ The letters here are somewhat illegible though the reading is almost certain.

⁸ Read 'प्रादात्रि'.

The rest of this side as well as the whole of plate 3 which are taken up with a description of the boundary line of Ālapāḍu in Telugu prose have not been transcribed. Plates 4 and 5 which contain the names of donors, who received the grant from Viśveśvara-bhaṭṭa, are also left out.

Inscription C.

TEXT.

- 1 Śak-āb[d]amula sahasrambunu mun[n]āṣ[ta-muppadi[y-ēdunu]
 2 'yopp[n] migula | muhaniyam-aina Manmatha-vatsarambuna Ma[kh]a-¹ mīsa-
 3 munaṣ bīrṇimā-dinamuna | Hōmādri-dāna-chintāmaṣiy-a-
 4 rināya-basuva-²Śamkar[un]d-āji-Phalgunumḍḍu | sē-mad-āri-rāya-vē-
 5 śyā-bhujamgumḍḍu Vēmaya-Rāchavēmāna-kahmāvarumḍḍu | dalli-
 6 Sūrāmbachē samatpahnani-agochuṣ [i] haraga Samtāna-vā-
 7 rdhiki varava gāṣga- | {n-o}laya giri-vāhinula Jaganobbagamḍa-[j*]kē-
 8 luva ghatbnechen-ā-tarakamba gāṣga ||

|| Śrinātha-kṛti ||

No. 34.—MAREDAPELLI GRANT OF ŚRI-RANGARAYA II; SAKA 1497

By V. NATESA AITAR, B.A.

The subjoined grant is published from two sets of Sir Walter Elliot's ink-impressions which the late Government Epigraphist for India was kind enough to place at my disposal. It is dated in Śaka-Saṁvat 1497, the cyclic year probably being Yuva, and belongs to the reign of Śri-Raṅgarāya II, of the third Vijayanagara dynasty. Mr. Sewell is of opinion that this date¹ marks the commencement of Śri-Raṅgarāya's rule.

Although a number of inscriptions belonging to this dynasty has already appeared in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary* and the *Epigraphia Indica*, yet not a single Sanskrit inscription of this particular king has been published *in extenso*.² And what is more, even the chroniclers of these times do not seem to have thought it either necessary or proper to make more than a passing mention of the successors of the renowned Rāmarāya on the Vijayanagar throne. This, perhaps, is partly accounted for by the fact that the battle of Tājikōṭa of A.D. 1565, in which king Rāmarāya fell soundly, as it were, the death-knell of the dynasty and crippled its power and resources once and for ever. Nevertheless, it can hardly be doubted that such information as can be gleaned from the grants and other documents of the rulers of this

¹ Read *śāṣṇa-oppa*.

² Read *Mogha*.

³ Read *basara*.

⁴ Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, p. 218.

⁵ A fragmentary translation of an inscription of this king from Dēvanahalli in Mysore is published in Mr. Rice's *Mysore Inscriptions*. See No. 190, p. 252 ff.

dynasty who lived during the days of its decline, will be useful in so far at least as they will enable us to determine with tolerable certainty the extent of their dominions and the seats of their government, if not also their relations with their quondam viceroys in distant provinces.

Turning to the grant itself, it may be observed that the tops of the first, second, fourth, and sixth pages of the impressions are marked by the Telugu numerals 1, 2, 3 and 4. There also appear faint traces of the numeral 5 at the top of the eighth page. This seems to indicate that the grant was originally incised on five plates of which the first and the last were engraved only on the inner, and the intervening three on both sides. Judging from the impressions, the plates can be said to have been in good preservation. They measure $9\frac{3}{4}'' \times 7\frac{1}{4}''$ and seem to have had raised rims and a ring passing through the centre of their top.

The alphabet is Nandināgarī. The following are some of the orthographical peculiarities and errors :—

- (1) the doubling of *y*, *t*, and *d* after *r* in *-turyyo* (ll. 9 and 13); *-turyyēṇa* (l. 25); *-mūrtiṭṭ* (l. 46); *-kīrtti-* (l. 61); *bharttuṣ* (l. 87); and *-śārddūlamarddanaḥ* (l. 117);
- (2) the doubling of *n* when followed by *r* in *nivasannrājati* (l. 81);
- (3) the dropping of the *visarga* before sibilants in *-saptamaśrīpati-* (l. 11) and *śaḥkāmīnśvatanu-* (l. 18);
- (4) the use of the *anuvāra* instead of class nasals in *narāṇdraḥ* (l. 11); *Tātapīṇama-* (l. 13); *haraṇ* (l. 14); *nīraṇjanāni* (l. 34); *-bhāvaṇchitaḥ* (l. 65); and *-maṇḍalika-* (ll. 102 and 105);
- (5) the use of *u* instead of *ā* in *dinnāgān* (l. 55);
- (6) the use of *l* instead of *l* due, perhaps, to vernacular influences in *lāḥilāṣ* (l. 5); *-śaḥkāmīnśvatanu-* (l. 18); *śaḥkāmīnśvatanu-* (l. 18); *śaḥkāmīnśvatanu-* (l. 18); and lastly,
- (7) the use of the symbol for *dh* to denote *ṭh* (ll. 57 and 58). The words *chanṭṭi* (l. 90), *sāmula* (l. 94), *dhatṭa* (l. 107) and *dīṭṭapattā*, which occur in the Viṭṭapāka grant¹, are also found here.

The inscription opens with obeisances to the god Gaṇādhipati and consists of eighty-three Sanskrit verses. It closes with the word *Śrī-Viṭṭapāka* in old Kanarese characters. The first three verses invoke respectively the gods Śiva, Viṣṇu and Gaṇēśa in the manner of the British Museum Plates of Sadāśivarāya.² The following eighteen verses carry the genealogy of the dynasty, partly mythical and partly historical, down to Tirumalarāya's reign and have their exact parallel in verses 3-20 of the Koṇḍyāta grant of Veṅkaṭa II.³ Verses 22-29 describe king Tirumalarāya but record no historical facts.⁴ With verse 30 begins the description of the donor Śrī-Rangarāya II, son of king Tirumala and Veṅgaḷāmbā. In verse 42 he is said to have belonged to the Ātrēya-gotra.

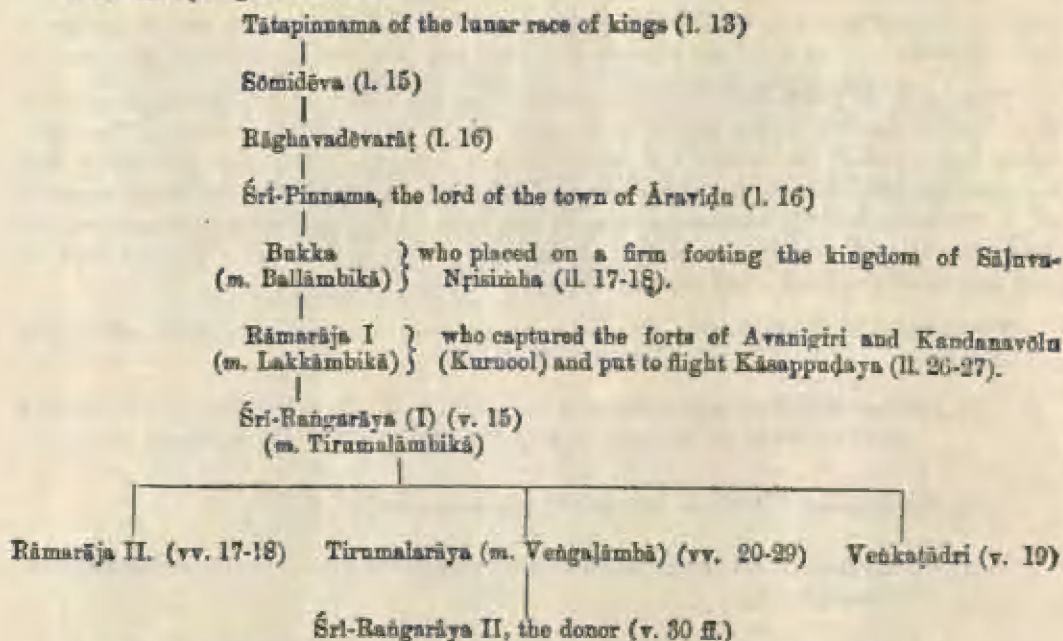
¹ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 270.

² *Ibid.* p. 12.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XIII, p. 129.

⁴ Identical with these are the verses 24-27, 29, 30 and 32 of the Tumkur Plates of Tirumalarāya (see *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, pp. 2-3).

His ancestry is given as follows:—



Most of these details are found in the Kūṇiyūr plates of Veṅkaṭa II.¹ Śrī-Raṅgarāja II is reported to have captured several fortresses including the inaccessible Koṇḍavidu and Vinikoṇḍapura from his camp at Uddagiri (Udayagiri in Nellore) and to have been residing at Pennkoṇḍa (v. 31).² He married two wives, viz., Tirumaladēvi and Kṛṣṇāmbā (v. 32). He reduced the Chaurāśidurga (i.e. eighty-four hill forts, perhaps, in Mahārāshtra). He bore in his heart Śārṅgadhara (i.e., the god Viṣṇu) (v. 35). Some of his *birudas* were *Manniyān Sāmula* (v. 36), *Gaṇḍaragūḷi* and *Manyapuli* (v. 38). He was highly extolled as the vanquisher of Avahajurāya and the king of Utkala (vv. 37-8). He was the lord of Āraṇḍa and adopted the surnames *Vēṅgyatribhuvanimalla* (l. 102), *Uṇḍilasaratrāṇa* (i.e. Sultān of Oraṅgal) (l. 103), *Raṇamukharāmabhadra* (l. 104), *Kalyāṇapurādhipa* and *Chalikkachakravartin* (ll. 108-9). As suggested by Dr. Hultzsch the first and the fourth of these *birudas* were perhaps reminiscences of the Western and Eastern Chalukyas.³ He calls himself the suzerain of the Rāṭṭas and Magadhas (l. 107) *Konarāni-kōṭala-kōṇga*, and *Oḍḍiyarāya-diśāpaṭṭa* (v. 45). With verse 53 commences the grant proper.

The date is expressed as the twelfth tithi (*prathamadeṇḍasittithau*) of the bright fortnight of the month of Āshāḍha in the Śaka year reckoned by the horses (7), the treasures (9), the Vēdas (4), and the moon (1) (i.e. 1497), the cyclic year being Yuva. This date falls in A.D. 1574 expired.⁴

The grant was made before the god Rāmachandra.⁵ The donee was Aubhajaśhatta who belonged to the Kāśyapa-gotra and was a follower of the Kātyāyana-sūtra and the

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. III, pp. 238-9.

² This is already known to us from two inscriptions published by Mr. Rice (*Ep. Car.* Vol. VII, Sh. 83, and Vol. XII, Ck. 39); see *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 94.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 270.

⁴ Sewell's *Indian Calendar*, p. LXXX.

⁵ Perhaps, the Rāmasvāmīn temple at Pennkoṇḍa is referred to here. It may be noted in this connection that although the capital of this dynasty had been removed to Pennkoṇḍa by king Tirumala, the father of the present donor, the name of the guardian deity occurring at the end of the grant is given as Śrī-Virūpākṣa.

Śaklayajñh-śākhā. He was the son of Varadabhaṭṭa and grandson of Balēndubhaṭṭa (vv. 55-7).

The village granted was Mārēdapalli *alias* Kṛishṇāpuram belonging to the Rāyadurga-rājya giri round by Hastināvati (i.e. the modern Hampi in the Bellary District), to the Pennavēntha (?-nādu) and to the Bhūdigumma-sima¹ (vv. 58-9). It was to the east of the river Penna (? Northern Pennār) and south of the hill bounding the village of Ohōlasamudra and near the *chemaḍa*-bush lying east of Nilādri (lit. blue hill) situated on the outskirts of the village of Korakodru and close to the river Penna. It was to the west of the blue elevated ground bordering on the *tiḍḍamāṭṭigāni-khātra* and lying to the west of Kummariḷlapalli, which again was the western boundary of the village of Palukūr, west of the tamarind tree adjoining the sandy tract bounding the village of Velēṣṭi. It was to the north of the stone pillar set up near the *śami* tree growing on the outskirts of Timmapura. Of these places, Kṛishṇāpuram may have taken its name from Virakṛishṇama of the Kāśyapa-gotra, at whose instance the grant was made. He was the son of Varabaiyyappa and lord of Maṇināgapura and is said to have borne the biruda *Sitakaragaṇḍāṅka* (vv. 70-3) and to have been the terror of Dhavalāṅka(na).²

The titles *Sindhu-Govinda*, *Sitakaragaṇḍa*, *Davaṣaṅka-Bhīma* and *Maṇināgapuravarā-dhīdeva* are applied to Tirumalarāja of Udayagiri in an inscription of Śaka-Saṁvat 1457, the cyclic year Manmatha, corresponding to A.D. 1535-36.³ In a copper-plate record of Śaka-Saṁvat 1484, the cyclic year Budhirōdgārin, corresponding to A.D. 1563-64⁴ the same epithets are given to Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka, son of Baiyappa-Nāyaka, of Balam (Belūr). Of Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka (also called Eṣa-Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka) Mr. Rice remarks, that he "is represented in most of the inscriptions as the head of the family, who was enfeoffed by Kṛishṇarāja of Vijayanagara. He was the *haḍapada*, or bearer of the king's betel-bag".⁵ According to Mr. Rice, Venkaṭādri-Nāyaka, son of Kṛishṇapa-Nāyaka, was the head of the Balam family in Śaka-Saṁvat 1498, the cyclic year Dhātṛi, corresponding to A.D. 1576-76. About Maṇināgapura Mr. Rice adds, "I have been unable to identify Maṇināgapura. It appears to be a place in the Central Provinces."

The composer of the inscription was the son of Sabhāpati and the engraver Gaṇapayya-chaṛya, the son of Virapa. These two persons also figure in the same capacities in the Tumkūr Plates of Tirumalarāja.⁷

The grant concludes with the usual imprecatory verses and *Śrī-Virūpākṣa* in old Kanarese characters at the end.

TEXT.

First Plate.

- 1 श्रीगणाधिपतये नमः । ⁸स्तुंगशिरधुंविचंद्रचाम-
- 2 रचावे⁹ । चैलोकनगरारंभमूलस्तंभाय शंभवे ।(॥) [१*] ¹⁰हरलीलाव-
- 3 राहस्य दंष्ट्रादंडस पातु वः ।[हे]माद्रिकलशा यव धात्री च्चक्षु-
- 4 यं दधौ ।(॥) [२*] ¹⁰कल्याणायस्तु तद्वाम प्रत्यूर्ध्वतिमिरापहं । यद्भजो-
- 5 प्यग्नोद्भूतं पंचास्येनापि लाकृति¹¹ ।(॥) [३*] ¹⁰जयति चीरजलधेर्जात(तं)

¹ Bhūdigumma is the name of a village in the Rāyadurg tāluka of the Bellary District. It is 29 miles east of Rāyadurg.

² The correct form of this biruda is *Davaṣaṅka-Bhīma* as will be seen in the next paragraph.

³ *Ep. Car.*, Vol. III, Sr. 95.

⁴ *ibidem*, Vol. V, H. N. 5.

⁵ *ibidem*, Vol. V, Part I, p. xxiii.

⁶ *ibidem*, Vol. IV., Yd. 59.

⁷ *ibidem*, Vol. XII, p. 5.

⁸ Metre: Anuṣṭubh. Read नमस्तुभ्यं⁹.

⁹ Read °चारवे.

¹⁰ Metre: Anuṣṭubh.

¹¹ Read लाकृति.

- 6 सव्येचनं हरेः । शालंवनं चकीराणाममरायुत्करं¹ महः । (॥) [४*] ²पौच-
 7 स्तस्य पुरुरवा बुधसुतस्तस्यायुरस(स्या)तजः संजज्ञे नहुपो³ यया-
 8 तिरभवत्तस्माच्च पूरुस्ततः । तदंशे भरतो बभूव स्र(नृ)पतिस्तत्कृत-
 9 तौ रतनुस्तत्तुर्थ्यो विजयोभिमन्युरुदभूत्तस्मात्परि(री)चित्ततः⁴ [५*]
 10 'नंदस्तस्याष्टमोभूत्तमजनि नव[म]स्तस्य राष्ट्रवक्त्रिष्मापक्ष-⁵
 11 सप्तमः⁶ शीपतिरुचिरभवद्राजपूर्वो नरेंद्रः । तस्यासीद्विज्ज[क्ति]-
 12 द्रो दशम इह नृपो वीरहेस्माकिरायस्तात्रीयोको⁷ मुरारी क्ष-
 13 तनतिरुदभूत्तस्य मायापरोषः⁸ । (॥) [६*] ⁹तत्तुर्थ्योजनि तातपिनम-
 14 महीपातो निजालोकनवस्तामित्रगणस्ततोजनि हरं⁹ दुर्गा-
 15 णि समाहितात् । षड्भैकेन स सोमिदेवनृपतिस्तस्यैव जज्ञ(चे) सु-
 16 तो वीरो राघवदेवराडिति ततः¹⁰ शीपिन्मोभूत्त(नृ)पः । (॥) [७*] ¹¹शारवोटि-
 17 ¹⁰ननरीविभोरभूदस्य व(बु)द्धरणीपतिस्तुतः । येन साकुवन्-
 18 सिंहराज्यमप्येधमानमहसा स्थिरीकृतं । (॥) [८*] ¹²स्वःकामिनी¹² स्वत-
 19 तुकांतिभिर[रि*]चिपंतीं बुद्धावनोपतिलको बुधकल्पशाखो । क-
 20 ल्याणिनीं कमलनाभ इवाद्रिकन्या¹³ वल्लांविकासुदवहहृ-
 21 मान्यशीलां । (॥) [९*] ¹⁴सुतेव कलशांबुधेः सुरभिष्काशुगं माधवाकु-
 22 मारमिव शंकराकुलमहीततः¹⁵ कनाका¹⁶ । जयंतममरप्रभो-

Second Plate; First Side.

- 23 रपि शचीव बुद्धाधिपाश्छतं¹⁷ जगति वल्लमालमत रा-
 24 मराजं सुतं । (॥) [१०*] ¹⁸सहस्रैश्चमत्या सहितमपि यस्मिंधुवनुषां
 25 सपादस्त्रानीकं समिति भुजशौर्व्येण महता । विजित्यादत्ते-
 26 स्मादवनिगिरिदुर्गं विभुतया विधूतैः कासपुडयमपि
 27 विद्राव्य सहसा । (॥) [११*] ¹⁹कंदनवोलिदुर्गंमुरुकंदकद[भ्यु*]दयो वा[ह]व-
 28 लेन यो बहुतरेण विजित्य हरः । सविहितस्य तव चरणांभु(बु)-
 29 बु मल्लतया प्रातिभिरपितं²⁰ सुधयति स्म निगोव्य²¹ विषं । (॥) [१२*] ²²श्री-

¹ Read 'पुत्कर'.

² Metre: Sragdharā.

³ Read 'पुरीष'.

⁴ Read 'ननरीविभी'.

⁵ Metre: Prithvī.

⁶ Read 'पाशुन'.

⁷ Read 'रपित'.

⁸ Metre: Śārdhulavikrīḍita.

⁹ Read 'वक्त्रिष्मापक्ष'.

¹⁰ Read 'हरन्'.

¹¹ Metre: Vasantatīlaka.

¹² Read 'महीमतः'.

¹³ Metre: Śikharin.

¹⁴ Read 'निगोव्य'.

¹⁵ Read 'नहुपो'.

¹⁶ Read 'शारवोटि'.

¹⁷ Metre: Rathōddhatā.

¹⁸ Read स्वःकामिनी: ¹⁹ Read 'विकन्या'.

²⁰ Read 'कल्पशा'.

²¹ Metre: Śailasikha.

²² Metre: Indravajrā.

२ ३ ४ ५ ६ ७ ८ ९ १० ११ १२ १३ १४ १५ १६ १७ १८ १९ २० २१ २२

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२४ नीचा जे सुता वी वसुका (अवास्तु) तें उगा (तव) माला तें तें
 २६ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 २८ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ३० लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ३२ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ३४ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ३६ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ३८ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ४० लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ४२ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ४४ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें
 ४६ लवा (समा) माला (समा) तें तें माला (समा) तें तें

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- 30 रामराजचितिपद्य तस्य चिंतामणेरर्वि(र्वि)कदंबकानां । [ल]-
 31 स्त्री[रि]वांभोरुहलोचनस्य [ल]कांबिकामुष्य महिष्यलासी-
 32 त् ।(॥) [१३*] ^१तस्याधिकैस्समभवत्तनयस्तपोभिश्च्योरंगराज-
 33 पतिश्चाशिवंशेदी[पः] । आसन् समुत्तसति धामति^२ यस्य चि-
 34 चं नेचाणि वैरिसुदृशां च [नि]रंजनानि ।(॥) [१४*] ^३सतीं तिरुमुला-
 (मलां)वि-
 35 कां चरितलीलयाबंधतोप्रथामपि तितिचया वसुमतो-
 36 यशी रुंधतीं । हिमांशुरि[व] रोहिणीं हृदयहारिणीं सद्(द्)नै-
 37 रमोदत सधर्मिणीमयमवा[प्य*] धीराग्रणीः ।(॥) [१५*] ^४रचितनयविचा-
 38 र(रं) रामराज च धीरं वरतिरुमलरायं वेकटाद्रिचितीशं [।*]
 39 अजनयत स एतानानुपूर्व्यां कुमारानिह तिरुमलदेव्या[भि]-
 40 व राजा महौजाः ।(॥) [१६*] ^५[अ](स)कलभुवनकंटकानरातीन् समिति नि-
 41 हत्य स रामराजवीरः । भरतमनु भगीरथादिराजप्रथित-
 42 यथाः प्रशशास चक्रमुर्व्याः ।(॥) [१७*] ^६वितरणपरिपाटीं यस्य वि-
 43 द्याधु(ध)रीणां नखरमुखरवोणानादगोतां निशम्य । अनु-
 44 कलमयमावालांव(वु)र्[व*]वापदेशादभरनगरशाखो लज्ज-
 45 या मज्जतीव ।(॥) [१८*] ^७व्यराजत श्रीवरवेकटाद्रिराजः चित्तौ लज्ज-
 46 णचारुमूर्तिः । ज्याघोषदूरीकृतमेघनादः कुर्वन् सुमिचा-

Second Plate ; Second Side.

- 47 शयद्वय(र्व)पोषं ।(॥) [१९*] ^८चिषु श्रीरंगम्मापरिवृ(वृ)ठकुमा-
 48 रेण्वधिरणं विजित्यारिष्मापांस्तिरुमलमह[।*]रायन्-
 49 [प]तिः । महा(हौ)जास्माघान्ये सुमतिरभिषिक्ता(क्तो) निरुपमे प्रशास्तु-
 50 र्वां सर्वामपि तिरुषु मूर्तिष्विव हरिः ।(॥) [२०*] ^९यशस्विनामगं(घ)-
 सरस्य य-
 51 स्य पद्मभिषेके सति पत्विर्वेदोः^{१०} । दानांबुपूरैररभिषिचा-^{१०}
 52 माना देवीपदं भूमिरियं दधाति ।(॥) [२१*] ^{११}यस्यातिप्रौढतेजस्सवि-
 53 तरि ^{१२}विमतद्वांतमेद्व्युदोते कीर्त्तिचीरार्णवांतस्फुटर-

^१ Metre: Vasantatilakā.

^२ Metre: Mālinī.

^३ Metre: Upajāti.

^४ Read 'पूरैरभिषिच'.

^५ Read धामनि.

^६ Metre: Puspitāgrā.

^७ Metre: Śikharipi.

^८ Metre: Bragdhārā.

^९ Metre: Prithvī.

^{१०} Metre: Mālinī.

^{११} Read पार्विवेदी.

^{१२} Read विमतद्वांत.

- 54 विकसयुंडरीकोपमस्य । श्वेतस्कन्धस्य¹ मध्ये² कनककलशि-
 55 का भासते कर्णिकाभा तस्योपांत³ मेराकृदयमिव विचलन्ना-
 56 मरहंद्मास्ते ।(॥) [२२*] 'भोगित्वे विदितेपि जिह्व⁴ इति व्याकाधिरा-
 57 जं लसद्वत्तत्वे⁵ जक्रसंशयोति⁶ कमठं⁷ दानेपि मंदा इति । दि-
 58 चा(ङ्ना)गान् भृशमुन्नतौ च कठिना⁸ इत्योव⁹ हित्वा गिरीस्तत्तत्त-
 59 हुणसंपदेकशरे(र)णं भूरेति हर्षेण यं ।(॥) [२३*] 'स्त्रैरं संहतकंटको-
 60 [य] सुकृतोक्तृष्टं विधायाखिलं आकेदारमुदारदानसलिला-
 61 सारैश्चमापूर्य्य च । संवर्गा(र्धा)नघकीर्त्तिसस्यनिवहं तत्पालिकां
 62 ¹¹विक्रमः श्रीकांतां भुजकायमानशिखरे धत्ते हि यस्तेजसा ।(॥) [२४*] ¹²जि-
 63 णुत्वं शुचितां प्रजासु समतावर्त्तित्वमप्याश्रितो वृत्ति(त्ति) पुण्यज-
 64 नप्रियामधिगतः स्यातः प्रचेता इति । प्राप्तस्पर्शनवि(वि)भ्रमाय-¹³
 65 [न]पतिस्त्वर्व[ज*]भावांचितः प्रायो यः प्रकटीकरोति भुवने
 66 तत्तद्दिगोशंशतां ।(॥) [२५*] ¹⁴हुत्वा मंचपुरःसरं रिपुयशोलाजान्
 67 प्रतापानले ।(॥) सपापय¹⁵ पदान¹⁶ सप्त भुवनेश्वारोप्य मेरुप-
 68 लं । प्रीतः कीर्त्तिसयीं वधूं परिणयन् सत्का(लौ)तुकोक्तासिनीं य-
 69 स्मिंहासनमाश्रितो विजयते गृह्य¹⁷ द्विजं(जं)द्राशिपः ।(॥)[२६*] ¹⁸अश्व-
 70 तविद्याणनकीर्त्तिसाम्यं सुरद्रुमा यस्य तु लब्धु(व्यु)कामाः ।
 71 तट्टे(टे) तपस्यन्ति वि(वि)यत्तटिन्याः प्रवाकृकापायपटा जटास[१*]ः ।(॥) [२७*]
¹⁹[कां]-
 72 चिन्नोरंगशेषाचलकनकसभाहोवक्राद्रीशमुख्येष्वाहृत्या-
 73 वृत्य सर्वेष्वतनुत विधिवभृ(ङ्ग)यसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु [तो]-
 74 र्येष्वपि कनकतुलापूरुषादीनि नानादानान्येवोपदानैर-
 75 पि सममखिले(लै)रागमौ(मो)क्तानि तानि ।(॥) [२८*] ²⁰यस्मिन् शासत्येकवारे
 76 धरित्रीमेणाचीणामेष कार्यं विलम्बे । टिब्बं²¹ तत्कृतके कर्क[श]-
 77 त्वं तद्वचोच्चे(जे) चापलं तत्कटाचे ।(॥) [२९*]²² अर्नंतरं तत्तनयः
 प्रतोतवक[१]-

Third Plate ; First Side.

- 70 तविद्याणनकीर्त्तिसाम्यं सुरद्रुमा यस्य तु लब्धु(व्यु)कामाः ।
 71 तट्टे(टे) तपस्यन्ति वि(वि)यत्तटिन्याः प्रवाकृकापायपटा जटास[१*]ः ।(॥) [२७*]
¹⁹[कां]-
 72 चिन्नोरंगशेषाचलकनकसभाहोवक्राद्रीशमुख्येष्वाहृत्या-
 73 वृत्य सर्वेष्वतनुत विधिवभृ(ङ्ग)यसे श्रेयसे यः । देवस्थानेषु [तो]-
 74 र्येष्वपि कनकतुलापूरुषादीनि नानादानान्येवोपदानैर-
 75 पि सममखिले(लै)रागमौ(मो)क्तानि तानि ।(॥) [२८*] ²⁰यस्मिन् शासत्येकवारे
 76 धरित्रीमेणाचीणामेष कार्यं विलम्बे । टिब्बं²¹ तत्कृतके कर्क[श]-
 77 त्वं तद्वचोच्चे(जे) चापलं तत्कटाचे ।(॥) [२९*]²² अर्नंतरं तत्तनयः
 प्रतोतवक[१]-

¹ Read श्वेतस्कन्धस्य.

² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

³ Read जलं.

⁴ Read जलं.

⁵ Read 'विषयी वन'.

⁶ Read 'विषयी वन'.

⁷ Read गृह्य.

⁸ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

⁹ Read मध्ये.

¹⁰ Read जिह्व.

¹¹ Read कमठं.

¹² Read विह्वमयी.

¹³ Read संप्रापय.

¹⁴ Metre: Upajāti.

¹⁵ Read औदिस्य.

¹⁶ Read 'पति मराल'.

¹⁷ Read 'वृत्तले'.

¹⁸ Read कठिना.

¹⁹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²⁰ Read पदानि.

²¹ Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

²² Metre: Śārdūlavikrīḍita.

- 78 स्ति हस्तापजितद्युतशाखी¹ । श्रीवेङ्कटाचिरपुष्कराशि[:*] श्री-
 79 रंगराय[:*] चितभागधेयः ।(॥) [३०*] 'उद्गिरौ स्थितः परिवि(वि)जित्य च
 80 दुर्गज(च)यान् दुर्गमकौडवीडुविनिकौडपुरप्रमुखान् । भूव-
 81 लयैकरत्नपैतुगौडपुरे निवसन्नाजति यः समग्रमकरा-
 82 दिमलाच्छनतः ।(॥) [३१*] 'श्रीधरणीरिव' शौरेशिश्निरकरखेव रो-
 83 द्विणोचिवे । देव्यौ ते विजयेते [ति*] कमलदेवी च यस्य कृष्णांवा ।(॥)
 [३२*] 'य-
 84 धाविधि महीसुरोत्तमकृताभिषेकोत्सवे यदीयकरवारि-
 85 [दे] कनकवृष्टिदे सर्वतः । यशोमयतरंगिणी दशदिगंतरे
 86 जंभते सतां प्रशमितीभवत्कृपणतोदुदावानलः ।(॥) [३३*] 'धात्रीमा-
 87 रमशेषमपा(प्य)विकलं भर्तुं भुजं व्यातनोदाशदंतिकु(कु)लाच-
 88 लेंद्रफणिराडंशैखरोजासनः । वीरय्यीरमणस्य यस्य प-
 89 र[या] विक्रांतिमानेष किं दानांभः कटकं च नमय' धत्ते सदा
 90 भोगितां ।(॥) [३४*] 'वाराशिगांभीर्यविशेषधुव्य(र्य)वीराशिदुर्गेकवि-
 91 भाऊवर्धे' । पराष्टदिषायमनःप्रकामभयंकरः शार्ङ्ग(ङ्ग)धरा-
 92 तरंगः ।(॥) [३५*] 'हतरिपुरनिमेषानोककहो' याचकानां होसवि-
 93 [रु]दरगंडो रायराहृत्तमिंडः¹² । महितचरितधन्यो मन्निया-

Third Plate ; Second Side.

- 94 न्नामुलादिप्रकटितविदु(रु)दयोः पाटिताराति-
 95 लोकः ।(॥) [३६*] 'उभयदक्षपितामहो नतानामभयपदार्पण-
 96 तत्परो रिपूणां । अयमवहकुरायमानमही(ही)त्वसि-¹⁴
 97 लजनैरभिधीयमानधामा ।(॥) [३७*] 'तांडवितोदयो विरुदम-
 98 न्यरगंडतयोहंडवलोल्लेद्वजयपंडितवीरयु-
 99 तः । चंडिमशास्त्रिवाहुवलदंडितवैरिगं(ग)णो गंडरगू-
 100 किमन्यपुलिमान्ममहाविरुदः ।(॥) [३८*] 'सारचोररमया' ससु-
 101 कसन्नारवोटिपुरहारनायकः । कुंडलीखरमहाभुजं¹⁵

¹ Read 'धुवाखी.

² Read श्रीधरणी रव.

³ Read काचनमय.

⁴ Metro: Mālinī.

⁵ Metro: Panchpitāgrā.

⁶ Metro: Rāthōddhātā.

⁷ Metro: Śāladikṣā.

⁸ Metro: Prithvī.

⁹ Metro: Upajāti.

¹⁰ Read 'नीकरी.

¹¹ Read 'मल्लिकार्जुन'

¹² Read 'सारचोर'.

¹³ Metro: Gītī.

¹⁴ Metro: Śārdūlavikrāntā.

¹⁵ Read 'दयः.

¹⁶ Read 'राष्ट्रपतिः.

¹⁷ Metro: Śāladikṣā.

¹⁸ Read 'महाभुज'.

- 102 शयन्मंडलोकधरणीवराहतां । (॥) [३८*] ^१वैद्यचिभुवनोमज्ञः^२
- 103 संख्यचितिकलार्जुनः । (॥) [४०*] ^३उरिगोलसुरचाण(णो) हरिगोचर-
- 104 मानसः । राज्ञां धरो रणमुखरामभद्र इति युतः । (॥) [४१*] ^४वर्णि-
- 105 तविरुदो नानावर्णशोमंडलीकगंड इति । आच्येयगो-
- 106 च्चजानामपसरो भूभुजामुदारयशाः । (॥) [४२*] ^५अतिविरुदतुर-
- 107 गधट्टो मतिगुरुरारम्भगधमान्यपदः । शब्दारिनी-
- 108 तिशास्त्री कल्याणपुराधिपः कलाचतुरः । (॥) [४३*] ^६चाक्किचक्र-
- 109 वर्त्ती ^७भाणिकमहाकिरोटमहनीयः । एवि[रु]दरायरा-
- 110 हुतवेष्टैकभुजंगविरुदरमणीयः । (॥) [४४*] ^८कुलंकश(ष?)कोन-
- 111 रानी(॥)[कोटल*]कींगजयविरुदभरितयोः^९ । ^{१०}रमातरकीरिरो-
- 112 डिड[य*]रायदिशापट्टविरुदघोषेण । (॥) [४५*] ^{११}श्रीपधपत्युपमा-
- 113 यितगंडस्तोषणपू(रु)पजिताममकांडः । भाषगेतप्प(प्पु)व-
- 114 रायरगंडः पोपणनिर्भरभूनवनखंडः^{१२} । (॥) [४६*] ^{१३}राजाधिरा-
- 115 जस्तेजस्वी श्रीराजपरमेश्वरः । मूर्ध्दरायरगंडांको मेरु-
- 116 लंधियशोभरः । (॥) [४७*] ^{१४}परदारिपु विमुचः पररायभयंकरः ।
- 117 शिष्टसंरक्षणपरो दुष्टशार्दूलमर्दनः । (॥) [४८*] ^{१५}हिंदुरायसुर-

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- 118 [जा]णसिंधुराजगभीरधिः^{१६} । धरोभगंडमेरुंडो
- 119 हरिभक्तिसुधानिधिः । (॥) [४९*] ^{१७}इत्यादिविरुदैर्वदितत्वा नि-
- 120 त्वमभिष्टतः^{१८} । जय जीवेति वादिन्य[र*] गनितांजलिबं-
- 121 र्धया^{१९} । (॥) [५०*] ^{२०}की(कां)भोजभोजकाकिंगकरहाटादिपार्थिवैः । प्र-
- 122 तोहारपदं प्राप्तेः प्रस्तुतस्तुतिघोषणः । (॥) [५१*] ^{२१}श्रीयं श्रीरंग-
- 123 राय^{२२} चितिपतितिलको रत्नसिंहासनस्थः कीर्त्या नोत्था
- 124 निरस्यवृगनकनहुषानप्यचन्यामथान्वा^{२३} । आ सेतो-

^१ Here is a half of an Anushtubh verse ; the other half is wanting.

^२ Metre : Anushtubh.

^३ Metre : Giti.

^४ Read माणिक्य°.

^५ The corresponding passage in the Tumkur plates of Tirumalarāya published in *Ep. Cars.*, Vol. XII, p. 2 runs thus:—

Kālakāsa-konarāni-kūṭala-gaṅga-jaya-biruda-bharita-sriḥ ।

^६ Read रम्यतरकीरिरो°.

^७ Metre : Dōḍhaka.

^८ Read ^१मूलवखण्डः.

^९ Metre : Anushtubh.

^{१०} Read नभीरपौ.

^{११} Read ^२ममिष्टतः.

^{१२} Read जनितांजलिबंधया.

^{१३} Metre : Sraḍḍhaka.

^{१४} Read श्रीरंराय or ^३रायचिति°.

^{१५} Read ^४प्यवन्वा°.

179

[illegible]

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१५५ मुनीं व फट तव उ र लीः पाटिता ना त
 १५६ नीमः ॥ ५ त न र ए व ता म तौ न ता ना म ते न न रा पा
 १५७ त म ची न पु मा ॥ ५ न म व त लु ना न मा न म इ त म
 १५८ ले ऊ री च ति थो न मा न मा ता उ व तो र मो वि उ म
 १५९ ल म न ग उ ते यो र उ क ली म ले उ ऊ न व उ त वी न ठ
 १६० तः व उ म रा ल म न क ले उ उ त वी न ग णा उ न ग
 १६१ नि म न ग नि मा न म त व उ उ र सा न वी न म न स म
 १६२ ल म न वी उ उ न ता न लो न म क उ लो व न म त न उ
 १६३ ल म न उ ली क थ न मा व ना र ता व ग म त न व न म ल
 १६४ म न म त म न उ नः ५ न गी न लु न गी ना त न गी व न
 १६५ मा न सः ना न व नो न म ल स ना म त उ र त उ तः व न
 १६६ त व उ र नो ना व मा र म उ ली क ग उ र ता न वे ल गी
 १६७ ग थ म त ग उ नो न उ म रा न न रा न उ र त व उ र न
 १६८ त रा ली क न रा न ना थि वः क ला व र ॥ बा ल क उ र
 १६९ व नो मा मा क म ना क न ट म त नो नः ५ व न न
 १७० न त व री क न उ ग व उ र न म मा नो ॥ कु ल क र को न
 १७१ ना न को ग उ न व उ र त न त रीः न मा ते न को न न
 १७२ उ ड ना न र रा व ह क उ र लो थ मा उ थ थि व म म
 १७३ ल त ग उ लो थ मा उ व उ र ता स न को उः लो थ ग त व
 १७४ ना न ग उः पी थ मा नि त न पु न व न स उः ना न थि ना
 १७५ उ ल उ ली ली ना उ व न मे ख नः ५ न न ग न को म उ
 १७६ ल न ग ली त नः ५ व न न नै थ व क सः व न ना न त न म
 १७७ ल म व न त ग व नो उ म रा उ ल म र नोः त र ना न लु न

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- 125 रा सुमेरोरवनिसुरनुतः खैरमा चोदयाद्रेरा पाद्या-
 126 त्याचलांतादखिलहृदयमावर्ज्यं राज्यं प्रशास्ति ।(॥) [५२*] ^१श्रीश-
 127 काद्ये ह्यनिधिवेदेदुगणिते क्रमाती^२ श्रीमसुवाह्वये
 128 वर्षे मासि चाषाढनामनि ।(॥) [५३*] पक्षे वक्रुचे पुण्यायां प्रथम-
 129 द्वादशीतिथौ । सन्निधौ रामचंद्रस्य सर्वसंपदिधायिनि ।(॥) [५४*]
 130 श्रीमत्काश्यपगोत्राय श्रीकाल्यायनसूत्रिणे । स्थातशुक्लयजु-
 131 श्शा[खा]द्वयाग्निने^३ गुणशालिने ।(॥) [५५*] ^४वादिजंभणनिर्भूतव(ब)लशा-
 132 सनमंत्रिणे । ^५श्रीचावालेलुभट्टस्य पौत्राय प्रियवादिने ।(॥) [५६*]
 133 ^६श्रीमहरभट्टावचिंचितारत्नायितात्मने । प्रख्यातौभक्त-
 134 भट्टाय पुरोगाय विपश्चितां ।(॥) [५७*] धक्रिते हस्तिनावत्वा वि-
 135 स्थातिमधिकामितं(ते) । श्रीरायदुर्गराज्ये च ^७पेन्नवेठ च वि-
 136 श्रुतं ।(॥) [५८*] वसतिं भूदिगुम्भेश्रीसीमायां^८ च श्रमश्रितं^९ । श्रीमत्पेन-
 137 नदीतीराग्राग्निदं समुपाश्रितं ।(॥) [५९*] ^{१०}कोरकोदुग्रामवरसी-
 138 मांतरचितस्थितेः । पेन्नद्याश्च(श्च) सविधानीलाद्रेः पा(प्रा)चता-
 139 मितात् ।(॥) [६०*] स्थातचोक्तसमुद्राख्यग्रामसीमांचलस्थितात् । श्री-

Fourth Plate; Second Side.

- 140 मन्वेमडगुल्लस्य समीपस्थितिमे(मी)श्रुपः ।(॥) [६१*] सुस्थिरादुपका(ला)दा-
 141 श्रां दक्षिणां समुपाश्रितं । वेलिटिगा(या)मसीमांतसैकतायी^{११}
 142 धरांतिकात् ।(॥) [६२*] चौरकश्रीतितिणीक्षारुहादपि च पश्चिमा-
 143 त् । पल्लुर्ग्रामसीमांतात्पश्चिमत्वं पपेदुषः^{१२} ।(॥) [६३*] कुम्भार्णपत्ति-
 144 सीमांतात्पश्चिमायां दिशि स्थितात् । ^{१३}प्रख्यातश्रीगिड्डमाक्रि-
 145 गानिचेवांचलस्थितात् ।(॥) [६४*] नीलोन्नतस्थलाद्रम्यादायातं पश्चि-
 146 मां दिशं । श्रीतिष्ठापुरसीमांतश्रीमोहनांतिकस्थले ।(॥) [६५*] स्थापि-
 147 ^{१४}तादुपलस्यंभादुत्तरत्वमुपाश्रितं । श्रीकृष्णापुरमित्येष प्र-
 148 तिनामसमाश्रितं ।(॥) [६६*] [मा]रेडपत्तिनामांस्थं(कं) ग्राममारामश्रीभि-
 149 तं । ^{१५}सवमान्यं चतुस्सीमासंयुतं च समंततः ।(॥) [६७*] निधिनिचेपपाषाण-
 150 सिद्धसाद्य(ध्य)जलानितं^{१६} । अचिष्टागामिसंयुक्तमेकभोग्यं सभूर-

^१ Metre of vv. 53-75: Anushtubh.

^२ Read क्रमात । श्रीमसुवाह्वये.

^३ Read ^०श्याग्निने.

^४ Read वादिजंभण^०.

^५ Perhaps, the reading intended is श्रीमहालेन्दुमहस्य.

^६ The reading intended may be श्रीमहरभट्टा^०.

^७ Read पेन्नवेठे.

^८ Read मुदिगुम्भ^०.

^९ Read श्रमश्रितं.

^{१०} This pāda of the Anushtubh verse is irregular.

^{११} Read ^०सैकतश्री^०.

^{१२} Read पपेदुषः.

^{१३} This pāda of the verse is irregular.

^{१४} Read ^०सोमा^०.

^{१५} Read सवमान्यं.

^{१६} Read ^०जलान्वितं.

- 151 हं ।(॥) [६८*] वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्छारामैश्च संयुतं । पुत्रपौत्रादिभिर्भो-
 152 र्भ्यं क्रमादाचंद्रतारकं ।(॥) [६८*] दाना[ध]मनविक्रोतियोग्यं विनिमयो-
 153 चितं । काश्चपान्वयदीपस्य काश्चपीकल्पमासि(स्त्रि)नः ।(॥) [७०*]
 सिंधु(धु)राजग-
 154 भीरस्य सिंधुगोविंदतैजसः । श्रीसितकरगंडांकमहाविरुदगो-
 155 भिनः[॥७१*] (मे)धवकांकनभीमस्य धनदैर्घ्यशालिनः । मणिनागपुरेश-
 156 स्य मयितारातिभूभुजः ।(॥) [७२*] 'वरव्याप्त्वभूपालचिरपुण्यफलात्मनः । 'नी-
 157 रक्षणाभभूपस्य विज्रप्तिमनुपालयन् ।(॥) [७३*] परीतः प्रयतैः स्त्रियैः पुरा(रो)-
 158 दितपुरोगमैः । विविधैर्विबुधैश्चैतपथिकैरधिकैर्गिरा ।(॥) [७४*] श्रीरंगरा-
 159 य[भू]पालो माननीयो मनस्विनां । सहिरण्यपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवा-
 [भू]दा ।(॥) [७५*]

Fifth Plate.

- 160 'तदिदं नयधुर्यस्य प्रथितश्रीरंगरायवर्यस्य[१*]
 161 'शासनमतिवलयासनतत्करदानस्य गुणनिदा(धा)न[स्य][॥७६*]
 162 'श्रीरंगरायनृपतेःशासनस्ताम्बशासनश्लोकान्' । कविश[१]-
 163 सनस्त्रयंभूस्तरसमभाषीकभाषतेस्मृतुः ।(॥) [७७*] 'श्रीरंगरायभू-
 164 पालशासनाङ्गीरणात्मजः । [श्री]मङ्गणपयाचार्यो व्यलिखत्ता-
 165 म्बशासनं ।(॥) [७८*] दानपालनयोर्मंडे' दानाच्छ्रेयोनुरा(पा)लनं । दानात्स्व-
 166 र्गमवाप्नोति पालनादच्यत(च्युतं) पदं ।(॥) [७९*] स्वदत्तादि(हि)गुणं पुण्यं परद-
 167 त्तानुपालनं । परदत्तापहारेण स्वदत्तं निष्फलं भवेत् ।(॥) [८०*] स्वद-
 168 त्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरति वसुंधरा । 'षट्पर्वसहस्राणि वि-
 169 द्याय' जायते क्रिमिः^{१०} ॥ [८१*] एकैव भगिनी लोके सर्वेषामेव भूभुजा ।
 170 न भोज्या न करपाद्या विप्रदत्ता वसुंधरा ।(॥) [८२*] 'समान्धोयं धर्मस्य-
 171 तुर्नृपाणां काले काले पालनीयो भवद्विस्मयनितान्^{११} भावि-
 172 नः पार्थिवेन्द्रान् भूयो भूयो याचते रामचंद्रः[८३*]=||=||=||
 श्रीविरूपाक्ष^{१२}

^१ Read 'वरव्याप्य'.^२ Metre: GHI.^३ The metre of vv. 73-82 is Anushtubh.^४ Read 'वर्हि' वर्य'.^५ Metre: Bāṇī.^६ The characters are old Kama-see.^७ Perhaps 'श्रीरङ्ग' is meant.^८ Read 'वलयासन'.^९ Read 'हारा'.^{१०} Read 'मयतिः' सर्व'.^{११} Read 'शासनतत्ताम्'.^{१२} Read 'मंज्य'.^{१३} Read 'क्रिमि'.

NO. 35—MALEPADU PLATES OF PUNYAKUMARA;
THE FIFTH YEAR OF HIS REIGN.

By H. KRISHNA SASTRI, B.A.

Mr. J. Ramayya Pantulu, B.A., B.L., while he was Deputy Collector in charge of the Jammalamadugu Division of the Cuddapah district, in 1904, brought to the notice of the Madras Epigraphical Department a set of copper plates and a number of stone inscriptions relating to a family of kings whose existence was not known till then. These copper plates and stone records¹ were secured by Rai Bahadur V. Venkayya, through the kind offices of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu, and a brief account of their contents was given in his *Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1904-5*, p. 48, paragraphs 5 and 6. I publish below, with the permission of the Editor, the inscription on the copper plates and also append in a postscript, as a specimen, the text and translation of one of the well-preserved stone epigraphs whose importance will be recognised when it is stated that they are the earliest Telugu records from the Cuddapah district and belong to a dynasty of kings who, though claiming Chōla descent, had, nevertheless, their dominion in the Pallava territory.

Regarding the discovery of the plates, Mr. Ramayya Pantulu writes:—"They were given to me by a man of the Sāli caste named Varadappa, who told me that he found the plates while digging foundations for a *mutt* at Mālōpāḍu. He preserved the plates in the temple of Embennān at Vēlpucharla whither he had removed himself and gave them to me when I visited that temple." The plates are three in number, and measure, roughly, $7\frac{1}{4}$ " by $2\frac{1}{2}$ ". "They are held together by a ring whose ends are secured in an oval-shaped seal which measures about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " by $1\frac{1}{2}$ ", and which bears in high relief, a tiger which stands to the proper left, raises the left fore-paw, opens the mouth and has a twisted tail."² The first and last of the plates are written only on their inner sides and show traces of having had raised rims, which were apparently meant to protect the writing on these plates from coming into contact with the written sides of the middle plate. The circular copper ring which holds the plates together, measures $3\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter and is about $\frac{1}{8}$ " thick. The plates with seal and ring weigh 93 tolas. They have been presented to the Madras Museum—again through the kind intervention of Mr. Ramayya Pantulu—and will be deposited there after the final proof of the subjoined article has been passed for printing.

The seal with the emblem cut on it in bold relief—evidently the crest of the kings to whom the record belongs—deserves special consideration. The posture of the animal,³ the sharp twist of its tail above the back, and the profuse mane round its neck—all considered together—make the figure look more like a lion than a tiger, although the possibility of the latter was suggested by Mr. Venkayya when he first discussed the question, from the supposed connection the kings mentioned in the Mālōpāḍu record bore to the Chōlas of Tanjore whose crest was the tiger (*vēṅgai*).⁴ Similar figures are engraved on the top of a broken slab at

¹ Some of the stone records which were not either set up in temples or otherwise properly cared for, were removed to the Madras Museum for preservation in the year 1905.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1904-5*, p. 48.

³ See the accompanying plate.

⁴ Eg. in the historical introductions of Virarājōdra I. the King is stated to have "despatched (the banner of) the ferocious tiger into all directions" (*S.-I. J.*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 37); see also, above, Vol. III, p. 125, note 3. Fine specimens of the Chōla tiger are depicted on the seal of the large Leyden Grant, the Tiruvālaṅkāḍu plates and the Madras Museum plates of Uttama-Chōla (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. III, Plate facing p. 104). They are seen also on the coins of Uttama-Chōla and on the Chōla pillar on the top of Mahēndragiri in the Ganjam district (No. 396 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1896).

Peddamuṇḍiyam¹ and on another at Muddanūr,² both of which bear records of about the same age as the subjoined inscription and belong, evidently, also to members of the same family. That these figures represent a lion and not a tiger, receives confirmation from an unexpected source. In a record of the 11th century A.D. from the Bastar State,³ it is stated that a chief named Chandrāditya, a feudatory of the Nāgavarṁśi king Jagadēkabhūṣaṇa-Mahārāja Dhāravarsha, was a descendant of Karikāla-Chōla of the solar race, belonged to the Kāśyapa-gōtra, was the lord of the river Kāvēri (Cauvery) and of the (historic) town of Oraiyūr (Oraiyūr in the Trichinopoly district) and bore the lion-crest.⁴ As the kings mentioned in the Mālēpāḍu plates will also be seen from the sequel to have possessed almost the same family-titles, and as it is not improbable that Chandrāditya of Bastar (whose capital was Amṛtāgama⁵) may have been a later member connected with some collateral branch of this same family, it may be assumed for the present, that the crest figured on the seal of the Mālēpāḍu plates, is a lion like that of Chandrāditya of Bastar. It is curious to note also that Sir Walter Elliot in his *Coins of Southern India* (Plate II, Nos. 49 to 54) refers to certain specimens which bear on their obverse sides the same figure as the one under discussion and tentatively attributes them to the Pallava kings of Vēṅgi. The monolithic shrine at Śiyamaṅgalam which was excavated in the time of the Pallava king Lalitānkura (i.e., Mahendravarman I.) about the beginning of the 7th century A.D.,⁶ also bears sculptures of two identical lions which face one another and are similar in design to the lion depicted on the Muddanūr stone (see accompanying plate). The seals of Indravarman⁷ and Vikramēndravarman II.⁸ of the Viṣṇukunḍin family and that of the Uruvupalli plates of the early Pallava king Yuvamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman⁹ bear similar figures. A small signet of lapis lazuli discovered among the Buddhist ruins of Amarāvati has on it the representation of a lion with the open mouth and the raised left foreleg together with the legend *Bhāṣṭya* written in early Brāhmī characters of the 3rd century B.C.¹⁰ Ancient coins recently found at Bojjanakoṇḍa in the Vizagapatam district by the Superintendent, Archaeological Survey, Madras, bear almost the same crest on their obverse sides.¹¹

The writing on the plates belongs to the Southern class of alphabets and closely resembles that of the Eḍḍern plates of the Eastern Chalukya king Vijayāditya II (A.D. 799 to 843).¹² The horizontal top-strokes, often left unfinished in our plates, indicate perhaps an even earlier stage of development. Accordingly, in many cases, we find two points (one on each side of the letter) taking the place of a complete top line. The letter *k* is distinguished from *r* by a vertical stem which projecting from the top of the right side of the latter, supports over it the *talukattu*

¹ No. 351 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1905.

² No. 406 of the same collection for 1904.

³ No. 231 of the same collection for 1908.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 112.

⁵ Above, Vol. VI, p. 320.

⁶ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 110, paragraph 62.

⁷ Above, Vol. IV, Plate, facing p. 244.

⁸ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 50.

⁹ Director-General's *Archaeological Annual* for 1905-6, p. 166.

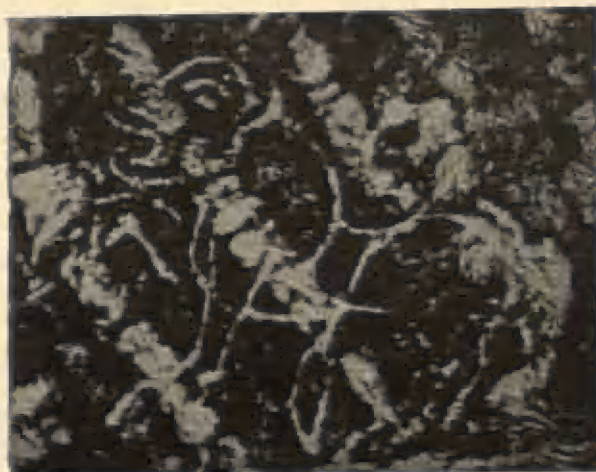
¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1908-9, p. 5, paragraph 5. The tiger crest of the Hoysalas figured on the frontispiece of Mr. Rice's *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. V., has also got the twisted tail, the mane, the conventional slender waist, and the face of a lion. Sir Walter Elliot interprets similar figures (?) on two Hoysala gold coins (*South-Indian Coins*, p. 152 D, Nos. 90 and 91) as maned lions. In the legend about Saṅga, the founder of the Hoysalas, the Kanarese word used is *puli* which distinctly means 'a tiger'. It is not altogether impossible that a tiger was also represented by the artists of the day, with the mane and other features that were naturally characteristic of a lion. It is stated in the *Śukrasaṁhitā* (IV, iv, 187) that a *tiger* and a *lion* have almost the same form, the difference being only in the mane which the latter possesses.

¹¹ Above, Vol. V, Plate, facing p. 120.

Lion seal and sculptures of about the Seventh Century A.D.



A.—Seal of Punyakumara plates.



B.—Sculpture on a broken slab at Peddamudiem.



C.—Sculpture on a slab at Muddanur.



D.—Sculpture on the rock-cut temple, Siyamangalam.

FROM PHOTOGRAPHS BY V. MADHURANAYAKAM PILLAI.



or head-line. This stem of *k* is found to be in continuation of the right side of the letter *r* in the Eḍṛu plates, whereas here the stem begins a little removed from the right top of *r*. The use of the Dravidian *ja* (l. 9), *ja* (l. 20) and *ja* (ll. 8, 18 and 19) is also worth recording. As regards orthography it may be remarked that *m* and *v* coming after a *rēpha* are doubled (ll. 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 19, 21, 22 and 24), except in *Pōrmukharāma* (l. 12 f.). The consonants *d* and *t* are likewise doubled after *r* in ll. 17, 22 and 24, and before *r* in l. 23, the only exceptions being *Purushaśārdūla* and *Mārdavachitta*, in l. 13. The language of the inscription is Sanskrit prose. An invocatory verse at the beginning and two imprecatory verses at the end are, however, written in the Āryā-Gīti and Anuṣṭubh metres, respectively.

After an invocation to Śiva, the record introduces us to a king Nandivarman of the Kātyapa-gōtra. He was born in the family of Karikāla who was "the (celestial) tree *mandāra* on the mountain Mandara¹ — the race of the Sun, the doer of many eminent deeds such as stopping the overflow over its banks of the (*waters of the*) daughter of Kavēra (i.e. the river Kavēri), who made his own the dignity of the three kings (*of the South*). Nandivarman had three sons, Simhavishnu, Sundarananda and Dhanamjayavarman. The youngest Dhanamjayavarman, on whom devolved the sovereignty in regular succession, had a son "who acquired the title Chōla-Mahārāja, was well versed in grammar and other sciences and was the lord of the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kēraja (countries)." This was Mahēndravikrama-varman, "who was equal in prowess to (*god*) Mahēndra and possessed many surnames such as the glorious Muditaśīlākshara,² Navarāma,³ etc." His son was king Guṇamudita and the latter's brother was the prosperous king Puṇyakumāra. This Puṇyakumāra, otherwise known as Pōrmukharāma,⁴ Purushaśārdūla,⁵ Mārdavachitta,⁶ Madanavilāsa,⁷ etc. thus ordered the inhabitants of his own dominion as well as those of Hiranya-rāṣṭra: "Be it known to you that we, in the current fifth year, of our increasing and victorious reign, on the full-moon day of (*the month of*) Kārttika, have granted free from all molestations and taxes twice twenty-five (i.e. fifty) *nivartanas* of land (measured) by the royal unit, in the south-east quarter of the village named Birapāru (situated) in Hiranya-rāṣṭra, on the southern bank of the river Suprayōga, to (*a certain*) Chiruvāṇaḥaḷa-Kēśavaśarman of the Ātrēya-gōtra, at the request of (*the chief*) Kottikūḷdarāja." The inscription ends with two imprecatory verses (ll. 23 to 27) and a short Sanskrit clause invoking felicity on cows and Brāhmaṇas (l. 27).

Of the foregoing kings, Karikāla who held sway over the three kingdoms of the south and stopped the overflow of freshes in the Cauvery, is identical with the quasi-historical Karikāla-Chōla of Tamil literature, of whom many stories are related in the poems *Puraṇāgūru*, *Porunārāruppāḍai*,⁸ *Śilappadigāram* and *Paṭṭiṇappālai*.⁹ Karikāla-Chōla is claimed by the Chōla kings of Tanjore to have been one of their famous ancestors, and to him is attributed the characteristic feat of constructing banks on either side of the river Cauvery and of renewing the town of Kāñchi with gold.¹⁰ The exact time when this king flourished has not been properly made out. Inscriptions of a family of Telugu chiefs grouped by Mr. Venkayya under the name

¹ I.e. an ornament to the family which was as high (noble) as the mountain Mandara.

² Literally 'one who delighted in stone script (i.e. in inscriptions).'

³ I.e. a new Rāma.

⁴ A Rāma in front of battle. It may be noticed that the first component of this title, viz. *pōr* is a Dravidian word meaning 'battle' and cannot according to strict rules of Grammar be compounded with non-Dravidian Sanskrit words.

⁵ A tiger among men (i.e. the best of men).

⁶ One whose heart is tender.

⁷ Amorous like (the god of) Love (Madana).

⁸ Mr. Kanakasabhai's *Tamils*, Ch. V.

⁹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLI, pp. 144 to 149.

¹⁰ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905-6, Part II, paragraph 15.

Telugu-Chōḍas,¹ state that an ancestor of these was a certain Karikāla "who caused the banks of (the river) Kāvēri to be built by Trilōchana and other kings who fixed their glances on (his) lotus feet (i.e. were subordinate to him)."² Apparently here also, the reference is to the king Karikāla-Chōḍa mentioned in the Mālpāḍa plates. Karikāla's subordinate Trilōchana was, in all probability, a Telugu contemporary whose approximate date is possible to deduce from inscriptions. Trilōchana, Tripāstra, Tripayana and Mukkaṇṭi are synonymous terms and occur frequently in Telugu epigraphs with the suffix Pallava, as the name of a mythical ruler of Pallava origin who held sway over the Telugu country at some period of its early history.³ The Paurāṇik genealogy of the Eastern Chalukya kings invented as early as the time of Vimalāditya,⁴ refers to a Trilōchana-Pallava⁵ as the ruler of Dakṣiṇāpatha and a powerful opponent of the Chalukya adventurer Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā. This Trilōchana-Pallava is, perhaps, identical with the Trilōchana of the Telugu-Chōḍa inscriptions and with Tripayana-Pallava and Mukkaṇṭi of other Telugu epigraphs. It may therefore be presumed that the three kings Karikāla, Vijayāditya and Trilōchana-Pallava were almost contemporaneous. From the account given in the Eastern Chalukya copper plates—whatever its historic value may be—it appears as if five generations had intervened between the mythical king Vijayāditya and Kubja-Vishnuvardhana before the latter came to rule over the Vēṅgi-dēśa and founded the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. Dr. Fleet has proved that this Kubja-Vishnuvardhana was the younger brother of Pulakēśin II.—the Satyāśraya-Vallabhēndra of Eastern Chalukya records—and that he succeeded to the throne as yuvarāja, in or about A.D. 615.⁶ Calculating backwards for five generations, we arrive at the conclusion that Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā and, therefore, also Trilōchana-Pallava and Karikāla, must have flourished about the end of the fifth century A.D.⁷ The history of the Pallavas at this period is obscure, and it is not unlikely that Karikāla-Chōḍa was supreme at the time and held the Pallava dominions under his sway. The three kings of

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, paragraph 44.

² The actual phrase which precedes the name Karikāla in these inscriptions is: *cāraṇa-sarōruha-vihāta-trilōchana-trilōchana-pramukhā-khila-prithivīstara-kārīta-kāvēri-tīra*. Some inscriptions substitute the word *vihāta* for *vihāta*. In this case the explanation would perhaps be *cāraṇa-sarōrukṣa vihatāḥ-tādītāḥ ata ita trilōchanāḥ-vinaakṣa-dṛiṣṭāḥ, tīraṇa itī yātāt, Trilōchana-pramukhāḥ paṇya saḥ*, i.e. Trilōchana and other lords of earth whose eyes were blotted by (the brilliance of) his (viz. Karikāla's) lotus-feet (on the occasion when they prostrated to him). Karikāla is stated to have got thousands of Ceylonese coolies "to work on the embankments of the Kāvēri river, a hundred miles in length, which he constructed" (Smith's *Early History of India*, p. 416). Almost all the families of kings and chiefs in the south which trace their origin to the Sun, mention Karikāla among their ancestors and describe him as having constructed banks on either side of the river Kāvēri. The Kākatiyas of Warangal and, in latter times, the Maṭṭa chiefs of Cuddapah and the Sāḷva chiefs of Kārvēcinagar and a number of feudatory families who intermarried with the Vijayanagara kings of the lunar race, mention Karikāla in their genealogy. In the Telugu poem *Narasabhāṣṭāyana* which was dedicated to one of the Toragaṇṭi chiefs of the solar race who were related to the kings of the third Vijayanagara dynasty by intermarriage, it is stated that Karikāla planted rows of avenue trees on either bank of the Kāvēri in order to hide her 'who was the queen of the ocean' from public gaze.

³ See *op. above*, Vol. VI, p. 277, footnote 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 348 f.

⁵ The modern village Pēddamuṇḍyam in the Jammalamadugu tāluka of the Cuddapah district, is called Trilōchanapura in one of its later records. It was, as Mr. Ramayya Pantulu has pointed out to me the ancient Muḍivāmu-Agrahāra where Vishnuvardhana, the son of Vijayāditya of Ayōdhyā, was born and brought up. Its name Trilōchanapura connects it with the mythical king Trilōchana-Pallava who opposed Vijayāditya. The Pallava genealogy so far disclosed, either from copper plates or stone inscriptions, does not mention any name like Trilōchana-Pallava; but the Kādambas of Goa (*Dyn. Kon. Distr.*, p. 566) and the Nōḷambas of Hāmavati (above, Vol. X, p. 58) claim, respectively, Trilōchana-Kādamba and Tripayana-Pallava as the founders of those dynasties.

⁶ *Dyn. Kon. Distr.*, p. 352 and *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XI, p. 253.

⁷ *Arch. Surv. Report* for 1905-6, p. 174 f.

the South whom Karikāla is stated to have subdued were, evidently, the Pāṇḍya, Chōla and Kōraja¹ as specified in l. 9 of the text, in connection with Mahēndravikramavarman—a later member of this same family. The inclusion of the Chōla among the kings conquered, although it is wrong, is, nevertheless, meant to show that Karikāla virtually ruled over the whole of Southern India. The Tamil poem *Śilappadigāram* says of him that he was an ally of Avantī and the overlord of Vajra and Magadha.²

Of Nandivarman and his three sons Sinhavishṇu, Sundarananda and Dhanamjayavarman we do not know much at present. The first two names bear resemblance to Pallava names. Sundarananda figures as one of the ancestors of an unidentified Telugu-Chōḍa chief Śrīkaṇṭha whose Madras Museum plates have been noticed by Professor Kielhorn in one of the previous volumes of this journal.³ A certain Dhanamjaya Eriga referred to in some epigraphical records from the Maddagiri taluka of the Tumkur district calls himself a Chōḷa ruling the Ālvāḍi six hundred district.⁴ Mr. Rice assigns these records, on palaeographical evidence, to about the middle of the 8th century A.D. The Chōḷas of the Tumkur district (round Niḍugal and Hēnāvati) may have been of a common stock with the Chōḷas of Cuddapah, and Dhanamjaya Eriga was either directly or indirectly connected with Dhanamjayavarman of the Malēpadu plates. Again, a stone record at Kalamalla⁵ in the Cuddapah district makes mention of a certain D[h]anamjeyuṇḍu who was ruling Rēnāṇḍu. The record is not dated; but to judge from the characters, it may roughly be referred to the same period as the Malēpadu plates. It is, therefore, not unlikely that we have here a direct reference to Dhanamjayavarman, the last son of Nandivarman. Mahēndravikramavarman who assumed the titles Chōḷa-Mahārāja, Mudita-śīlakeśhara and Navarāma, appears to have been so named after Mahēndravikrama, a name or surname of Mahēndravarman I.,⁶ the Pallava contemporary of the Western Chalukya king Pulakēśin II., in the 7th century A.D.⁷ After Guṇamudita, of whom nothing is stated in the inscription, came Puṇyakumāra Pōrmukharāma to whose reign our grant belongs. Two of the *birudas* assumed by him, viz. Mārdavachitta and Madanavilāsa indicate some apparent affinity to Mattavilāsa and Viehitrachitta, the recognised *birudas* of Mahēndravarman I.⁸ This resemblance in the *birudas* suggests, as will be pointed out below, the possibility of some undefined relationship, political or otherwise, that may have existed between the Chōḷas of the Cuddapah district and the Pallavas of Kāñchi.

Puṇyakumāra, we are told, addressed his order to the inhabitants of his own dominion and to those of Himayārāśhṭra. The latter territorial division, though not actually included in the province governed by Puṇyakumāra, must have been bordering on it and perhaps also subordinate to him. It is not impossible that this was actually the kingdom ruled by Koṭṭikuldarāja,

¹ Tamil literature refers to "the battle at Vengil where Karikāla defeated the Chēra and the Pāṇḍya kings" (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XLII, p. 146). It is not impossible to interpret the word *trairājya-athiti* of l. 4 in the sense of "the position of *trairājya*". In Western Chalukya copper-plates the Pallava King is often referred to as *Trairājya-Pallava* or *Trairājya-Kāñchīpati*, where *trairājya* evidently denotes the sovereignty over the whole of Southern India.

² Above, Vol. X, pp. 26f.

³ Above, Vol. V, p. 123, note. Professor Kielhorn who has compared the palaeography of these with that of the Masulipatam plates of Vijayāditya III. (A.D. 844-888), is of opinion that the Madras Museum plates of Śrīkaṇṭha are also of about the same period. It may be pointed out that an ancient coin of about the 4th or 5th century A.D., discovered at Bojjanakonda, bears on one of its sides the legend *Śrīkaṇṭha* and on the other the Pallava symbol of the vase and the lion (*Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908-9*, Part I, paragraph 5).

⁴ *Ep. Carn.*, Vol. XII, Introduction, p. (7).

⁵ No. 380 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁶ *A. S. R.* for 1908-9, p. 271, and *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908-9*, Part II, paragraph 14. The names Navarāma and Mahēndravarman also occur in the plates of Śrīkaṇṭha noticed above.

⁷ *Dyn. Kan. Distr.*, p. 350.

⁸ *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1908-9*, Part II, paragraph 14.

at whose request the subjoined grant was made. The river Suprayōga, on whose southern bank the village Birapāru was situated, is mentioned again in the Uruvupalli plates of the Pallava king Yuccamahārāja Viṣṇugopavarman.¹ It is there stated to have formed one of the boundaries of the village of Uruvupalli situated in the district of Muṇḍa-rāṣṭra. Keṇḍakūra or Kaṇḍakūra, another boundary of Uruvupalli, mentioned in the same plates, is suggested by Mr. Venkayya to be identical with the modern Kandakūra,² the headquarters of a tāluka of that name in the Nellore district. And as Muṇḍa-rāṣṭra is probably the same as Muṇḍal-nāḍu mentioned in some of the Nellore Tamil inscriptions,³ the river Suprayōga has to be looked for somewhere in the Nellore district. Puṇyakumāra's sway thus appears to have extended beyond Cuddapah, even into Nellore. An inscription at Kalujavvalapāḍu in the Podili division of the Nellore district refers to a chief of the solar race (to which also Puṇyakumāra belonged) and is worded almost in the same style as the stone epigraphs of the family under reference.⁴ The existence of this record may be taken to be a further proof of the influence of the Chōla kings, in the Nellore district, already at this early period. I am unable to identify the village of Birapāru which was situated on the bank of the river Suprayōga.

Before fixing the probable period to which the Mālāpāḍu plates belong, it may be useful to examine some of the allied lithic records referred to at the beginning of this paper. One from Rāmēśvaram near Proddatūra⁵ and another from Chippili near Madanapalle,⁶ have to be assigned on palaeographical evidence to Puṇyakumāra of the Mālāpāḍu plates, though neither of them which mentions him refers to the family to which he belonged or the *gōtra* in which he was born. The latter is a memorial tablet in the Kanarese language and registers that "while the glorious Puṇyakomarān (*i.e.* Puṇyakumāra) was ruling Chirpuḷi (Chippili), Indarāja rose (in rebellion?), and (in the conflict that ensued, a certain) Parasurāman pierced and fell." The former tells us: "In the victorious and increasing years of the reign of the lord of the earth (*prithivī-rallabha*), the Chōla-Mahārāja Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra, in (his) fifth year, queen Vasantapōri-Chōla-Mahādēvi presented three hundred (measures) of land in the fields of Viripariti to the temple of Vaśantisvara at Tārumunri—the *āpati* (*ājāpti*) of the grant being a certain Mārpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḍu." Although one may feel doubtful about the identity of Puṇyakomarān of the Chippili record, there is little doubt that Pōrmukharāma Puṇyakumāra of the Rāmēśvaram pillar inscription is identical with the donor of the Mālāpāḍu copper plates. The mention in this record of (Puṇyakumāra's?) queen Vasantapōri-Chōla-Mahādēvi, of (his) officer Mārpiḍugu Raṭṭaguḍu and of the villages Viripariti and Tārumunri is apparently of much historical interest. Mārpiḍugu is a name or surname quite familiar to the period to which the inscription belongs and was in use among the ruling Pallava sovereigns and their subordinates.⁷ Raṭṭaguḍu is an honorific title largely used in the epigraphs under reference. Its significance, as indicated by the context, appears to justify our connecting it with the later Sanskrit word *rāṣṭrakūṭa* which has been explained in the sense "the headman of a

¹ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. V, p. 53.

² *Madras Epigraphical Report for 1904-05*, Part II, paragraph 2.

³ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 288 and note.

⁴ *Nellore Inscriptions*, p. 1179. The occurrence of epithets like *raḍḍōḍiya* and *raḍḍōḍu* in connection with the original founders of the temple as stated in this record, is also worthy of note.

⁵ No. 384 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁶ No. 229 of the same collection for 1905.

⁷ Names ending in *piḍugu* were common in Pallava times. Perumbiḍugu was the name of a channel which was dug from the river Pālār to feed the Paramēśvara tank in the village of Kūram near Conjeeveram, in the time of the Pallava king Paramēśvaravarman I. (*South-Ind. Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 165). Paḍāppiḍugu was the surname of king Mahēndravarmā I. Mārpiḍugu was the epithet either of a Pallava king named Dentivarman or of one of his subordinates, in whose time a well was constructed at Tiruvellārai in the Trichinopoly district. A tank at Alambākkam in the same district was called Mārpiḍugēri. Agraṇpiḍugu occurs among the names of the ancestors of the Telugu Chōla chief Śrīkaṭṭha who perhaps belonged to the same family as Puṇyakumāra. According to the *Nandikūlambakam*, Viḍḍivḍugu was a surname of the hero of that Tamil poem.

village." The following other forms of *raṭṭaguḍu* are also found in the Chōla records of the Cuddapah district: (1) *raṭṭeḍu*, (2) *raṭṭaguṭṭu* (perhaps the singular form of *raṭṭaguḍu*) and (3) *raṭṭaḍu*. Further, in some inscriptions, *raṭṭaguḍi* is found compounded with the name of a royal family, as Salki-Raṭṭaguḍi, Chaḷki-Raṭṭaguḍi, Gagga-Raṭṭaguḍi, Vallava-Raṭṭaguḍi, Chōliya-Raṭṭaguṭṭu, and Chōla-Raṭṭōḍi. In these forms apparently the first part denotes the dynasty Salki or Chaḷki (i.e. Chāḷukya), Gagga (Gaṅga), Vallava (Pallava? or Valaḥa-Rāshtrakūṭa) and Chōliya or Chōla, under whose patronage the dignity (*paṭṭam*) of *raṭṭaguḍi* was held by the individual or individuals who bore them. The familiar phrase *rāshtrakūṭa-pramukhān-kutumbīnāḥ*, which occurs in copper plate inscriptions, shows also that the *rāshtrakūṭas* were *kutumbīnāḥ* 'cultivators' (*kūḍi* in Tamil) who enjoyed a higher social status than others of their community. The Reddis of the Telugu country according to their own account belong to the *Paṇḍakula* 'the cultivating caste' and command much respect. A class of Reddis in the Nizam's Dominions, is still known by the name Radraḍḍis which appears to me to be a reminiscence of the older honorific *raṭṭōḍi*. Thus the Sanskrit *rāshtrakūṭa* and the modern *reddi* have to be traced to the form *raṭṭaguḍi* and its variants which were current in the Cuddapah district in the period of the lithic records under discussion.¹

Six other stone epigraphs,² from the Cuddapah district, begin with a short eulogy of the Chōla kings, which is identically the same in all.³ The ruling chief is introduced by the general appellation Chōla-Mahārāja and not by his proper name. Four allied records refer to an unnamed eldest son (*prathama-priya-putra*) of Vikramāditya Bempapādhirāja,⁴ a Vikramāditya-Chōla-Mahārāja and queen Elāṇchōla-Mahādēvi⁵ and prince Śatyaditunru, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) Chōla-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya.⁶ These are names not mentioned in the genealogical portion of the Mālēpāḍu plates and consequently their relationship to Puṇyakumāra, to whose family they must belong, is not certain. The general appellation Chōla-Mahārāja, however, was, according to text line 8, first acquired by Mahēndravikramavarman, the father of Puṇyakumāra. It is not improbable that the Chōla-Mahārāja mentioned in the six lithic records quoted above, is identical with Mahēndravikramavarman. The province over which these Chōla kings apparently ruled is stated in four records to have been the Rēnāḍu seven thousand. One stone epigraph from Mālēpāḍu (see Postscript, below) adds the district Śiddhi one thousand, perhaps the same as the Siddhant country. A later inscription of the 12th century A.D. from Pēddamuḍiyam,⁷ mentions the Rēnāḍu seventy, which must have formed a sub-division of the Rēnāḍu seven thousand district. Mr. Ramayya Paṭṭulu identifies Rēnāḍu with "the black-soil country which roughly includes large portions of the modern districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool, along the valley of the Kundēru river."

The period of the record could only be approximately fixed. The lion crest adopted by the Chōla kings was, as we have seen, already familiar in the 3rd century B.C. It was a Buddhist symbol used also by the Pallavas of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Christian era and

¹ For a detailed criticism on the terms *raṭṭa* and *rāshtrakūṭa* see above, Vol. VII, p. 221 f. A similar development of the title *Gaṇḍa* from the earlier *grāmakūṭa*, *gāmaḍa* has been maintained by Dr. Fleet, *ibidem*, p. 183.

² Nos. 405, 406 and 408 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904; No. 352 of the collection for 1905 and Nos. 406 and 517 of the collection for 1906.

³ This eulogy runs as follows:—*Svasāi tē ari-dardhara-cara-bhūj-āsi-bhāsura-prachanda-pradyōta-Dinakara-kula-sandana Kāṣyapa-gōtra Karikāl-āntaya*—'Hail! Prosperity! (Chōla-Mahārāja) who is resplendent with an excellent sword in hand which his enemies could not oppose, who gladdens the family of the Sun whose rays are powerful, who belongs to the Kāṣyapa-gōtra (and) to the family of Karikāla.'

⁴ No. 403 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904.

⁵ No. 400 of the same collection.

⁶ No. 393 of the same collection. The text of this record with translation is published below, in a postscript.

⁷ No. 350 of the same collection for 1905 (below p. 344, n. 2). Inscriptions of the 16th century A.D. at Pēddamuḍiyam and Dombara-Nandyāla refer to the country in which these villages were situated as Rēnāṭa-Sīma, in the Ghaṇḍikōṭa-rājya.

by the Vishvakunadin family of about the 7th century A.D. Again the adoption by Puṣyakumāra and his ancestors of titles and names which were current among the Pallava kings of the Simhaviṣṭu line, makes it probable that they were either the subordinates of those Pallavas or succeeded them politically in, at least, a portion of their extensive territory. Besides, the existence of a kingdom called Cha-li-ye in the time of the Chinese traveller Hsien Tsiang (640 A.D.)¹ somewhere about the tract of country in which we find these Telugu-Chōḷa records, is conclusive proof "that this kingdom existed in the 7th century A.D." Allowing thus a little more than a century to the five rulers from Nandivarman to Puṣyakumāra, the date of the Mālāpāḍu plates may roughly be referred to about the end of the 8th century A.D., which is also the period determined by palaeographical evidence.

The connection that existed between these Telugu-Chōḷas of the Cuddapah district and the Tamil Chōḷas of Tanjore, both of whom claim Karikāla as their ancestor, is not clear. After a more or less independent rule in Rānāḍa for about a century or two, the Chōḷas of Cuddapah appear to have dispersed. Some of them became subordinate to the Western Chālukyas who conquered and occupied the northern portion of the Pallava country.² A collateral branch appears to have adventured further north to seek service in Chakrakōṭa under the Nāgavarmā king [Dhāravaraha] Jagadekabhūṣaṇa-Mahārāja (A.D. 1060-61).³ In the 12th and 13th centuries there flourished in the Guntur, Nellore, North Arcot, Cuddapah and Chingleput districts influential kings of the Telugu-Chōḷa (now changed into Telugu-Chōḍa) family who owed allegiance to the Kākatiyas of Warangal.⁴ The Kākatiyas themselves trace their descent from the sun and count among their mythical ancestors the ancient king Karikāla-Chōḷa.⁵ In the Anantapur district and the bordering Kanarese country there flourished also a branch of these Chōḷas. Even as late as the 16th century A.D., Chōḷa chiefs with the traditionary legend of descent from Karikāla and lordship over the ancient town of Uraiyūr⁶ are found serving as viceroys under Vijayanagara rulers.

TEXT.⁷

First Plate.

- 1 *Jayati dhṛita-chandra-rēkh[ō] vi[pul-ā]mala-tāraka[h] śubh-āḷōka[h] [!*]
gagana-
- 2 m-iva suprasanna[h] Tri]pura-pratima[!*]la-kunṭa-hā[gaṇ]rah⁸ || Dinakara-
kula-Manda-

¹ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1905, p. 49.

² A Kanarese record (No. 360 of 1905) of the Western Chālukya king Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. dated in Śaka 1046 (= A.D. 1124-25) mentions the *Mahāmaṇḍalīśvara* Atyapa-Chōḷamahārāja whose eulogy begins with the very same passage as in the earlier Chōḷa records of the Cuddapah district under reference. Pedda-muḍiyam, the village from which it comes, is described as "the jewel of villages, the great *agrahāra* Muḍivāma, where resided one hundred and fifty pious (Brāhmaṇas) who were well versed in Vēdas and Purāṇas, in penance and in devotion to Nārāyaṇa and who were the lotus-tank (as it were), in which the Mahārājāśāhiraṇa Viṣṇuvardhana and others had their birth." The last adjunct is explained by Mr. Ramayya Pantulu to be a clear reference to the birth of Viṣṇuvardhana at Muḍivāma mentioned in the mythological account of the later Eastern Chālukya copper plates.

³ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, p. 112.

⁴ *Madras Epigraphical Report* for 1900, p. 17 f.

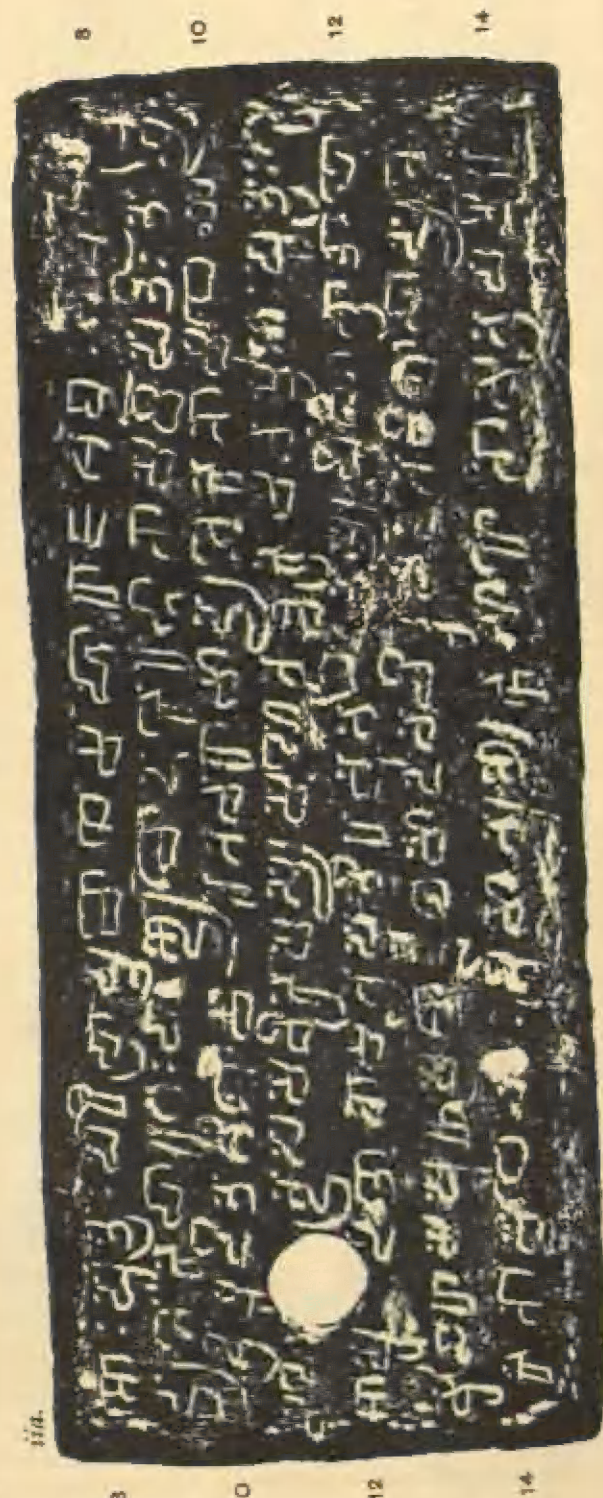
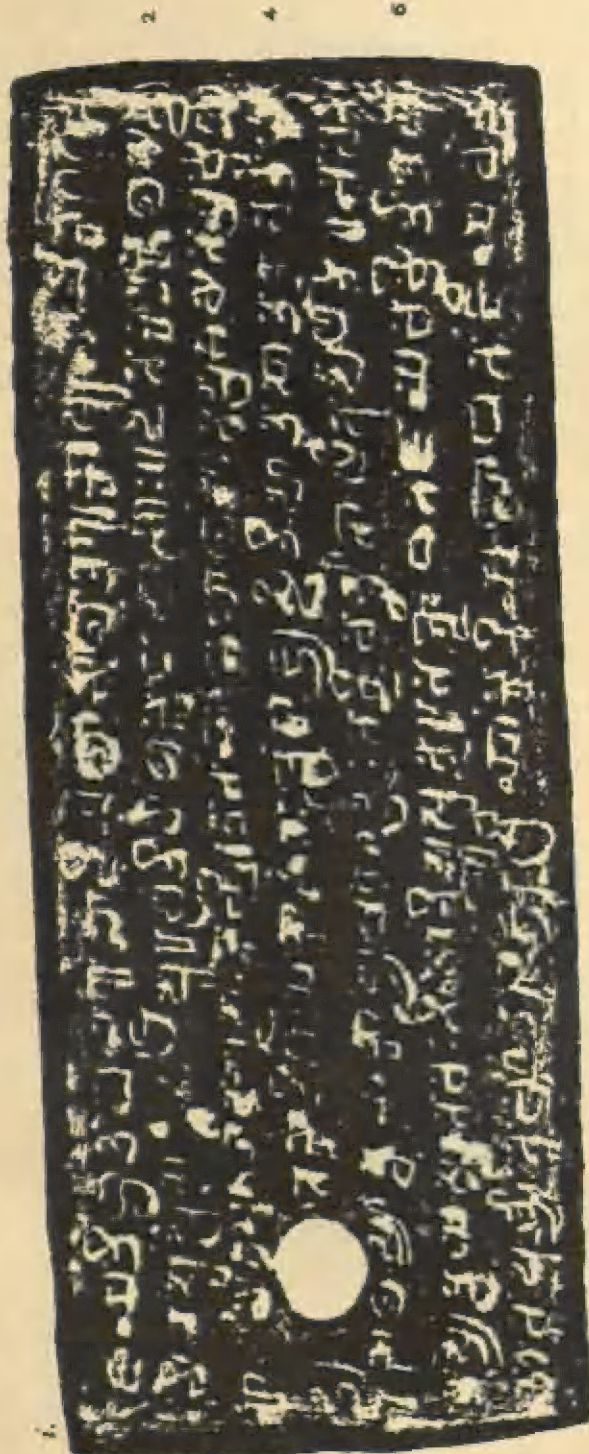
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 106, paragraph 44.

⁶ The title 'lord of Uraiyūr (Oreyūr)' assumed by the Telugu-Chōḍa chiefs occurs for the first time in the Bastar record of Chandrādityadēva of the 11th century A.D. Earlier Chōḷa inscriptions from Cuddapah do not speak of Oreyūr.

⁷ From the original plates.

⁸ A faint symbol for *Om* is visible at the beginning of the line.

⁸ Metre: *Āryā Giti*. Read -*kuṇṭagō āraṇṭ*. The adjectives which qualify *āraṇṭ* 'the necklace' (of Śiva), are applicable also to *gagana* 'the sky' to which the necklace is compared. In the first case the necklace is made up of beads resembling the digit of the moon and of pearls big and bright; it is also auspiciously brilliant and flawless. The sky is the seat of the digit of the moon, full of big and bright stars, full also of good lustre shed by the stars and clear. It may be noted that *Chandrahāra* in Kanarese means 'a necklace of flat moon-like (circular) gold beads.'



11b.

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11c.

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- 3 r-ācha[la*]-Mandāru(ra)-pādapasya Kāvāra-tanayā-[vā]l-ō[l*]lamghana-
prasāmana-pramukh-ā-
4 dy-anēk-ātīśaya-kāriṇaḥ trairāja-sṭhitiṃ-ātmasāt-kṛitavataḥ Ka-
5 rikāśasy-ānvayō Kāśyapa-gōtraḥ Nandivarṃmā nāma nṛpatir-
abhavat [l*]
6 Tasya traya[s*]=[sū]navah [Simha]viśvaṇu[s*]-Sunderana[ndō]
Dhanamjayavarṃm-ēti [l*] Tē [pu]-
7 [tr-ā]na[pu]try-ānubhūta-rāja-sriyāḥ [l*] Kaniya[sō] Dhanamjayavarṃma-
Second Plate; First Side.
8 naḥ putraḥ pariprāpta-Chōja-Mahārāja-sabdah [Śabda-śāstr-ā]-
9 dy-anēka-pāragah Pāṇḍya-Chōja-Kēraḷānām-adhipatiḥ [l*] Tasya
10 śrī-Muditāśilakshara-Navarām-ādy-anēka-nāmadhēya-
11 Mahēndra-sama-vikramaśya Mahēndravikramavarṃmānaḥ putraḥ Gu-
12 ṇamuditō nāma nṛpatir-a[bha]va[t] [l*] Tasya priyō bhrātā Pō-
13 rmukharāma-Purushaśārdūla-Mārdavachitta-Madanavilās-ādy-anē-
14 ka-nāmadhēyaḥ śrīmā[n-Pu]nyakumārō nāma nṛpatir-a-

Second Plate; Second Side.

- 15 [bha]va[t] || Asan Hiranya-rāshṭra-[sa]hitā[n-sva]-rāshṭra-nivāsinaś-sa-
16 rrvān-ittham-ājñāpayati [l*] Viditam-astu vō [=]smābhīḥ pravarddha[mā]-
17 na-vijaya-rāja-samvatsarō pañchamē varttamānō Kārtti-
18 ka-[pa]rāmaśyān-tithau Kōṭṭiku[darāja-vijñāpanayā
19 Ātrēya-[gō]trēya [Chi]ruvaṇa[haja]-Kēśavaśarṃmaṇō Hira-
20 ṇya-rāshṭrō Supra[yō]ga-nadyā dakṣiṇa-tirō Birapāru-nāma-
21 grāmaḥ [ta]śya grāmaśya dakṣiṇa-pūrvvasyām diśi rāja-

Third Plate.

- 22 mātēna dvā-pañchaviṃśati-nivarttanō¹ kabētrō sarvva-
23 bādha-kara-parihāraṇ-datto² || Abbhīr-dattam³ ttribhir-bhuktam
24 -sadbhis=cha paripālitaḥ [l*] śtāni na nivarttantō pūrvva-
25 rāja-kṛitāni cha || Sva-dattam para-dattam vā yō
26 harēta vasudharām [l*] śhaśṭi-varaha-sahasrāṇi vi-
27 śhṭhāyām [jāyatō] krimiḥ || Svasti gō-brāhmaṇābhyah ||

POSTSCRIPT.

TEXT. *

First Face.

- 1 ☉ Svasti śrī-Chōja-Ma-
2 h[a]rājadhīrāja pa-
3 ramāśvara Vikramādi-
4 tya Śaktikomara Vi-
5 kramāditi[y*]ula koḍuk[u-
6 l] Kāśyapa-g[ō]tru-
7 [nra] Śatyaditunru Śiddhi-
8 [vey]u Rēnāṇḍu-ālu[vē-

¹ Read -nivarttanam kabētram.

² Read -dattam.

³ Read tribhir-.

* No. 398 of the Madras Epigraphical collection for 1904. The characters are quite similar to those of the Alapa inscriptions of Udayāvara (above, Vol. IX, pp. 15-24), which Prof. Hultzsch assigns to about A. D. 800. It deserves to be noted that the record is written from the bottom upwards like the Amarāvati pillar inscription of Śiṃhavarman (above, Vol. IX, p. 43 and Plate) and one of the sides of the Beṣvāja pillar inscription of Yoddhamalla (Madras Epigraphical Report for 1910, p. 82).

- 9 la] ē[uchunṛi¹ Ko[ma-
 10 ri]pāra-Rēvaśa-
 11 [rma] Kāśyapa-gō-
 12 [t]ri(tru)ni(ṇi)ki iehchina.
 13 . Chirumbūri² ntta-
 14 . śa tu(tā)rpuna diśa
 15 . [ḍ]u Juggi-pola-ga[ra]-
 16 su da[kahī]ṇa-[diśa]
 17 . . . pāra [ma] .

Second Face.

- 18 śau maṇtru-gā-
 19 nu tāgiri [i]* Dē(ḍi)ni
 20 salpinavāniki
 21 vē-gu[]ṇava vē-śe-
 22 ṛavṇa vēvāṇṛ-a(ā)-
 23 ṛṇu nilpinam³ puṇyaṇ-
 24 bu [i]*ḍṇiiki vakraṇbu
 25 vachchuva(vā)ṇṛu putra-va-
 26 dya(dha)-stri-vadya(dha)-[gō-va]-
 27 dya(dha)-pañcha-ma[ha-
 28 pā]takāṇ-chesi[na].
 29 vāni lōka[ṇ]*[ba-
 30 n-a]ṇ[ḍu]*vāṇṛu ©

TRANSLATION. *

Hail! Śatyaditunṛu (Satysditya) of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, son of Śaktikomara Vikramāditya (and grandson of) the great lord, the glorious Chōla-Mahārājādhirāja Vikramāditya, while ruling the Śiddhi one thousand and the Rēṇandu seven thousand (*districts*), gave to Rēvaśarmma of the Kāśyapa-gōtra, (a *resident*) of Komaripāra, five *marutru*⁵ (of land) at Chirumbūru on the north side east side the boundary of the fields of Juggi; (on) the south side To him that maintains this (*charity*), (*shall accrue*) the merit of establishing a thousand temples, a thousand tanks (and) a thousand villages! He that obstructs this, shall live in the world of him who commits the five great sins (*such as*) the murder of a son, the murder of a woman (and) the murder of a cow!

* The vowel sign for *a* is added, though wrongly, to the compound letter *ari*.

² The *anuseṇṛa* which is to be connected with *re* is placed over the letter *śḍ* which follows it. This peculiar position of the *anuseṇṛa* is often found in the Telugu records of this period. The pronunciation intended may be either Chirumbūru or Chirubūru (the modern Chilamkūru near the Kalamalla railway station). The latter possibility is supported by the system of spelling generally followed in Prakrit manuscripts where an *anuseṇṛa* placed at the top of any letter has the effect of doubling the preceding letter. The similar position of the *anuseṇṛa* in the words *puṇyāṇbu* and *vakraṇbu* (l. 23 f.) cannot be explained in the same way.

³ Read *salpina*.

* The subjoined is only a tentative translation of the inscription. Its peculiarities of orthography, grammar and idiom require independent study and discussion. I could only here draw particular attention to the use of *aru* for *ṛṇu*, *edi*, the use of the Dravidian *j* for *ḍ*, the wrong forms *gōtriniki* for *gōtraviki* (l. 12) and *dēni* for *dīni* (l. 19), the addition of the genitive suffix to the qualifying adjective instead of to the noun (ll. 10 to 12), the use of the expletive suffix *re* in *vē-gu[]ṇava* (l. 21), the ungrammatical *cācār-ārṇa* for *cā-vāḥṇa* and the word *śaḍga* for *śaḍka*. Again, I am unable to explain the phrase *śau marutru-gāṇa tāgiri* in l. 18 f.

⁵ *Marutru* is evidently the plural of *maruta*, which again is a corruption of the Sanskrit *matra*, *matara* 'a measure of land.'

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¹ The figures refer to pages; a after a figure, to footnotes. The following other abbreviations are used:—ch.=chief; co.=country; di.=district, division; do.=ditto; dy.=dynasty; E.=Eastern; f.=female; k.=king; m.=man; mo.=mountain; vi.=river; sur.=surname; te.=temple; vi.=village, town; W.=Western.

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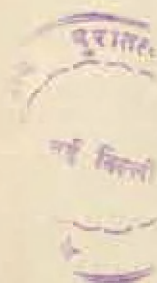
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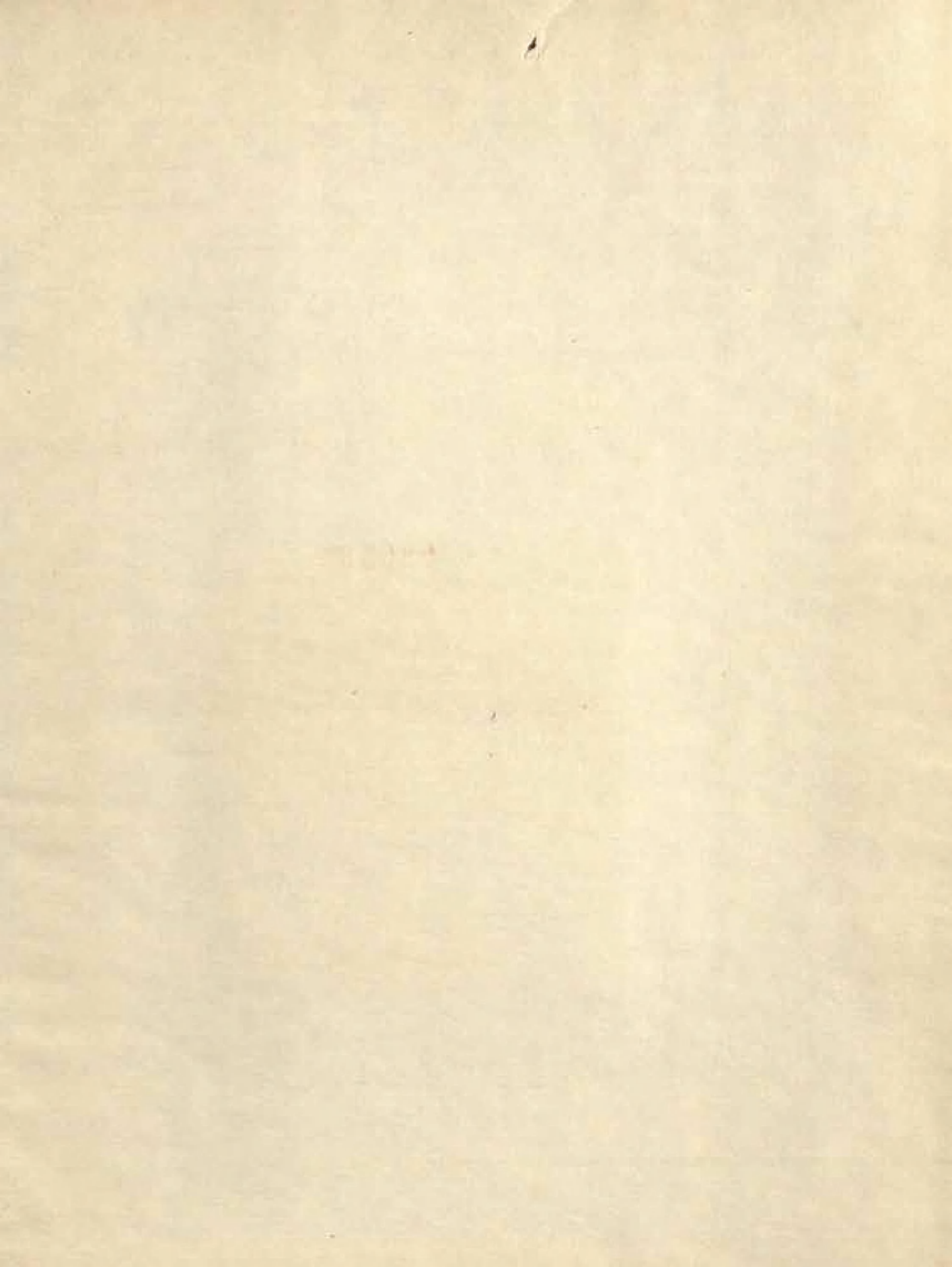
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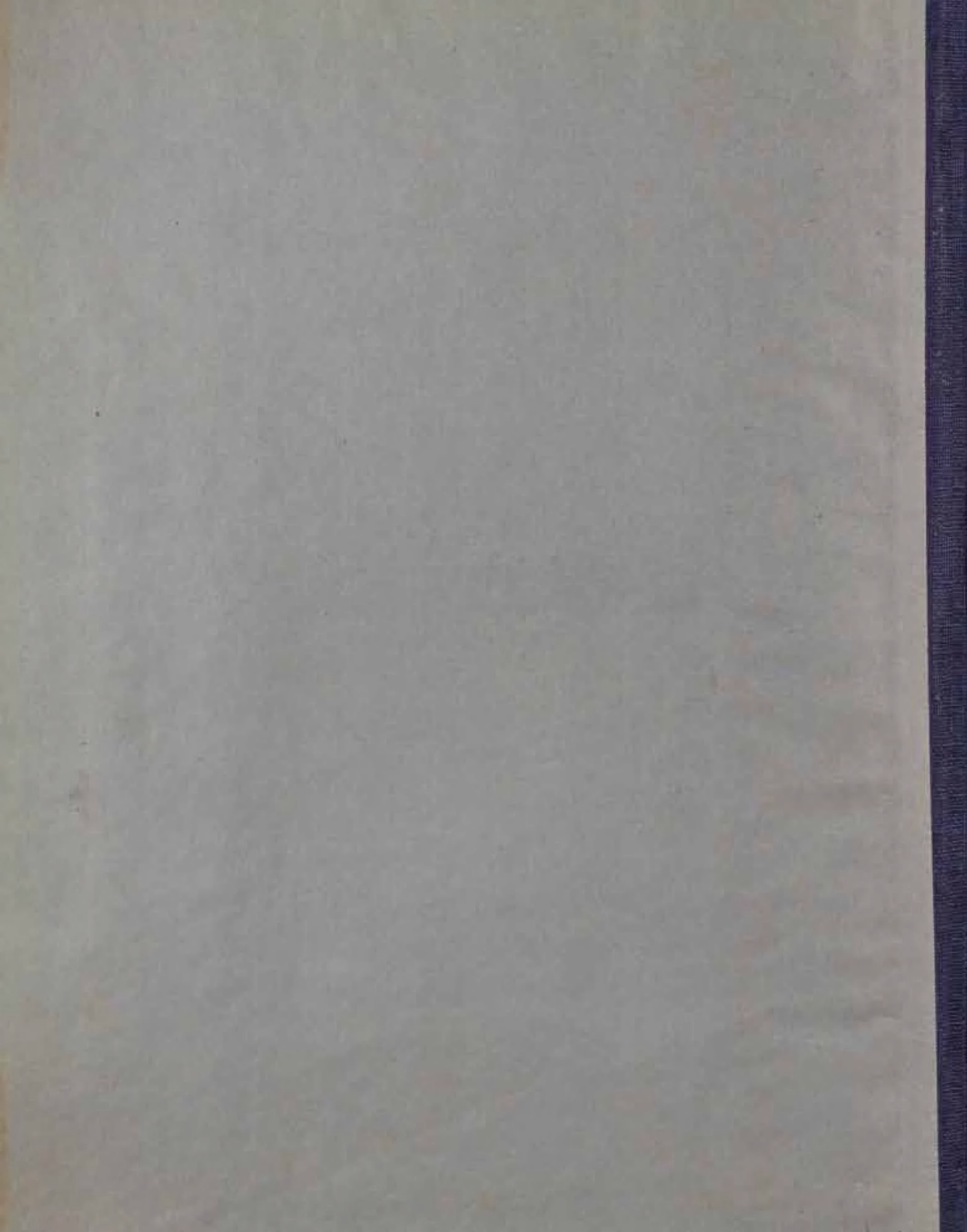
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